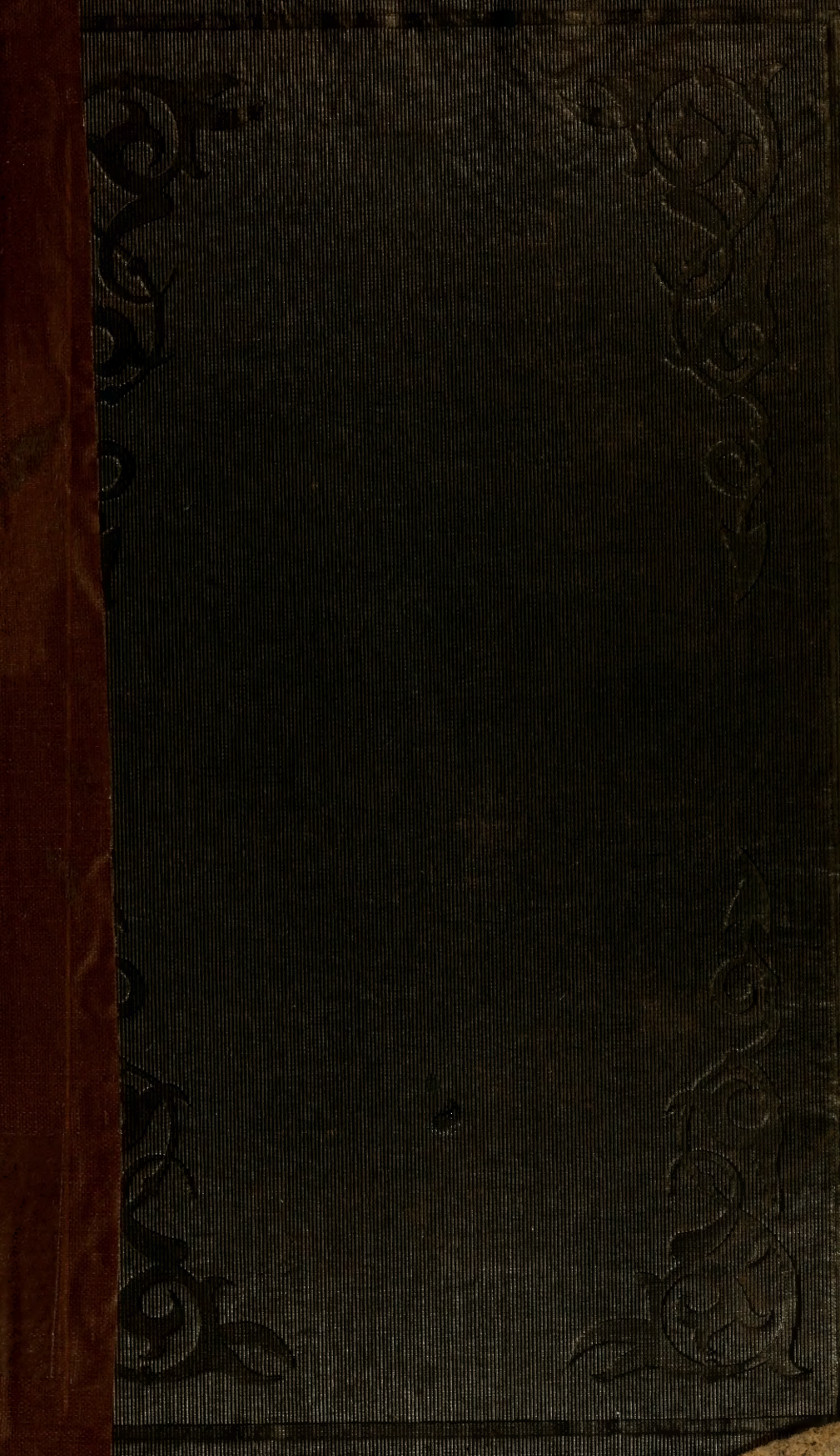
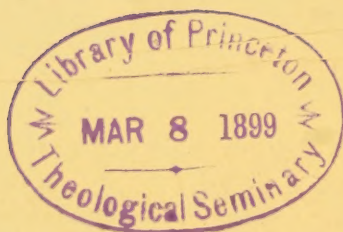


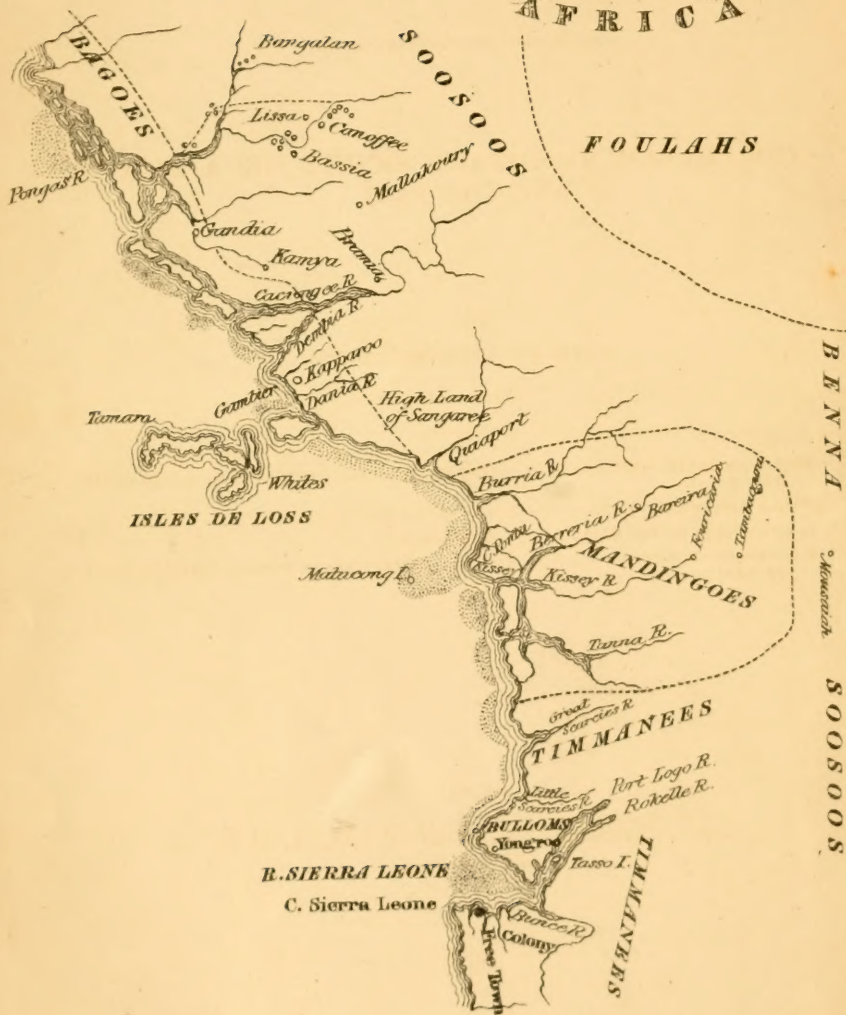




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Missions in western Africa,
among the Soosoos, Bulloms

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MAP
of Part of
The Western Coast
OF
AFRICA



MISSIONS IN WESTERN AFRICA,

AMONG THE SOOSOOS, BULLOMS, &c.

BEING THE FIRST UNDERTAKEN BY

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY FOR AFRICA
AND THE EAST.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING:

- I. A SKETCH OF WESTERN AFRICA; WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE PRINCIPAL TRIBES INHABITING THAT COAST.
- II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE, TO THE PRESENT DAY.
- III. SOME ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY AFRICAN CHURCHES.
- IV. A CONDENSED SURVEY OF ALL THE MISSIONARY EXERTIONS OF MODERN TIMES, IN FAVOR OF AFRICA.

BY THE

REV. SAMUEL ABRAHAM WALKER, A.M.

Rector of Gallo, Meath.

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PREFACE.

THE preface to a book is, I believe, usually considered the vehicle of conveying to the public either an apology for having intruded on them at all, or a sort of “*da veniam*” deprecation of their wrath for not having done it in a more acceptable manner; and as I have been, for some time past, owing to peculiar circumstances, in a position to learn some of the remarks which this attempt of mine is likely to elicit, I am enabled to answer for myself, touching, at all events, a few of the points in which I think it may be assailed.

And first, I am not without a strong suspicion that it may appear an act of no little temerity for a man unknown to fame, and of no higher standing in the Church, or the world, than the pastor of a small rural parish in Ireland, to set himself up as the historian of a great Metropolitan Society, composed of all that is great, and good, and learned, in the land—whose field of operation is the world, and whose mighty objects transcend the limits of time and space: but to this I reply, that my motive, I trust, in this undertaking, has not been to arrogate to myself a function, but to fulfil a Christian duty, and this in a way where, from some little experience in the endeavour to awaken a missionary spirit, I conceived a want existed. My task has been simply that of collecting together the scattered fragments of missionary intelligence, which the Church Missionary Society’s periodical publications supplied, and presenting them to the Christian reader in a clear, consecutive form. In

the hands of a more skilful artist, the grouping would, no doubt, have been executed with better effect; but without, I trust, grossly offending the literary taste of my readers, my desire will be accomplished, if I succeed in informing their minds, and awakening their consciences, on the important subject of Missions to the heathen. It has been suggested, that I could have selected a more interesting district of the Missionary field than Western Africa, for my first attempt to commend to public patronage the labours of the Church Missionary Society. I think I may meet that suggestion with a simple denial. It is impossible, I conceive, to overrate the importance of our West African Mission: its effects, if the Lord continues to bless it, will be gigantic. In other countries the Gospel merely calls out members of the Church; but in Africa it is enlisting whole regiments of Missionary soldiers, and sending them forth armed and accoutred, to engage in deadly conflict with the demon of superstition, crime, and death; and the facilities afforded for this peculiar work are among the most remarkable evidences of providential arrangement which the history of the Church of Christ supplies. The present volume, it is true, is a record of disaster and defeat; but their details will be found strikingly interesting and instructive—clearer and juster views of the character and capabilities of the Negro than have been usually entertained are here afforded; and while we mourn over the failure of our first Missionary efforts in Africa, the hindrances to success are so obvious, and the providential objects to be served thereby so easily ascertained, that while we lament the sacrifices which have been made, we are constrained to confess their utility, and even amid our tears, exclaim, The Lord hath done all things well.

The introductory division of the volume may appear somewhat out of proportion; but be it remembered, that a work of this kind is not intended merely for ordinary readers of new and interesting books, who are content with such a superficial view of a subject as will be sufficient to amuse, without calling upon them for any painful exercise of thought. I aspire to be useful, and dedicate my labours to the working clergy in rural districts,

where books may happen to be scarce, and to the subscribers to parochial libraries, who may find in the study of Missionary operations in foreign lands not only spiritual refreshment, but also geographical and historical information. We shall not the less estimate the labours of those devoted men who go forth bearing precious seed to heathen lands, because we have some previous acquaintance with the country where they are located, and the people to whom they minister; nor when difficulties occur to try their faith and patience, shall we be the less prepared to afford them our sympathy and our prayers, because, from our knowledge of the circumstances amidst which they are placed, obstructions to the Christian work were to be anticipated, and we, in taking a part in it, were thrown much more on the promises of God, than on the prospect of man's co-operation.

I have supposed that the inquiries of persons but little acquainted with Africa, but whom we would desire to interest in favour of our Missionary operations there, would be: 1. As regards the people to be instructed; 2. The slave trade—the monster obstacle to be encountered; 3. Has Christianity ever had a footing in Africa? And 4. What attempts have been made in modern times to make Christ known to the natives of this vast continent? And to each of these questions I have attempted such a reply as will either assist my brethren in the ministry to satisfy the inquiries of the humble members of their flocks, or will inform and interest those who shall read the work for themselves. It may be objected that the chapter on the early African Churches might have been dispensed with, as every clergyman has such works as Eusebius, Mosheim, Milner, &c., at hand, to refer to for information on this particular subject; but, in the first place, I did not think a work of reference, such as I desire this may become, would be complete without a sketch of ancient Christianity in Africa; and, secondly, I have written, with a view to press information upon many, who either will not, or cannot look for it in histories of the Church at large; and it seemed to me desirable to occupy the reader's mind with the fact, that whatever their present state

of spiritual darkness may be, the doctrines of the cross once had deep and extensive root in the minds and hearts of the despised children of Ham.

My attempted portraiture of the slave trade, is, I confess, repulsive in no small degree; but when sluggish consciences are to be aroused, and contrition for the past to be employed in securing for the injured sympathy and redress, I dare not hang a drapery over naked facts, however unsightly, or use lighter shades, or more attractive colours than truth, however degrading, seemed to exact. Christian philanthropy demands not a softening down of the harsh features of the past, but the application of such a regenerative principle to the scenes and circumstances depicted, that their portraiture in the future, while faithful to truth, may turn disgust into admiration, and shame into Christian gratitude and joy.

What I have already said will, perhaps, be a sufficient answer to the inquiry, why I did not compress into one or two volumes a history of the Church Missionary Society's operations at large, instead of meditating for each mission a separate volume? Such a work would, no doubt, be very interesting, but would not, I conceive, supply the want which exists—that of an answer to the question, what peculiar features do the exertions of the Church Missionary Society exhibit in Africa? What in India? &c. This question is not to be met by a hasty sketch, and a few disjointed anecdotes, in which the writer, limited to a choice of matter, naturally assumes the direction of the reader's judgment, and thus, perhaps, unconsciously seeks to frustrate the object of Infinite Wisdom, in certain transactions which he may deem it prudent to withhold from the public eye. It is, I am sure, a safer way to tell all that is to be told, and thus seek to accomplish the Almighty's work in His own way. This is only just to Him, and the way to secure His blessing on our attempts to awaken a Missionary spirit, and to advance Missionary work. We need not fear the cavils of the sceptic, or the sneer of the godless. The Christian reader will sigh over frailties which his own heart will tell him are inseparable from humanity; and the mind of the learner in Christ will be warned

not to rest in the best performances, or the highest resolves of poor erring mortals like himself; but if he looks for principles without change, or plans without disappointment, he must fix his view “on things above, not on things on the earth.”

I shall only add, that if life and health are spared me, and it shall appear that I have succeeded so far in supplying the want of Church Missionary intelligence, which, as an occasional advocate for the society, and as a parish minister, I have felt to exist, I shall, with the Lord’s blessing, follow up this volume with another, devoted to the interesting work which has been for some years carrying on in the colony of Sierra Leone. Meanwhile, praying for a blessing from above on what is now presented to the Christian public, I send it forth, not without hope that it will redound in some measure to the glory of the Great Shepherd, and to more extensive and strenuous exertions to gather together the sheep of His beloved flock now scattered abroad.

SAMUEL A. WALKER.

Ardrum House, Summerhill,
April 19, 1845.

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CHURCH MISSIONS

IN

WESTERN AFRICA.

INTRODUCTION.

SKETCH OF WESTERN AFRICA.

THE falling away of the whole Christian world from the pure doctrine and simple practice of the "holy, harmless, undefiled" Jesus, and his apostles, was justly visited by Him, "who ruleth over all," with the scourge of Saracenic conquest without the church, and the strong delusion of Romish apostacy within. The consequence was, a complete prostration of the intellectual powers of Christendom, and, for centuries, an almost entire suspension of all enterprise, commercial, geographical, and scientific. "Out of the eater," however, "came forth meat." The mad fanaticism which produced and fed the Crusades, as it originated in the "mystery of iniquity," so, like the thunder which issues from accumulated vapours, and yet clears and renovates the atmosphere, it dissipated in its explosion—especially over the continent of Europe—the mists of intellectual darkness which had been gathering for ages, and startled contented ignorance, long venerated as the mother of devotion, into a consciousness of its degradation, by bringing it into contact with the knowledge and intelligence of distant regions, where the cultivation of mind lent a refinement to the manners of the infidel, which it soon became the ambition of Christians to emulate.

Not the least among the advantages which sprung from the Crusades, which for two centuries* drained the West of its population and its wealth, to fill Asia with graves, and render the Christian name con-

* From A. D. 1095, when Urban II. urged the recovery of the Holy Land upon the Council of Placenza, with great success, until A. D. 1291, when Tyre and Ptolemais, on the coast of Syria, the last remaining of the Christian conquests, fell into the hands of the Mamelukes.

temptible, was the stimulus given to navigation and commerce. The cities of Italy, such as Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and others, by assisting the crusaders with transports, provisions, and warlike stores, secured for themselves important privileges and establishments in the seaports of the Levant, and other shores of the Greek empire. France followed their example; and, shortly after, a commercial company was formed in Germany, called the Hanseatic League,* by which the interests of trade and social improvement were very extensively promoted.

Among the princes of Christendom who now entered upon the field of commercial enterprise, was Dionysius, king of Portugal, who reigned from 1279 to 1325, and who, by taking advantage of the maritime position of his country, laid the foundation of its greatness in the succeeding century. From this time the art of navigation among the Portuguese rapidly advanced, and their successes against the Moors, from whom, in 1094, Alphonso VI., king of Castile and Leon, had recovered a part of their country, occupied by the latter since the beginning of the eighth century, having contributed to the elevation of their national character, and a spirit of daring adventure, they soon began to retaliate upon their African neighbours; and, in 1415, the seaport town of Ceuta, on the Morocco coast, rewarded the valour of John I. and his brave sons, Edward, Henry, and Pedro, who there received the honour of knighthood at their father's hands.

It was to such expeditions against their former tyrants, and their proximity to the vast continent from whence they had received them, that the Portuguese owed the proud position which they occupied at the close of the fifteenth century, of taking the lead among the states of Europe in maritime adventure and discovery. At the beginning of this century, the only part of the western coast of Africa known to European navigators, was from the Straits of Gibraltar to Cape Nun, or a little more than the extreme length of the coast of Morocco, from north to south, a distance of six hundred miles; but in the reign of John, who died in 1433, commenced that brilliant series of discoveries on the western coast of Africa, which led, before the end of the century, to the finding of a passage round that continent to India, from whence commodities, much esteemed in Europe, had hitherto been conveyed thither by Venetian and Genoese merchants, trading to Alexandria and the shores of the Black Sea—they having found their way to these markets by overland caravans.

It is to the astronomical and adventurous spirit of Don Henry, third son of John I., that the maritime enterprises and successes of the Por-

* Koch's *Revolutions of Europe*. The word "Hanseatic," comes from "Hanse," an old German word, signifying "union." It is found first used in a letter of our Edward II. to the King of France, in 1315.

tuguese are to be attributed. This extraordinary prince* was the first to apply the mariner's compass to navigation; and, having, in his valourous exploits against the Moors in Africa, furnished himself with a large stock of information respecting that hitherto almost unknown region of the earth, he determined to try the possibility of reaching the treasures of India by a voyage round its western and southern coast. Having formed this resolution, and being anxious to superintend the naval preparations for an expedition, to be immediately sent out, he took up his abode in the neighbourhood of Cape St. Vincent, the point of his own land nearest the coast to be explored. This was in his twenty-first year, when he resolved on devoting the remainder of his life to the object which he contemplated.

About 1415, the prince sent out two small vessels, which doubled Cape Nun, and proceeded upwards of 150 miles in a south-westerly direction, until they reached a point of land projecting far into the sea, around which the waves beat with great fury; when the mariners, struck with fear, refused to advance, and the expedition returned home. This formidable barrier has since been named Cape Bojador, or Projecting Cape.

Cape Bojador, to the great pride and delight of his countrymen, was doubled by Gilianez in 1433, when he gave it its present name; and, next year, in a second expedition, he advanced to about one hundred miles beyond it. Cape Blanco, Cape Verde, and Sierra Leone, were reached in successive expeditions, by Antonio Gonzalez, Dinis Fernandez, and Pedro di Sintra, in the respective years 1440, 1446, and 1467; and, at intervening periods, the rivers Senegal, Gambia, and Grande, were discovered. In sailing up the last-named, the commander of the expedition, Minno Tristan, and a number of his men, were killed by the natives. The Gold Coast was reached in 1471; and here, at the mouth of the Oro da Mina, the Portuguese built a town, which they named Elmina, or La Mina, (the Mine), making it the capital of their African possessions. It was now that the King of Portugal adopted the title of Lord of Guinea,† a right to the dominion of all lands which he should discover having been previously obtained by him from the Pope, who arrogated to himself the prerogative of making such grants;‡ and Fernandez Gomez obtained from the government the exclusive privilege of trading to Guinea for five years, in consideration of a sum of five

* He was of English blood, being fourth son of John I. by Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV. of England, and, together with splendid abilities, he is said to have possessed the highest patriotic and social endowments.

† Senor de Guiné.

‡ "Extravagant," says Robertson, in his History of America, "as this donation, comprehending such a large portion of the habitable globe, would now appear, even in Catholic countries, no person in the fifteenth century doubted that the Pope, in the plenitude of his apostolic power, had a right to confer it."

hundred ducats, and his undertaking to explore the coast further, to a distance of fifteen hundred miles.

Prince Henry died in 1463, being then sixty-seven years of age, the greater part of which he had perseveringly devoted to his early project of African discovery; but the enterprising spirit which he had awakened survived him; and as an African company had been formed under his auspices, as early as the year 1444, and the government now entered with zeal into all his plans, there was every aid and encouragement afforded to a work promising such vast national advantages. Accordingly, we find Diego Cam sailing from Elmina in 1484, and soon reaching the southern bank of the Congo, or Zaire, where, according to the custom now adopted, he erected a great stone pillar, surmounted by a crucifix, on which he had inscribed the name of the King of Portugal, and his own.* His voyage extended to about the twenty-second degree of south latitude, as far as Cape Cross, and at whatever point of the coast he touched, he set up the usual pillar with its inscription, as a symbol of Portuguese sovereignty. The history of his abduction of some native princes from the banks of the Congo, and their sudden transportation to Portugal, with its consequences, belongs to a subsequent chapter.

We come now to the celebrated voyage of Bartholomew Diaz, who succeeded in reaching the extremity of this great continent, and after doubling the cape in which it terminates, proceeded to a considerable distance eastward without knowing that he had reached the southernmost point, as a storm had driven him out to sea. Having advanced, however, as far as the Rio del Infanta, he returned, and for the first time discovered the cape, but was prevented from landing by the violence of the waves, which, agitated by storms, broke furiously upon the coast; in consequence of which he named the cape, Cabo dos Tormentos, the Cape of Tempests; but the King of Portugal, John II., changed its name to Cabo do Bona Esperanza, or Cape of Good Hope, as there now appeared every prospect of an uninterrupted passage by sea to India. This occurred in 1493,† a year rendered peculiarly remarkable by the return of Columbus from the newly-discovered western hemisphere, on the 15th of March. Long previous to his experimental voyage across the Atlantic, he had shared in the perils and triumphs of West African adventures; and his naval genius was nursed into brilliant maturity, and stimulated to gigantic enterprise, by repeated visits to the monuments of Portugal's maritime greatness. Not satisfied with the tediousness of a passage to India round the im-

* From the circumstance of Diego's setting up his first pillar on the bank of the Congo, Portuguese writers often call it the "river of the pillar."

† Some writers say this voyage of Bartholomew Diaz was prosecuted in 1486, which seems the more probable date.

mense continent of Africa, be conceived the idea of reaching, at least, some country in connexion with it, by sailing westward across the Atlantic Ocean ; hence the islands first discovered were called the West Indies. We thus perceive an identity in the objects that led to discoveries in both continents.

Emmanuel, surnamed "The Great" and "The Fortunate," ascended the throne of Portugal in 1495 ; he was the pupil of Henry the navigator, and seems to have imbibed all his predilection for maritime discovery. Accordingly, soon after his ascension, four vessels were equipped and manned, by his orders, to prosecute the search after a passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, and the command was given to Vasco de Gama. As soon as the expedition was ready to set sail, the king presented to Gama, with great solemnity, a flag, with a cross of the order of Christ (of which Henry the navigator had been grand master) embroidered on it. On the 9th July, 1497, the admiral embarked on board his ship, the *St. Gabriel*. His brother Paul commanded the second, Nicholas Coelho the third, and Gonzalo Nunez the fourth. On the 20th of the following November, the fleet doubled the Cape. On December 9th, it reached the Bay of San Blaz, 180 miles farther on ; and on the 17th, passed the island of Santa Crux, where Bartholomew Diaz had erected his last stone cross. Early next year, Gama reached the eastern coast, and shortly after anchored in the Bay of Mozambique, but did not land, having received intelligence of a plot among the inhabitants to destroy him and his crew, on account of their religion. The same circumstance occurred at Mombasa, where he stopped for a week. But at Melinda he was more fortunate, being received and treated with great kindness, and a Mahomedan pilot from Guzerat being furnished to him by the king. Having enjoyed the hospitality of this place for some days, he re-embarked ; and now, abandoning the coast, he stood directly out to sea, steering his course across the Indian Ocean for the Malabar coast, where he arrived in May 1498, and landed at the city of Calicut, thus triumphantly accomplishing the vast design which had occupied the greater part of the fifteenth century, and in which life and property had been largely expended.

Having now rapidly sketched the origin and progress of West African discovery, we must penetrate a little into the interior of this interesting coast, and first take a hasty glance at the physical features which present themselves as we advance inland, and then attempt some description of the people at present occupying these localities.

On examining a map of Africa, we observe that this continent, at its north-western part, projects into a vast peninsula, and that the coast having stretched out far to the westward, recedes about twenty-five degrees east, and thence proceeds in a south and south-easterly direc-

tion to its extremity. The indentation thus made forms the Gulf of Guinea, through which passes the equator, and on each side of which the coast, to a distance of several hundred miles, and to the depth of about three hundred, has been generally explored, and passes usually under the name of Western Africa, being bounded on the north by the Great Desert, and on the south by an immense tract of sand, destitute of water. It is again called the Coast of Guinea, and is divided into the windward and leeward coasts, the former extending from the river Senegal to Cape Palmas, *i. e.*, from 16° N. lat. to $4^{\circ} 26'$; and the latter from thence, as far south as vessels usually traded for slaves. It will be observed, from the nakedness which the map here presents, that with the exception of a narrow tract of country, extending into the interior, as far as the lake Tchad, little or nothing is known of the measureless regions that fill up the interior of this great continent.

The countries in the interior, best known to us, are those which occupy the southern part of the great peninsula, included between the Zahara and the Gulf of Guinea. A great interest felt in the source and progress of the river Niger, and some mysterious notions of the grandeur and magnitude of Timbuctoo, a town frequented by the caravans which crossed the Great Desert, have attracted the steps of travellers hither more frequently than to any other part of this coast. The African Association, formed in London, in 1788, has contributed much to our information regarding this region, having, at the close of the last and beginning of the present century, sent out several gentlemen of zeal and ability to explore it, among whom were Haughton, Park, Hornemann, and Burekhardt. Several expeditions have also been prosecuted by the British government, with a similar object, among which we may remark those undertaken by Tuckey and Piddie, Denham and Clapperton, Gray, Laing, and the two Landers. These have been attended with various success, and most of the travellers forfeited their lives, either by disease or violence, to the adventurous spirit that led them to penetrate into this land of pestilence and crime.* But African geography has certainly been enriched, and an intercourse has, to some extent, been opened with our poor benighted brethren in that long-neglected soil, and encouragements afforded for exertions in their behalf, such as Christians have long desired to engage in.

The entire of this region was originally called Guinea, but is now divided into Senegambia, or the country watered by the Senegal and Gambia rivers,† and Guinea, the latter being subdivided into the grain coast, ivory coast, gold coast, and slave coast—names expressive of the particular article of commerce for which each is remarkable. An

* For instance, Park, Roentgen, and Laing, were murdered. Ledyard, Haughton, Burekhardt, Tuckey, Ritchie, and Clapperton, perished by fatigue and disease.

† From which position it takes its name.

angry surf beats upon this shore, which is also visited by violent tempests, thus rendering it very difficult to effect a landing. Senegambia extends between the 9th and 18th parallels N. lat., and contains within it the countries of Yolof, Cayor, Foota-Toro, Foota-Bondoo, Galam, Bambouk, Ludamar, Kaarta, Manding, Foota-Jallon, Fooladoo, Jalonkadoo Bondoo, and Wooli. The general aspect of this division of the coast is low, and the soil sandy. In some parts the tops of the trees, which appear like a great forest growing in the water, are the first indication of the approach of land. Large tracts of land are covered with tall trees, among which the palm, cocoa, tamarind, banana, fig, orange, lemon, and lime, are conspicuous. The limits of Guinea have been variously defined by the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English. By the last-named, however, it has been considered to extend from Cape Vergo, in lat. 10° N., to Cape Lopez, in lat. $36'$ S. We have seen John II. of Portugal assuming to himself the pompous title of Lord of Guinea. In his reign the Portuguese established several colonies here, from whence they were driven, in 1604, by the Dutch, who still possess some forts on the Gold Coast, and within the Ashantee empire. Besides the subdivisions already mentioned, Guinea contains, on the coast, the territory of Sierra Leone, and the Timmanee country, Benin and Waree, Calabar, Biafra, Gabon, and Calpongos; and in the interior, the countries of Kooranko, Kong, Sarem, Dagomba, Ashantee, Dahomey, and Eyeo or Yarriba. With the exception of the Sierra Leone district, the coast is low and marshy, and covered with brushwood. Here, too, forests abound, and lend much interest to the scene. Although the whole western coast of Africa, extending for about 4,000 miles, is for the most part flat, long ranges of lofty mountains exist not far in the interior, and sometimes approach the sea, and project in bold headlands, as at Cape de Verd. In these mountains the various rivers that disembogue into the Atlantic Ocean take their rise.

On the western coast more water runs into the Atlantic than is discharged from all the other coasts of Africa beside. We have here the Senegal, whose course is about 1,000 miles, navigable at all seasons for 150 miles, but in the rainy season as high as 750 miles, for vessels of 150 tons; the Gambia, navigable for vessels of 300 tons 150 miles, flowing about 600 miles—these two rivers have their source in the Kong Mountains; the Rio Grande, or great river, deep and wide, but its course is only half as long as that of the Gambia; the Rio Mesurado, a large river, not well known; the Rio Nunez, navigable for seventy miles; the Rio Pongas, in whose water the first church missionary converts were baptized; the Sierra Leone, of which we shall perhaps have to speak more particularly on a future occasion; the Niger, the most remarkable river in Africa next to the Nile, and whose source has

similarly baffled every traveller. Until Mungo Park's African discoveries, it was supposed to flow from east to west, but he actually beheld it "flowing slowly to the eastward," and settled the question for ever. It rises in the hill of Loma, in the Koranko country, 1,600 feet above the level of the Atlantic. Before reaching Timbuctoo it is called by the natives, Joliba, or the great river, but when it leaves that city it obtains the name of Quorra, when it flows S. and S.E.; and after receiving the waters of Tshadda it breaks into numerous streams, forming a delta, by one branch of which, the Nun or Brass River, the Landers reached the sea, at the Gulf of Guinea, in November, 1830. The late Niger expedition, and its result, invest this river with a deep and solemn interest. We have here also the Zaire, whose rapidity is unparalleled; and, lastly, the Coanza and the Gareep, or Orange rivers.

The climate is very unhealthy, owing partly to the extreme heat of the day* and coolness of the night, and partly, wherever high mountains exist, to the confinement of the vapours in the valleys between them. There is much of sandy sterile land, but where this does not exist the soil is very fertile, rendering the labour of production remarkably easy, and, consequently, inducing indolence on the part of the inhabitants. The boabab, palm tree, cocoa nut, orange, lemon, locust tree, shea or butter tree, the coffee tree, the nutmeg and cinnamon trees, are among the trees which every where abound. Maize, millet, rice, yams, potatoes of a peculiar kind, beans, and other vegetables, are cultivated by the natives.

All along the windward coast, the year is divided into the rainy and dry seasons; it is also divided into moons, distinguished by characteristic names, as *Bullakont*, or sweepbrush, when the rain is violent; *Pol-pol*, when the rice is ripe; and *Shakoomonnee*, of one family, when the harvest is reaped; and, when the heat is excessive, *Boppo-roong*, or shun path. These names are in the Bullom language.† The rains advance gradually along the coast from south to north, not beginning at Sierra Leone till over in Guinea, and not reaching the Senegal until six or eight weeks subsequent to their appearance at Sierra Leone. They pour down at intervals of from twenty-four to thirty hours, and last from twelve to thirty hours without ceasing. The rainy season is of about four months' continuance, setting in at Sierra Leone at the end of May, and terminating at the end of September. It is introduced and carried off by violent winds from the east, called tornadoes, attended by thunder, lightning, and heavy rain: they last only from twenty minutes to half-an-hour, but their effects are awfully sublime. Their approach is notified by a little cloud rising out of the

* The thermometer sometimes stands at 134° in the open air.

† Winterbottom. The Timmanees call the dry season "lokko feenoo," good time; and the rainy season, "lokko a liss," bad time.

sea, "like a man's hand," observed first on the verge of the eastern horizon : faint flashes of lightning are seen in quick succession, sometimes attended by distant thunder : clouds begin to gather, and increase in density and blackness ; the thunder rolls nearer and louder, and midnight darkness overspreads the sky ; a light breeze then springs up from the west, or a mysterious calm takes place, during which men and animals fly for shelter, and suddenly the storm, with a fearful crash, bursts from above, and sweeps along the earth and sea, with a fury and power of destruction truly appalling. Tornadoes occur only in four or five months in the year, and do not appear prejudicial to health. Distinct from them is the harmattan, a wind blowing from the north-east, in the months of December, January, and February. It is always accompanied with an unusual gloom and haziness of the atmosphere, producing a kind of fog, through which the sun, moon, and stars scarcely appear. During its continuance, which varies from two days to a fortnight, there is not the least dew or moisture in the air—a perfect dryness is produced, which withers trees, kills tender plants, splits doors, window-shutters, and timber of all kinds, removes the veneering on furniture, and bends back the covers of books, as if exposed to a fire. This arid wind even affects the body, causing the eyes, lips, nostrils, and throat, to feel dry and uneasy, and, if long continued, causes the skin to peel off. It, however, occasions the thermometer to fall ten or twelve degrees, which makes the air agreeable to Europeans ; but the natives complain of cold, and put on warm clothing. There are some advantages attending the harmattan ;—it contributes to the cure of old ulcers and cutaneous diseases, interrupts the progress of epidemics, such as small-pox, ague, dysentery, and renders the body less susceptible of infection. At all other times, when this peculiar wind does not prevail, the air on the coast is particularly moist, and dews fall very copiously, and with a chilling effect to the body.

The coast of Western Africa is occupied by a great number of petty states, for the most part monarchical, but sometimes republican, and governed by an aristocracy. These states exhibit the usual effects of barbarity and licentiousness. Lawlessness, restlessness, and cruelty, are their common features and the most degrading idolatry gives expression to the religious notions of the population, which may be divided into Mahomedans and pagans. The former are converts of the Moors or Arabs from the north, who appear to have been wonderfully successful in enlisting followers, throughout the entire of Central and Western Africa ; nor, when we consider that the repetition of a few words in Arabic, from the Koran, and the stated performance of an ablution, either with water or sand, as opportunity occurs, constitutes the religious services of an African Mussulman, does the task of making converts appear to be very difficult. Although the Mahomme-

dans have been careful to open schools, wherever they have come, and instruct the natives in the Arabic language; but few among them read the Koran, being content to wash off from a board a few lines of it, traced with some black substance, and drink the dirty water, presuming that the contents are thereby appropriated.* The pagans, or Kafirs, as their Moslem neighbours call them, believe in a Supreme Being, of infinite goodness and benevolence, but worship only the devil, conceiving that the beneficent deity needs not to be propitiated, and is, indeed, too highly exalted to concern himself in the things of earth. To the devil, then, or Legion—for there are many in African mythology, all of whom are the objects of superstitious dread—they principally confine their attention, and pay religious worship. As may be supposed, nothing can be more childish than the dangers they dread from their deities, or the precautions employed to avert them. The negroes, however, believe in a future state of rewards and punishments, but of their nature they entertain very vague conceptions. But there being considerable variety in the religious opinions and customs of the different nations now under review, these few remarks will serve as an introduction to a more detailed account.

It would be beside our purpose to describe all the countries that here present themselves to our notice; a few of the most prominent and influential will suffice, especially as our knowledge of the minor states is very imperfect, and we may expect them to take the tone in religion, character, and manners, in a greater or less degree, from their more powerful neighbours.

About seven hundred miles in the interior, is the country of Manding, or Jallonkadoo, watered by numerous streams of the Niger, which is here called the Joliba. The people of this country are called Mandingoes; and, from their number, civilization, and influence, they hold the first place among the inhabitants of this part of Africa.

The Mandingoes are, in general, converts to Mahommedanism;† but it may be observed of them, and all other West African Mussul-

* Major Gray says, "The Africans, in their pagan state, were not liable to the same superstitions as they are, and have been, since their proselytism, if it may be so termed, because their religion was not overloaded with ceremonies, and their priests had but a narrow and contracted influence. Mahommedanism has made them hypocrites, as it keeps them slaves; and, while it prevails to the present extent, they must continue so. Essences are forgotten in the strict observances of a miserable ritual; and truth has lost its value and its splendour, when only seen through the jaundiced instruction of peculating Maraboos. These jugglers in morality make what ever use they please of the victims of their sorcery, and if once they catch them in their toils, escape is almost literally impossible."—*Travels in Africa*, p. 355.

† Many among them, however, are still pagans, who go under the name of *Kafirs*, or unbelievers; and also *Sonnahies*, or drinkers of strong drink. The Mahommedans are called *Bushreens*, or Moslems.

mans, that the native superstitions are largely incorporated with their new creed, which, except in abolishing human sacrifices, has but little improved the condition or character of those who profess it. About one hundred years ago, Major Laing tells us, they emigrated in great numbers from their own soil, and settled first in the countries surrounding the Gambia; but as they are of migratory habits, detached parties from time to time found their way northward and southward; so that they are to be found traversing Africa for the purposes of trade, or war, from Tangiers to Cape Mesurada. The character given to them by travellers is favourable. Laing says they are "very shrewd and superior to any who inhabit the extent of Western Africa. Their appearance is engaging—their features are regular and open—their persons well-formed and comely." Park, who had much intercourse with them, describes them as "a very gentle race, cheerful in their dispositions, inquisitive, credulous, simple, and fond of flattery." Their greatest defect, he says, was thievishness, from which he had himself suffered; but he adds—"It were well to consider whether the lower order of people, in any part of Europe, would have acted, under similar circumstances, with greater honesty towards a stranger, than the Negroes acted towards me." To counterbalance this defect, he instances the disinterested charity and tender solicitude with which many of them, from the sovereign to the poor women, who received him at different times into their cottages, when he was perishing of hunger—had sympathized with him in his sufferings, relieved his distresses, and contributed to his safety. The hardness of avarice in some, and the blindness of bigotry in others, had sometime closed up the avenues of compassion to him, but he could not recollect a single instance of hard-heartedness towards him in the women. In all his wanderings and wretchedness he had found them uniformly kind and compassionate. His predecessor, Lidyard, who had been sent out by the African Association in 1788, but who died of a bilious fever at Cairo, bears similar testimony. "To a woman," he says, "I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship without receiving a decent and friendly answer. If I was hungry or thirsty, wet or sick, they did not hesitate, like the men, to perform a generous action. In so free and so kind a manner did they contribute to my relief, that if I was dry I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry I ate the coarsest morsel with a double relish." This tenderness of the female character is exemplified in the corresponding attachment of children to their mothers, far superior to that which exists between the male parent and his offspring. The highest insult that can be offered to a Mandingo is to speak opprobriously of his mother. Park mentions the case of a quarrel occurring between two natives, travelling with him, in which one of them, replying to an observation that had been made, exclaimed—"Strike me, but do

not curse my mother!" This filial tenderness towards the female parent has been ascribed to the practice of polygamy,* which is here allowed, and which, by dividing the father's affection among the children of different wives, draws more closely the ties of reciprocal regard between mother and child. This state of things is often most advantageously employed by maternal solicitude in the care of the child's mental cultivation; "for," says Park, "one of the first lessons in which the Mandingo women instruct their children, is *the practice of truth*." And in proof of this he refers to the circumstance of a young man being killed by a Moor, who, while he was being conducted towards the town, was followed by his mother, frantic with grief, clapping her hands, and enumerating the good qualities of her son. "*Ea maffo fonio!*" said the disconsolate mother, as her wounded son was carried in at the gate—" *Ea maffo fonio abada!*"—he never told a lie—no, never!"†

The rule of the husbands, as may be conceived, is despotic; but they are not cruel nor jealous like the Moors. When one of the wives offends, recourse is had to Mumbo Jumbo, which is either the husband himself, or a friend disguised in a cloak made of the bark of trees, which is preserved for such occasions, and wielding a formidable rod. His approach to the town, in which the culprit resides, is announced by loud and dismal screams in the woods. He begins the pantomime at the approach of night, and as soon as it is dark, he enters the town, and proceeds to the Bentang or town hall,‡ where all the inhabitants immediately assemble. The ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, about which time the Mumbo fixes on the offender. She is seized, stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with Mumbo's rod, amid the shouts and derision of all—the rest of the women being the loudest in their exclamations on this occasion.

The children are not always named after their relations, but often in consequence of some remarkable occurrence: thus—*Modi*, a good man; *Ferdibba*, father of the town; *Dosita*, lift your spoon; *Bammakoo*, wash a crocodile; *Karrankalla*, no cup to drink from, &c. A child is named when seven or eight days old. The ceremony commences by shaving the infant's head; and a dish, called *dega*, made of pounded corn and some milk, is prepared for the guests. If the parents are rich, a sheep or a goat is commonly added. This feast is called *diaghoonlee*, or "the child's head-shaving." The schoolmaster, who is necessarily a Bushreen or Mahomedan, whether the child belongs to a Bushreen

* The Mahomedans are, by their religion, confined to four wives. The pagans are only restricted by the means of support.

† Park's Travels, 4to. p. 102

‡ A sort of stage, where palavers are held, erected in every Mandingo town.

or Kafir, first says a long prayer over the *dega*, during which every person present takes hold of the calabash,* in which it is contained, with the right-hand. The schoolmaster then takes the child in his arms, and says a second prayer, repeatedly asking God's blessing upon the child, and all the company. This prayer being ended, he whispers a few sentences in the child's ear, and spits three times in its face, after which he pronounces the name aloud, and returns the infant to the mother. The father of the child then divides the *dega* into a number of balls, of which each person present receives one. If any person in the town, on inquiry, is found to be sick, they receive a large portion of the *dega*, it being supposed to possess great medicinal virtues.

The education of the children consists in learning to read and write a few passages of the Koran, and to recite a few prayers. During their pupillage, about three or four years, they are under the care of, and perform menial offices for the priest, or Maraboo, who instructs them, to whom the parents make presents from time to time.†

The Mussulman Mandingoes pray five times a day. They keep the feast of Rhamadan, while the sun is above the horizon; and they repeat a short prayer, and make a rotatory motion with their fore-finger, on first beholding a new moon. Mixed up with this Islam worship, the African convert puts his faith in certain charms or amulets, which he carries about his person, as a protection from all sorts of dangers, and the medium of a multiplicity of blessings, to both body and soul. These usually consist of passages in the Koran, written upon paper, in the Arabic language, sewed up in red leather, and neatly stamped on the outside. They are either of a square, triangular, round, or oblong form. They are called saphies, fetishes, or greegrees, according to the locality in which they are used; and they are supposed to protect against drowning, fire-arms, bites of snakes, wild beasts, sharks, sickness, hunger, and thirst, &c. The wearers of them sometimes appear sinking under the load, as they hang from the neck and arms, or are worn round the waist or legs. To the pagans, also, the mystery of a few illegible characters, traced on a scrap of paper, conveys ideas of supernatural influence, which he seeks to employ in a similar manner, but he does not confine himself to these literary greegrees, but forms others for himself of bones, feathers, teeth of animals, the beaks and claws of birds, stones, and almost every substance within his reach: armed with these, he believes himself invulnerable.

* A species of gourd, of which the natives make bowls and dishes.

† When a boy's education is completed, and he has passed his last examination, the parents must redeem him from the Maraboo, with a slave, or the price of a slave, otherwise he continues in servitude to his master, until able to redeem himself.—*Park*.

A destitute old man is unknown among the Mandingoes. A son considers it his first duty to look after and provide for his aged father's comfort; and if he is unfortunate enough to have lost his own, he, perhaps, looks for some aged sire who, being without his children, requires the care and attention of youth. There is no nation where age is treated with more deference and respect.

When a person of consequence dies, the relations and neighbours meet and express their sorrow by loud and dismal howlings. The funeral takes place in the evening of the day on which the death occurs, and a bullock or a goat is killed for those who come to assist. There are no burying-places, but the grave is dug sometimes in the floor of the hut belonging to the deceased, or else in the shade of a favourite tree; the body is dressed in white cotton, and wrapped in a mat; it is carried to the grave in the dusk of the evening, by the relations; some bushes are placed over it, to guard it from the wolves, but no stone is placed over it as a monument.*

There are four trades or professions to which, conjointly, is given the appellation of Nyimahalah: they rank in the following order;—the *fino*, or orator; the *jellē*, or minstrel; the *guarangē*, or shoemaker; and the *noomo*, or blacksmith; all of which are of elevated rank, and possess great privileges. Artizans travel through the country unmolested, even in war, and all strange negroes are safe under their protection. They earn their livelihood by the exercise of their respective trades. Distinctions of rank are observed here. The priests and teachers of the Koran rank next to the king or rulers, the greatest respect being paid to learning; the subordinate chiefs, and head men come next—then follow the Nyimahalah—after them, dependent free-men; and lastly slaves, domestic or those born in the country, who are not liable to be sold contrary to their inclination, or those taken in war, or enslaved on account of debt, or by way of punishment.†

Their dress is extremely plain, neat, simple, and becoming—consisting of a cap, shirt, trowsers, and sandals. The cap is of a conical shape, and composed of blue or red cloth, neatly worked with different coloured threads: the shirt consists of a fathom or more of blue or white baft,‡ and trowsers of the same, which reach only to the knee. Wide trowsers are a mark of great distinction; so that the expression *kuorté abooniato*, large trowsers, is synonymous with “great man:” twenty yards of baft is the ordinary quantity for a head man. The females wear a shawl, or some fancy cloth, suspended from the head, and covering the neck and shoulders, when they are not at work: with it they also conceal their faces, when required to eat or drink in the presence of a man.

* Park.

† Laing.

‡ Native cloth.

Their diet is different in different districts. In general they breakfast about daybreak, upon gruel made of meal and water, with a little of the fruit of the tamarind, to give it an acid taste. About two o'clock in the afternoon they partake of a sort of hasty pudding, with a little shea butter;* but the principal repast is supper, which is eaten about midnight. This consists of kous-kous, with a small portion of animal food, or shea butter, mixed with it. In eating, the Kafirs, as well as the Mahomedans, use the right hand only. The beverage of the pagans is beer and meal. The Mahomedan converts drink only water. Smoking tobacco and taking snuff are common; but in the interior the greatest luxury is salt. The children will suck a piece of rock salt, as if it were sugar-candy. The great scarcity of this commodity places it beyond the reach of the poor; so that to say a man eats salt with his victuals, is the same as saying he is a rich man. Rice and honey are their principal food, and those who can procure it, chiefly drink milk.

The Mandingoes are governed by a number of petty chiefs, called headmen, and their laws are generally regulated by the doctrines of the Koran. Upon every circumstance of life, trivial or important, a palaver or discussion is held, where each party delivers his opinion with great earnestness and volubility. Their palaver-houses serve them also for places to lounge in and pass the day away in chit-chat, and for dancing-houses at night; but this only in wet weather—otherwise they prefer the open air.

Much of what has been said of the Mandingoes will apply to their neighbours; and something in the description of the manners and customs peculiar to others, will not be found altogether unsuitable to them—such is the general similarity that exists among the negro population of Western Africa, while there is enough of distinct feature to characterise each people, and nation, especially the language of each, which is commonly so dissimilar to the others, as to be not merely a dialect, but an essentially different language.† The Mandingo tongue is difficult to acquire, abounding in gutturals; but it is the most commonly understood language throughout this whole region. By the intercourse of foreigners, however, with

* The shea, or butter-tree, grows in the woods, and very much resembles the American oak. The fruit, from the kernel of which, being first dried in the sun, the butter is prepared by boiling it in water, has somewhat the appearance of a Spanish olive—the kernel is enveloped in a sweet pulp under a green rind; and the butter produced from it, besides keeping the whole year without salt, is whiter, firmer, and of a richer flavour than the best butter made from cow's milk.

† Bosman observes, "Though the Gold Coast is not extended above 200 miles in length, yet we find there seven or eight several languages, so different that three or four of them are interchangably unintelligible to any but the respective natives. The negroes of Janmore, ten miles above Axim, cannot understand those of Egira, Abocroe, Ancober, and Axim."—*Winterbottom*.

the coast, a kind of *lingua Franca* has been produced, sufficient for the purposes of trade.*

Next to the Mandingoes, the most considerable people in Western Africa are the Foolahs, who are said by some to be the same with the Fellattas, whose name is, probably, derived from the Arabic word *fella*, cultivator. The Foolahs occupy at least, as sovereigns, several provinces and kingdoms in the large tract comprehended between the mountains of Sierra Leone on the east, and Timbuctoo on the west; and also an extensive district on the lower part of the Senegal. Their original country is said to be Fooladoo, situated between Manding and Kasson. Some have supposed them to be descended from the Arabians, and others from the ancient Numidians, who were driven from the north by the Saracens, when they took possession of their country. They now occupy principally the territory of Foota Dialon, or Jallon, a country of Senegambia, extending about 350 miles from east to west, and 200 from north to south, having for its capitals Laby and Teembo. This country has been in their possession about a century. Its aboriginal inhabitants were called Jallonkeas, or drunkards, and in their time it bore the name of Jallonk, which has been gradually softened down to Jallo, to which was prefixed the name of Foota, signifying together the Foolahs of Jallen, or Foota Jallon. The government is of a mixed kind, partaking more of the nature of a republic than a monarchy. The almamy, or king, cannot decide upon any thing of importance to the country without the consent of the chiefs of Teembo, Laby, and Teembee. The religion is Mahomedan, which was so strictly enforced by the usurpers, that the Jallonkeas, who refused to embrace it, have been obliged to pay a yearly tribute, or quit the country once their own.

The men are of the middle stature, well formed, very active and intelligent. Major Gray† represents them as characterized by a high degree of cunning, duplicity, self-interestedness, and avarice, to gratify which they are deterred neither by shame nor fear. Golbury, who explored the regions of the Senegal in 1785-87, says of them, "The legitimate Foolahs are very fine men, robust and courageous; they have a strong mind, and are reserved and prudent; they are intelligent and industrious, but from their habitual commerce with the Moors of Zahara, they have become savage and cruel." Park says of the Foolahs of Bondoo, they are "naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, but the uncharitable maxims of the Koran have made them less

* In the Appendix will be found an extract from the journal of the earliest missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, in which they convey to the committee such information as they were able to collect respecting these people, and the nature of their own impressions regarding them.

† Gray's Travels in Western Africa, in the years 1818, 19, and 21.

hospitable to strangers and more reserved in their behaviour than the Mandingoes." Mr. Martin, doubtless upon good authority, represents their manners as "peculiarly courteous and gentle." He says they practise the most liberal hospitality, and relieve the wants not only of their own aged and infirm, but even of those belonging to other tribes. Such is their good conduct and industry, that it is considered infamous to injure them ; and a blessing is said to rest on any territory that contains one of their villages.*

In their features they approach nearer to the inhabitants of Europe than any other tribes of Western Africa, the Moors excepted, being of a deep copper or mahogany colour, varying to yellow or tawny, and sometimes to a complexion as fair as an English gypsy: hence, in contrast with the negroes, they rank themselves with white people. Their hair is not so short or woolly as that of the black ; and their eyes, besides being larger and rounder, are of a better colour and more expressive. The women, in particular, have good figures, a lively and graceful air, and prominent features, much resembling the European. They are at great pains to preserve their teeth of a pearly white, by constantly rubbing them with a small twig of the tamarind tree, which is an admirable substitute for a brush. They are, like all African females, extremely fond of amber, coral, and glass beads, which they bestow in profusion on their heads, necks, arms, waists, and ankles.

What has been said of the religious opinions and practices of the Mussulman Mandingoes, will be found equally applicable to the Foolahs. Mahomedanism and Fetishism blended, constitute their theology ; and while prayers are scrupulously offered in the name of the Prophet, five times in the day, a profusion of greegrees, worn about the person, intimates that reliance is not placed on these alone for safety or prosperity. The Maraboos, or Marabouts, here also have their schools, where instruction in the Koran and the Arabic language is communicated. The Foolahs are of a literary turn, and pride themselves much on their ability to read and write, in which they are distinguished from the Mandingoes. The Koran furnishes their laws, both civil and spiritual, and Winterbottom relates that they are administered with strictness and impartiality.

These people breed much cattle, which they tend with considerable skill. They have a shed erected near each of their towns for them, in the midst of which a stage is raised about eight feet from the ground, and eight or ten in diameter, and it is roofed and thatched, but open on all sides ; and to this they ascend by means of a ladder. They drive a number of strong stakes around this stage, and every night they

* Martin's History of the British Colonies, vol. IV. The Journal of Messrs. Watt and Winterbottom, who travelled among the Foolahs in 1794, confirms this view.

bring thither the cattle, which are so tame and well accustomed to it, that they are collected with perfect ease. Each beast is tied separately to a stake with a rope of the country, formed of the bark of a tree. The cows are then milked, and four or five men remain upon the stage during the night with their arms, to guard them from the lions and other wild beasts. Among their many superstitions, the singular notion exists that if any one boils the sweet milk purchased from them, the calves will run dry ; consequently, they will not sell any more to a person who, they learn, has committed this forbidden act.

Their industry in the occupations of pasturage and agriculture is every where remarkable ; even on the banks of the Gambia the greater part of the corn is raised by them. They plant tobacco near their habitations and round their towns ; they open tracts for cotton, which they fence in ; and beyond this are their fields for corn, of which they raise four kinds—Indian corn, or maize, rice, and the larger and lesser Guinea corn. These different species are not made into bread by the natives, but the flour, which is of a coarse quality, is used in the thickening of liquids and the composition of their universal dish, kous-kous.

Besides their horned cattle, they possess some excellent horses, apparently of a mixed African and Arabian breed. Mounted on these, they go in large companies to hunt the tigers and elephants, selling the ivory of the latter, and drying the flesh for food.

The people who are considered to rank next in importance are the Jaloffs, called also Yaloffs, Joloffs, Yoloffs, and Woloffs. They occupy a tract of country extending from the northern bank of the Gambia to the southern bank of the Senegal ; that is, according to Golberry, 4,800 leagues. This territory is under the dominion of the Bourb-i Yoloff, or Jaloff emperor, whose government is despotic, owing, as is the case with all African sovereigns, to the number of his slaves. No Jaloff, except the members of the royal family, is allowed to sleep under tendres, that is, mosquito curtains, on pain of slavery, should the king hear of it. The same punishment awaits every one presuming to sit upon the same seat with one of the royal family, unless expressly invited to do so. Every one completely prostrates himself on entering the sovereign's presence.* The empire of the Jaloffs consists of four kingdoms—Cayor, which formerly included Cape de Verde and the island of Goree ; Sin, a small state to the south of Cayor, embracing about thirty miles of coast ; Salem, the capital of which is Cahon ; and Brenk, together with the dominions of the Bourb-i Jaloff.

In many particulars, a marked national difference distinguishes the Jaloffs from the other sable tribes of this part of Africa. They possess

* Cox's West African Sketches.

a fine, brilliant pure-black complexion, a noble and impressive form, a character disposed to benevolence, and a high degree of self-respect and national pride. They are an active, powerful, and warlike race. They boast much of their antiquity and superiority to other nations, with whom they will not intermingle: indeed, between them and their neighbours, the Mandingoes, there exists a strong mutual antipathy. Their language is quite peculiar to themselves, and is represented as poor, but soft, and easy to be acquired.*

The distinction of caste exists among the Jallofs, and is observed as strictly as among the Hindoos. The nobles of this race style themselves "good Jallofs;" and, besides these, there are four inferior castes—the *tug*, or smiths; the *oudae*, shoe-makers and workers in leather; the *moul*, fishermen; and the *gaewell*, musicians or bards, who are the pariahs of the nation. No "good Jalloff" will marry into any of these castes; but the *gaewell* are not even permitted to reside within the towns, or to keep cattle, or drink sweet milk; and are refused interment, from the superstitious notion, that where one of this caste is buried nothing will grow. Yet, though thus despised, these *gaewell* are often in request as minstrels; and, like the *bhâts* or bards of the Hindoo Bheels, are often liberally remunerated by the negro rajpoot, for singing the honours and exploits of his ancestors. These bards or singers are found in a distinct class throughout Senegambia. The *gaewell* generally speak the Arabic language, and are zealous Mahommedans.† Besides these castes, there exists among the Jallofs a singular tribe, of a distinct race and language, called *Laoobies*, who, it is said, bear a considerable resemblance to our gypsies. Park says that the country of the Jallofs is divided into a number of petty states or kingdoms, which are perpetually at war, either with their neighbours or with each other, but this is the history of all the people known to us in this quarter.

The country contains more Pagans than Mahommedans. The latter are held in high estimation, in consequence of the mildness and toleration which they affect, and in their faith and practice resemble the Mandingoes. The religion of the Pagans is pure Fetishism, which consists, as has been before observed, in the belief of a supreme being, too good and too indolent to be feared or respected, and of numberless inferior

* Golberry.

† The strong line of distinction between the Jallofs and the Mandingoes is here observable. Among the latter we have seen that orators, minstrels, shoemakers, and blacksmiths, are considered as persons of rank, only inferior to the priests and the sovereign; whereas the Jallofs hold such operatives in contempt, and consider their occupations as degrading, or even disgraceful; so that a slave among the latter will not marry a woman descended from a family which has exercised one of these callings. But the Mandingoes are a commercial people, which the Jallofs are not.

deities who, from their power and disposition to injure, must be propitiated with offerings, and rendered innocuous by charms and incantations. The powers of witchcraft are in Africa a constant source of apprehension and distress of mind. To guard against its dreaded effects, a variety of greegrees, fetishes, or amulets, are invented, which promise to the wearer a perfect immunity from danger. These greegrees are of various forms and substance. The Timmances and Bulloms are of opinion, that by possessing a part of the body of a person who has been successful in his undertakings, they will inherit a portion of his good fortune. The Mahommedan greegrees, as we have seen, consist of passages of the Koran, written on paper, in Arabic, and sewed up in red leather cases. Greegrees are sometimes placed in towns to prevent the incursion of evil spirits. These consist of pieces of rag, like streamers attached to the end of a long pole, or a small country axe fixed upon the trunk of a tree, or the bottom of a bottle, or an old pot placed upon the end of a stake; sometimes it is a cannon ball or an old pewter dish laid on the ground; but whatever it may consist of, it would give great offence to remove, or even to touch it. When a person falls sick he is removed from his own residence to another town, at some distance, to be farther from the effects of the witchcraft which is supposed to have been practised upon him. When any person of consequence dies, whether from old age or other natural causes, his death is ascribed to witchcraft, and the friends of the deceased make strict inquiry to discover the witch. Some particular acquaintance is generally suspected of having practised upon the departed in this character, and he is immediately accused of "witch palaver,"* and obliged to submit to a certain ordeal; either a hot iron is applied to his skin, usually that of his hand, previously dipped into a viscous preparation, or he must plunge his arm into a vessel full of boiling palm oil, and take from thence some article placed therein for the purpose: sometimes the priest passes a red hot copper arm-ring over the tongue. In all these cases his being burnt proves his guilt, and of course this will depend on the parties officiating; but in crimes of great magnitude the ordeal, by red water, is usually employed. The process is this: a palaver is held—the accusation and defence are heard—and if a public trial is determined on, the accused signifies to the headman of a certain town, his desire to drink red water there, and if he acquiesces, the accused remains for two or three months in that town, concealed from

* The other most common crimes are "sauce palaver," or cursing; and "woman palaver," or adultery. The word "palaver" seldom refers to speaking—it is of universal application, a universal category—res, eus, hypostasis. "Wet palaver," is rain; "gallows palaver," an execution; "marry-palaver," a wedding; "child palaver," a birth, and so on as in the instances already stated.—*Rankin*.

strangers, till the day of trial comes, where he attends with as many friends as he chooses to bring.

The red water is prepared by infusing the powdered bark of a tree, called talee, which has a sweet taste, and is a strong poison, having powerful emetic and purgative properties. Before being powdered, the bark is publicly exhibited to the large concourse of people assembled, to show that it is genuine. The operator first washes his hands, and then the bark, as well as the mortar and pestle. When powdered, a calabash full is mixed in a large brass pan full of water, and is stirred quickly, until covered with froth like a lather of soap. A number of prayers, ceremonies, &c., are performed at the same time. A little rice, or a piece of kola, is then given to the accused to eat, being the only substance he has been allowed to take for the previous twelve hours. After having repeated a kind of imprecation upon himself, if he be guilty, the red water is administered to him in a calabash, capable of holding about half-a-pint, which he empties eight, ten, or a dozen times successively, as quickly as it can be filled. If emetic effects be produced he must continue drinking until the rice or kola is brought up. If, however, its purgative properties be exhibited, the person is condemned immediately, and the effect is called "spoiling the red water." In some instances the person has died after drinking the fourth calabash, when, of course, his guilt is considered as proved. This barbarous and absurd custom is seldom resorted to by the Mahomedans.

The Jaloffs are very simple in their mode of living. Their diet consists of kous-kous, milk, and fish. Their huts are of a conical shape, constructed of rushes, with a door of straw; but each Jaloff has at least two huts, one for a sleeping-room and the other for a kitchen. Two pieces of cotton cloth, one fastened round the waist and the other thrown over the shoulders, constitute the dress both of men and women. The Jaloffs excel all their neighbours in the manufacture of cotton cloth, spinning the wool to a finer thread, weaving it in a broader loom, and dyeing it of a better colour. The population amounts to about one million.

Our attention is next invited to the Timmanee country, which borders immediately on the territory of Sierra Leone, and the natives of which are in constant intercourse with that colony. It claims a peculiar interest from the English reader, not only on this account, but because a missionary station has recently been established within it, which, of course, is the object of much Christian anxiety and many prayers.

Major Laing, who traversed this country in 1822, computes its extent from east to west at ninety miles, and its breadth at fifty-five. It is bounded on the north by the Mandingo and Limba countries, on the south by Bullom and Kooranko, on the east by Kooranko, and on

the west by the colony of Sierra Leone, part of Bullom, and the ocean. The whole country may be considered as divided into four nominal districts, governed by headmen, who arrogate to themselves the title of king, to which neither their wealth nor power would appear to give them a claim. The Timmanees possess the south side of the river Sierra Leone, together with its branches of Porto-Logo, (so called from running into the Logo country,) and Rokelle, called by them Robung-Dackell, or river of scales. This nation formerly lived at a distance from the sea-coast, but being of a warlike and active disposition, they forced themselves down the river Sierra Leone, among the Bulloms, who formerly possessed the whole region from the river Kisse to the Sherbro. They have, in like manner, forced their way down the river Scarcies.

The character ascribed to them by Major Laing is very unfavourable. He says they are depraved, licentious, indolent, and avaricious, and that the character of a Timmanee man is almost proverbial in Western Africa for knavery and indisposition to honest labour; and of a Timmanee woman, for dishonesty. He also accuses them of inhospitality. From this latter charge, however, Winterbottom, with some qualification, exonerates them. He says, it is usual for them, when a stranger enters one of their towns, to quit their occupations and hasten to shake him by the hand, repeating several times the word *senao*—welcome. It is certain, however, that inhabiting, as they do, the country near the mouth of one of the principal rivers of the coast, which until the last forty or fifty years was one of the chief marts of the slave trade, their moral and social condition has been greatly debased by its pestilential influence. Major Laing was twice offered by mothers their children for sale, at ten bars,* or thirty shillings, a piece, and abused for refusing them; and on one occasion a clamour was raised against him, as being one of those white men who had interfered with the slave trade, and thereby injured the country.

* In the early intercourse of the West Africans with Europeans, the article which attracted the most notice was iron. Its utility in war or husbandry made it preferable to all others; and it soon became the standard of value for all other commodities. Thus a certain quantity of goods appearing equal to a bar of iron, constituted, in the phraseology adopted by traders, a bar of that particular merchandise. Thus, twenty leaves of tobacco were considered a bar; a gallon of rum, a bar; and a fathom of cloth, a bar. A gun, valued at twenty shillings, will sell for six bars. But as the value of various articles must fluctuate according to the supply, the whites have fixed the current value of a single bar at three shillings. Thus, a slave, whose price was fifteen pounds, was said to be worth one hundred bars. There is great diversity along the coast, however, in the value assigned to a bar. A piece of cloth will pass in one place for eight bars, and in another only for six, and in others, again, for ten. This mode of traffic obtains from the Senegal to Cape Mesurado; and as, from its uncertainty, it has often tempted the cupidity of the whites, and the negroes have frequently suffered from the dishonesty practiced against them, it has made the latter exceedingly suspicious and wavering in their dealings.

The religion of the Timmanees is Fetishism, or a belief in witchcraft, which, as we have seen, affects all the West African tribes ; but still exhibits a variety of features in each. At about three or four hundred yards from every Timmanee town there is placed a small house, containing shells, skulls, images, &c., which is supposed to be the residence of the greegrees, who take care of it. These protecting spirits are invoked with the most solemn and earnest devotion by the inhabitants. When a death occurs, a solemn assembly is held in the palaver-house, to inquire into its cause ; and as witchcraft is the one most usually assigned, death by red water or slavery used to be the fate of some unfortunate individual suspected of the crime ; but since the suppression of the slave-trade, the greegree men are generally constrained to charge the event upon the devil, and, consequently, considerable presents of rice, cassada cloth, and palm wine, are deposited in the greegree houses, to appease the evil spirits, and beg they will kill no more people. Charnel-houses, in which the bodies of their kings, or headmen, are deposited, are to be found in their towns. They never open them, but small apertures are left in the walls, through which cooked provisions and palm wine are occasionally introduced ; thus exhibiting some vague notion of life after death. Libations to the dead of meat and drink about to be partaken of, by throwing a portion on the ground, are very usual among the Timmanees. They remind us of a similar custom among the Greeks and Romans. White fowl, sheep, or goats, are considered ominous of good luck, and are, consequently, offered to the evil spirits, to appease them, or to strangers who may be welcome. Particular spots, as hills covered with thick wood, are consecrated to the greegrees, and held sacred.* Any encroachment upon them would incur the most awful punishment from the Purrah, an institution holding the people of this country in bondage to the most abject terror—an account of it will be interesting.

The Purrah is a secret society, of most extensive influence, carrying on its operations with great power and decision, and with the utmost mystery. It originated, according to Major Laing, in the principle of mutual protection from the atrocities of slave-dealers, and the stratagems resorted to by the headmen, to supply the nefarious trade. It is thus a confederation of the people against their rulers, to avoid the last extreme of despotic cruelty ; and it has fully succeeded in setting their tyranny at defiance. Like the secret tribunal of Germany in the middle ages, and the papal inquisition, it carries with it the awe of both civil and religious sanction. The head-quarters of the Purrah are

* The Scripture reader will here remember the divine prohibition, Deut. xvi. 21, and perceive its object, as well as the command, Exod. xxxiv. 13, Deut. vii. 5. How grossly the prohibition was subsequently violated, he need not be reminded, 1 Kings, xiv. 15. The tendency of elevated spots, rendered umbrageous by the foliage of clustered trees, to promote superstitious feelings, is curious, but very common.

situated in the woods: some members are always there, and any man, not a Purrah, daring to approach, is instantly apprehended, and never heard of again. The few who have ever re-appeared had become Purrahs themselves; but the others, it is supposed, are sold into slavery. Single travellers, and sometimes whole parties, imprudent enough to pass from one town to another, without an escort from the body, have been seized and carried away. The Purrahs signify their presence in the woods by screaming and howling, and they sometimes make an irruption by night into the towns, and plunder whatever is within their reach—goats, fowls, clothes, provisions, men, women, and children; and on such occasions the inhabitants remain shut up in their houses, until long after the plunderers retreat. The distinctive marks of a Purrah are two parallel tattooed lines round the middle of the body, inclining upwards in front towards the breast, and meeting in the pit of the stomach. Many of them are said to be men of rank; but they are spoken of with much awe and reserve, through fear of their retributive vengeance. Matters of importance, such as disputes between rival towns, or capital offences, are always settled by the Purrah: they may, therefore, be said to possess the general government of the country. Assemblies of them are convened by signs hung up in various places, which all understand. This mysterious institution extends through various nations. Golberry says no one is admitted into the fraternity until thirty years of age. Each member is obliged to take an oath not to divulge its secrets. Should he violate his oath, or disobey the commands of the grand Purrah, he is quickly put to death, even in the bosom of his family, for at the words, “The grand Purrah decrees his punishment,” every one recedes from him, not daring to interfere with his execution. Each person, on entering the society, lays aside his former name, and assumes a new one; but before being received, he must pass through a noviciate, like that undergone by the Egyptian *initiati*, on being admitted to a knowledge of the mysteries of Isis. The Purrahs are supposed to be sorcerers, and to have intercourse with the devil, through whose help they can do or exact any thing.

Winterbottom mentions another curious institution among the Timmanees, called Bondoo, to which women only are amenable. It is a kind of inquisition, and its object is to extract from the wives and daughters consigned to the care of the Bondoo woman a confession of the crimes of which they have been guilty, or which they have been privy to in others. Death follows their refusal to make a full disclosure; and trial by poison-water ensues upon a suspicion of reserve or prevarication,

The Timmanees have no trades among them, not even the necessary ones of blacksmith and shoemaker, which are common to all West

African countries except this, They, however, manufacture a kind of cloth, which varies in texture in different parts of the country. A small portion of this is, in general, the only covering of both men and women, and frequently even this is dispensed with. The women are fond of decorating their heads, necks, wrists, and ancles with beads.

The kingdom of Ashantee is the most powerful, civilized, and commercial on the coast of Guinea ; yet, until lately, its name had scarcely reached Europeans. In consequence of some aggressions by the Ashantees on the British fort of Cape Coast Castle, hostilities took place between them and the British, in the year 1822, which unfortunately resulted in the fall of Sir Charles M'Carthy, governor of Western Africa, early in 1824. These people obtain an infamous distinction by their practice of immolating human victims at the funerals of all persons of consequence. The present King of Ashantee—a “very amiable and benevolent sovereign,” on the death of his mother, devoted 3,000 victims to “water her grave ;” and these wholesale slaughters take place on the death of the king, and all occasions of consequence. Nothing can exceed the ferocity with which the sovereign carries on his despotic government. Suicides are very common. The religion is the most disgusting Fetishism. In fine, the Ashantees do not seem to have one solitary virtue to recommend them, being bloodthirsty, conceited, insolent, superstitious, and treacherous. “It is painful,” says a certain author, “to write of them ; and horrible to reflect on the many valuable lives that have fallen victims to their cruelty.”

An Ashantee chief, on being appealed to by the Messrs. Lander, regarding the annoyance which they experienced from the number and importunity of his subjects, who crowded around them and intruded into their tents, replied, “Take your gun and kill a few ; you have my full permission to slaughter as many as you please. After you have cut off the heads of some of them, the rest will not molest you.” As a further illustration of Ashantee character, another instance of ferocity may be quoted from Lander.* “Prisoners taken in war, are immolated to appease the manes of the soldiers of Adoilee, slain in battle ; and of all atrocities, the manner in which these wretches are slain is the most barbarous. Each criminal being conducted to the fetish tree, a flask of wine is given him to drink. Whilst he is in the act of swallowing it, a fellow steals imperceptibly behind him with a heavy club, inflicts a

* Richard Lander accompanied Captain Clapperton in his second journey to Africa, in 1825, in the capacity of servant, and attended him with the most exemplary fidelity and affection, in the illness of which he died. He returned to England in 1828, and, undismayed by the dangers he had already encountered, tendered his services to the British government to trace the source of the Niger—the object of so much solicitude. Accompanied by his brother John, he set sail on the 9th January, 1830, and made the important discovery that the Niger empties itself into the Atlantic Ocean, after a course of about 1800 miles.

violent blow on the back of his head, and, as it often happens, dashes out his brains. The senseless being is then taken to the fetish hut, and a calabash or gourd having previously been got ready, the head is severed from the trunk with an axe, and the smoking blood gurgles into it. While this is in hand other wretches, furnished with knives, cut and mangle the body, in order to extract the heart entire from the breast ; which being done, although it be yet warm and quivering with blood, it is presented to the king first, and afterwards to his wives and generals, who always attend at the celebration of these sacrifices ; and his majesty and suite make an incision into it with their teeth, and partaking of the foaming blood which is likewise offered, the heart is exhibited to the surrounding multitude. It is then affixed to the head of a tall spear, and with the calabash of blood and headless body, paraded through the town, followed by hundreds of spear-men, and a dense crowd of people. Whoever may express a wish to bite the heart, or drink the blood, has it immediately presented to him for that purpose, the multitude dancing and singing.* What remains of the heart is flung to the dogs ; and the body, cut in pieces, is stuck on the fetish tree, where it is left till wholly devoured by birds of prey. Besides these butcheries they make a grand sacrifice of human victims once a year under their fetish tree, growing in a wood, a few miles from the city. These are offered to their malevolent demon or spirit of evil, quartered and hung on the gigantic branches of the venerable tree, and their skulls suffered to bleach in the sun around the trunk of it. By accident I had an opportunity of seeing this much-talked-of tree, a day or two only after one of the yearly sacrifices—its enormous branches literally covered with fragments of human bodies, and its majestic trunk surrounded by irregular heaps of hideous skulls, which had been suffered to accumulate for many years previously. Thousands of vultures, which had been scared away by our unwelcome intrusion, were yet hovering round and over their disgusting food, and now and then pouncing fearlessly down upon a half-devoured arm or leg. I stood as if fascinated to the spot by the influence of a torpedo, and stupidly gazed on the ghastly spectacle before me—the huge branches of the fetish tree groaning under their burden of human flesh and bones, and sluggishly waving in consequence of the hasty retreat of the birds of prey ; the intense and almost insufferable heat of a vertical sun ; the intolerable odour of the corrupt corpses ; the heaps of human heads, many of them apparently staring at me from hollows, which had once sparkled with living eyes ; the awful stillness and solitude of the place, disturbed only at intervals, by the frightful screamings of

* It is said that after Sir Charles McCarthy fell in the skirmish with the Ashantees, the chiefs ate his heart, that they might imbibe his valour, and that his dried flesh and bones were divided among the people, as charms to inspire courage.

voracious vultures, as they flapped their sable wings almost in my face—all tended to overpower me. My heart sickened within my bosom; a dimness came over my eyes; an inexpressible quivering agitated my whole frame; my legs refused to support me; and turning my head I fell senseless into the arms of Jowdie, my faithful slave.”* The principal officers and governors are bound to accompany the king to the other world; and, accordingly, even in the bloom of youth and vigour, they often hold their lives on the frail tenure of that of an old man about to step into the grave. When the king dies his brothers, sons, and nephews, affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their muskets and fire promiscuously among the crowd. The rites practised at the death of persons of consequence are called customs; and the human victim, intended for sacrifice at these customs, is first tortured in the most cruel way before he is put to death. “His hands are pinioned behind him—a knife is passed through his cheeks, to which his lips are noosed like the figure of 8; one ear is cut off and carried before him; the other hangs to his head by a small bit of skin; several gashes are inflicted on his back, and a knife is thrust under each shoulder-blade. He is led with a cord, passed through his nose, by men disfigured with immense caps of shaggy black skins, and drums beat before him.”† The red water ordeal is also practised among the Ashantees, with all its barbarous accompaniments of cruelty and murder. In fine, all travellers who have come into contact with these people, concur in their testimony to the utter disregard of human life that exhibits itself amongst them, and the butcheries that are daily practised under the name of religion.‡ Barbaric pomp and glitter are strangely blended with their atrocities—gold being so plentiful, as to be less valued than iron. On this subject an extract from Bowditch’s account of the introduction of the ambassadors to the king of Ashantee will be interesting:—

“The king’s messengers, with gold breastplates, made way for us, and we commenced our round, preceded by the canes and the English flag. We stopped to take the hand of every Caboceer, which, as their household suites occupied several paces in advance, delayed us long enough to distinguish some of the ornaments in the general blaze of splendour and ostentation. The Caboceers, as did their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashantee clothes, of extravagant price,

* Lander, pp. 260—268.

† Bowditch. In April, 1817, Messrs. James Bowditch, Tedlie, and Hutchinson, were dispatched from the British fort of Cape Coast Castle on an embassy to Sai Tootoo Quamina, king of the Ashantees, who had attacked, and nearly extirpated, the Fantees, a people friendly to us, and even threatened to attack our forts. On the 19th May the embassy entered Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee.

‡ Dupuis, in his Journal of a residence in Ashantee, says he was informed by eye-witnesses, that in the invasion and conquest of Gamen, by the present king, 10,000 old men, women, and children, were put to death by tortures the most revolting to humanity.

from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them, in all the varieties of colour, as well as pattern : they were of incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulder exactly as a Roman toga. A small silk fillet generally encircled their temples, and many gold necklaces, intricately wrought, suspended Moorish charms, dearly purchased, and inclosed in small square cases of gold, silver, and curious embroidery. Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel, entirely of Accra beads : a band of gold and beads encircled the knee, from which several strings of the same depended : small circles of gold, like guineas, rings, and casts of animals, were strung round their ancles : their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white leather : manillas and rude lumps of rock gold hung from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden, as to be supported on the heads of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves' and rams' heads, as large as life, cast in gold, were suspended from their gold-handled swords, which were held around them in great numbers. The blades were shaped like round bills ; the sheaths of leopard skin, or the skull of a fish, like shagreen. The war-caps of eagles' feathers nodded in the rear, and large fans of the wing-feathers of the ostrich played round the dignitaries. Immediately behind their chairs, which were of a black wood, almost covered with inlays of ivory and gold embossment, stood their handsomest youths, with corslets of leopard's skin, covered with gold, cockle-shells, and stuck full of small knives, sheathed in gold and silver, and the handles of blue agate : cartouch-boxes of elephants' hide hung below : a large sword was fixed behind the left shoulder ; and silk scarfs and horses' tails, generally white, streamed from the arms and waistcloth. Their long Danish muskets had broad rims of gold at small distances, and the stocks were ornamented with shells. Finely-grown girls stood behind the seats of some, with silver basins. Their stools, of the most curious carved-work, and generally with two large bells attached to them, were conspicuously placed on the heads of favourites, and crowds of small boys were seated around, flourishing elephants' tails curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground close to these ; their caps were of the skin of the pangolin and leopard, their tails hanging down behind ; their cartouch-belts, composed of small gourds, which held the charges, and covered with leopard's skin, were embossed with red shells and small brass bells, thickly hung to them. Iron chains and collars dignified the most daring, who were prouder of them than of gold. Their muskets had rests affixed of leopard's skin, and the locks a covering of the same. The sides of their faces were curiously painted in long white streaks, and their arms also striped, having the appearance of armour. . . . The prolonged flourishes of the horn, a deafening tumult of drums, and the fuller concert of the intervals, announced that we were approaching the king ; we were already passing the principal officers of his household, who were all surrounded by a retinue and splendour, which indicated the importance of their offices. Among them, however, was the executioner, a man of immense size, who wore a massy gold hatchet on his breast, and with the execution-stool held before him, imbrued in blood.

"A delay of some minutes, while we were severally permitted to kiss the king's hand, afforded us a perfect view of him. His deportment first excited my attention, for native dignity in princes, whom we may call barbarous, was a novel spectacle. His manners were majestic, yet courteous, and he did not allow his surprise to beguile him a moment of the composure of the monarch. He appeared to be about thirty-eight years of age, inclined to corpulence, and of a benevolent countenance. He wore a fillet of Aggry, or Accra beads, round his temples, a necklace of gold cockspur shells, strung by their largest ends, and over his right shoulder a red silk

cord, suspending three sappies encased in gold. His bracelets were the richest mixture of beads and gold, and his fingers covered with rings. His cloth, or lam-ber, was of dark green silk. A pointed diadem was elegantly painted in white on his forehead, also a pattern resembling an epaulette on each shoulder, and an ornament like a full-blown rose, one leaf rising above another, until it covered his whole breast. His knee-bands were of Accra beads, and his ankle-strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship—small drums, sonkos, swords, stools, guns, and birds, clustered together. His sandals, of a soft white leather, were embossed across the instep band with small gold and silver cases of sappies. He was seated in a low chair, richly ornamented with gold, and wore a pair of gold castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapped to enforce silence."

The Dahomians predominate along what is called the slave coast, and in the interior, to the depth of about 200 miles. Their rule is equal in barbarity to that of the Ashantees. "The general character of the Dahomians," says Dalziel, "is marked by a mixture of ferocity and politeness: the former appears in their treatment of their enemies, and in the celebration of those 'customs' which have been sanctioned by the immemorial practice of past ages, under the idea of performing a grateful oblation to the deceased: the latter they possess above all African nations with whom we have hitherto had any intercourse—this being the country where strangers are least exposed to insults, and where it is easy to reside in security and tranquillity." Fetishism is practised here, with all its gross and absurd superstitions, and the divinity of Dahomy is a tiger. Human sacrifices are common here as in Ashantee. "In the year 1800," says Mr. Meredith, "when a king of Apollonia died, one or two human beings were sacrificed every Saturday, until the grand ceremony took place, which did not happen till six months after his decease. On that occasion upwards of fifty persons were sacrificed, and two of his youngest wives were put into the grave. The lid of the coffin was covered with human blood and gold dust sprinkled upon it, and much gold and rich clothes were deposited in the grave." Human skulls constitute the favourite ornaments of the palaces and temples, and the king is said to have his sleeping apartment paved with them. The blood of his victims is mixed with clay, to build temples in honour of deceased monarchs. The Dahomians are ingenious mechanics: they manufacture a very good species of cloth, and as workers in iron and gold, are far from contemptible. The monarch is despotic in the most extreme sense of the term, being regarded and treated as a divinity. The greatest lords in approaching him, throw themselves flat on the ground, and roll their heads in the dust. It is a crime to suppose that he eats, drinks, sleeps, or performs any human function, and in his service the Dahomian rushes to battle with the wildest self-devotion and the most daring intrepidity. Cowries a species of small shell, found on the coast of the Maldive islands, form the currency of this

kingdom. Of these, two thousand make a *macuta*, or twenty pence sterling.*

Other tribes, of a less prominent character, such as the Soosoos, Bulloms, and Bagoes, will, necessarily, come under notice when we enter on the labours of the Church Missionary Society, so that they may be omitted here. Much of what has been said, will be found applicable to them and all the negro population of Africa; so that the Christian philanthropist, who has read this chapter, sees before him a large portion of the field of missionary enterprise into which he is invited—one still darker shade is yet to be added to the picture, and some idea of its appalling outlines may then be formed. Slavery and the slave trade cannot, on this account, be omitted from our introductory sketch, and, therefore, before retiring from the contemplation of Africa as she is, to consider the instrumentality employed to make her what she ought to be, we must linger a while still amid the tears and groans of her wretched offspring, to inquire into the history of this deadliest engine of woe and death that human villainy has ever invented to gratify the malice of the arch fiend against mankind.

* The monetary system of the negro countries, (as has already been shown in the note explaining the traffic by bars,) is very imperfect: for the shell currency, of which it requires several thousands to make up a pound sterling, must be extremely inconvenient. The only metallic form appears in Loggun, where it consists of rude bars of iron, and Ashantee, where gold-dust forms the currency. In Bornou and several countries on the coast, cloth, mats, or some other article in general demand, is made the common measure of value.—*Murray*.

HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

THE term slavery, strange to say, in its original acceptation, signifies glory, and seems to have arrived at its present use by denoting one of the results of successful barbaric warfare ; the capture and subsequent enslavement of the conquered, the most illustrious trophy which, according to the laws of fallen pride and godless ambition, could grace the triumphs of the brave. Unfortunately, the idea it expresses is but too well known in our own times, notwithstanding the discord which the practice of it makes with the angelic hymn that ushered in the religion of peace and good-will, professed by those who introduced it, with atrocities yet unheard of, into the continent of Africa.

The despotic right of bondage assumed by man over his weaker brother is of very ancient date. Some suppose they discover an intimation of it in the brief mention which the sacred Scriptures make of Noah's immediate family ; and the unenviable distinction of having originated slavery is conferred upon Nimrod, his great grandson, who is described "as a mighty one in the earth," and "a mighty hunter before the Lord" (Gen. x. 8, 9) ; the words "before the Lord," representing, not his submission, but his opposition to the will of Jehovah, in the same sense as the words "sinners before the Lord"—(Gen. viii. 13) ; and this language is supposed to imply that he hunted down not only beasts, but men, especially when it is considered that he was a great conqueror, and founded the city of Babylon, which he made his royal residence, taking, of course, numerous captives, and compelling them to labour at the works in which he was engaged. However this may have been, we know that "men-servants and maid-servants" are enumerated among Abraham's property, (Gen. xii. 16) ; and they are afterwards described as either "born in his house, or bought with his money" (Gen. xvii. 13), which plainly informs us of their condition ; but in these patriarchal times we may suppose the

servants were considered as members of the family, and treated with corresponding tenderness, and we know they were often employed upon the most important and confidential business, (see Gen. xxiv. 2, &c.) The case of "Joseph who was sold for a servant," (Ps. cv. 17,) is familiar, and illustrates the custom of trafficking in human beings, then fully established among the descendants of Ishmael. Following the course of Scripture narration, we find the whole posterity of Jacob groaning by reason of their bondage in Egypt, and presenting slavery to us under a type more rigorous than any we had yet discovered. The recollection of the severities then endured was subsequently appealed to by the Almighty, as an argument in favour of the kindness and compassion which the children of Israel should exercise one towards another; and while slavery was permitted by the law of Moses, many wise and salutary laws were enacted to regulate the conduct of masters to their slaves (see Ex. xxi., Lev. xxv., Deut. xv.) Hebrew slaves were of several sorts: strangers, either bought or taken in war, and these their masters kept, exchanged, sold, or disposed of as their own goods (Lev. xxv. 44, 45, &c.); Hebrews, who either from poverty sold themselves, (Lev. xxv. 39,) or who were sold by their parents (Ex. xxi. 7); insolvent debtors, delivered over to their creditors (2 Kings, iv. 1); thieves, not able to make restitution of their thefts (Ex. xxii. 3); prisoners taken in war (1 Sam. xvii. 9); persons stolen and sold as slaves, like Joseph (Gen. xl. 15); Hebrews redeemed from Gentiles, who might be sold to another Israelite.* The obligation, however, to manumit their brethren at certain seasons, together with the divine injunctions against severity towards them while in a state of servitude, sufficiently intimated to the Israelites that they were dear to Him who is no respecter of persons, and who in allowing His people to adopt the general custom, took care that they should not abuse the power with which they were entrusted.

We are not at all astonished that slavery existed in heathen countries, from the remotest antiquity, nor that it was accompanied even among the most civilized people, with the keenest cruelties and injustice. In Greece, where liberty was so highly prized, slavery assumed the most painful and humiliating features. The helots, inhabitants of a town, conquered by the Spartans, have given a name to the most abject condition to which man can be reduced. Deprived of every social privilege, and denied every means of moral or intellectual improvement, they were often compelled to exhibit the most disgusting features of moral deformity to aggravate the contempt and abhorrence which their condition excited in the minds of the Spartan youth, who were henceforth to consider that slavery and freedom were only other names for

* Calmet.

vice and virtue, and that it would be as absurd to expect any thing good or estimable from the one state, as it would be degrading to admit any thing dishonourable in the other. Hence, cruelty to the slave only marked an abhorrence of what was base, and thus they were worked beyond their strength, beaten, starved, and even murdered with impunity. They could bear legal testimony neither for themselves nor others, and if employed as witnesses at all, their evidence was extracted by torture. Friendships between them were strictly forbidden; and in neither dress, name, nor religion, were they permitted to assimilate to their despotic masters, unless when, in the last case, some painful sacrifice was demanded on the part of a free citizen, who satisfied his conscience by inflicting the expiatory sufferings on the body of his slave. Roman slavery was no less brutal and degrading. Captives, taken by the Romans in war, were reduced to this condition, and were often preserved from butchery in the field, that they might minister to the amusement of the people in the amphitheatre—contending for life, either with each other as gladiators, or with wild beasts. Roman slaves were not considered as persons, but things, and were deprived of all rights of citizenship; not being admitted as evidence in a court of justice, nor into the army as soldiers; and neither having power to inherit property, nor make a will. Their masters had complete authority over their persons, either to scourge or put them to death; and if he should happen to be killed in his own house, and the murderer was not discovered, all his slaves might be put to death. The mode of death for a slave, as the most painful and degrading, was crucifixion—the method employed in the case of Him who “took upon Him the form of a servant,” (or slave), and who “humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death—even the death of the cross.”—(Phil. ii. 7, 8). Roman slavery had, however, its redeeming points; its victims could acquire property, and, in time, purchase their freedom. Captives, taken in war, had this option at the end of six years. At a certain season in the year, for five days, called saturnalia, slaves enjoyed the utmost freedom, and were waited on by their masters. The ignominy of slavery, too, was, in some degree diminished, by the fact that a father had exactly the same power over his children as he had over his slaves: he could sell them, or even put them to death; and in other respects they were no better off than slaves.

We might extend our observations, on this painful subject, to other nations of heathen antiquity, but these will suffice to prove that slavery is a deadly plant, that springs spontaneously from the rank corruption of our fallen nature, and, as its satanic consequences show, could never have reared its head amid the lovely flowers of an Eden world, had no withering curse blighted its fertility, and substituted thorns and briars for the myrtle and the rose.

The introduction of the feudal or feodal* system into Europe from Germany, where it had long existed, upon the dismemberment of the Roman empire, originated a species of slavery, called villainage, which affected the natives of the different countries invaded and occupied by the Northern barbarians, who, for nearly two centuries, poured down upon the most fertile and civilized portions of Europe, and at length made themselves masters of the whole Roman empire, dividing the conquered lands among themselves and their retainers, and reducing the original inhabitants to a state of the most degrading vassallage, and dealing with them, in their sales and transfers of land, in the same manner as with the cattle or other property attached to the soil.

Although the invaders quickly embraced Christianity, the religion of the conquered, it had at the period so far degenerated from its original purity, as but little to subdue the ferocity of the new converts, or affect their notions on the subject of the relative duties which man owes to his fellow-man; and this is exhibited in their treatment of those wretched beings whom they had reduced to slavery. They claimed over them an absolute power of life and death. They admitted their testimony only under the agony of the rack. They prohibited marriages among them. No property was allowed them in any thing they possessed; and, consequently, at their death, it remained with their masters. Such was the condition of the predial slave—himself, his children, and all that belonged to him were at the disposal of another. In England, parents commonly sold their children—frequently to Romans, who conveyed them to Rome where they were publicly exposed for sale, as the English historian will remember, from the circumstance of the beauty of the Saxon children in the Roman market-place attracting the attention of Gregory, afterwards Bishop of Rome, which proved the occasion of the first Christian mission to England from that church. Slavery in England, however, was from time to time mitigated by wise and benevolent enactments, and in A. D. 1102, the unnatural traffic was prohibited by a special canon of council. To the honour of Ireland, into which country numbers of English slaves had been sold, it must be mentioned, that in the year 1172, when the inhabitants were themselves suffering from the English invasion, under Henry II., they, in a national synod, not only put an end to the traffic, but upon Christian principles emancipated every slave in the kingdom. This was among the last acts which emanated from that pure faith held and cherished in Ireland before Henry had handed the country over to the tender mercies of the pope, and all the debasing superstitions of Romanism; from which epoch a slavery of the grossest kind, even the galling

* This word comes from the Saxon word *fe*, a reward, and *ode*, a possession, as representing lands held on condition of service by the occupier.

yoke of ecclesiastical despotism has flourished there.* After various modifications in the laws affecting slaves in England, by which their condition was gradually ameliorated, John Wickliffe, the "morning star of the Reformation," seems, by his enlightened exertions in the cause of the unhappy slave, and his influence with men in power perseveringly exercised, to have paved the way for the total abandonment of the unchristian system; and about the era of the Reformation it had altogether ceased; so must this hell-born monster ever flit before the light which the sun of righteousness imparts!

The history of Negro slavery occupies one of the darkest pages in the records of this world. Individual tyrants, who have exemplified by their career of blood and suffering the fiendish disposition which satan has infused into our fallen nature, to find pleasure in the exercise of an ability to afflict, are embalmed in the universal execration of their distinguished baseness; but their unenviable celebrity retires into the shade before the sublime villainy of whole Christian communities, who claimed a right over the destinies of a continent, and who proceeded to the daring impiety of extracting a revenue from the death and agonies of annually-slaughtered thousands of its inhabitants. Individual scourges of the human race have butchered their victims under the influence of ungoverned passion, but it was reserved for slave-traffickers to turn the blood and tears of their fellow-creatures to pecuniary account, and prosecute their daily murders, not to gratify the wild spirit of hatred or revenge, but to feed the voracious craving of a cool and calculating avarice.

All the horrors of European† slave merchandize owe their birth to the Portuguese, by whom, as we have seen, the western coast of Africa, was discovered about the middle of the fifteenth century.

* Pope Adrian III., an Englishman by birth, issued a bull in the year 1156, exhorting Henry II. (whose ambitious designs had led him to apply to Rome for a grant of the island) to invade Ireland, for the purpose of extirpating the vice and wickedness of the natives, and to oblige them to pay yearly, from every house, a penny to the see of Rome; in consideration of which he gave him entire right and authority over the island, commanding all the inhabitants to obey him as their sovereign, and expressing, at the same time, his conviction that Henry's designs upon Ireland were dictated by a desire to enlarge the Church of God on earth, and to increase the number of his saints and elect in heaven. Previous to this the Irish had maintained among them the doctrines and discipline introduced by the first preachers of the Gospel in Ireland, Palladius and Patrick, and they had never acknowledged any subjection to the see of Rome.

† In the days of ancient Rome, a brisk trade in slaves was carried on from the coast of Africa, the Euxine Sea, Syria, and Asia Minor. The island of Delos, Strabo tells us, was a great mart for slaves, imported thither by the Cilician pirates. The Illyrians procured numerous slaves for the Italian market, whom they bought or stole from the barbarous tribes in their neighbourhood. Thrace was the parent country of numerous slaves, and the custom of parents selling their offspring was an ancient one among the Thracian tribes: but the chief supply of slaves was derived from Asia and Africa. The Phœnicians, Etruscans, Cretans, Cilicians, Rhodians, and other maritime states, had the character of being man-stealers.

Gonzales, one of the successful navigators at that period, who has been already mentioned as the discoverer of Cape Verd, in the year 1440, seized some Moors near Cape Bojador, and brought them to Portugal ; but being, two years after, commanded by Prince Henry to restore them to their own land, he landed them at a place called Rio del Oro, a little south of Bojador, and received from the Moors in exchange a quantity of gold dust and ten negro slaves, with which he returned to Portugal. Gonzales having disposed of his cargo to advantage, a trade was forthwith established between the Portuguese and Moors, in the wretched captives whom the latter had seized upon in their incursions into the neighbouring territories, and of whom they were, no doubt, well pleased to dispose with profit to themselves.

The discovery of America by Columbus, at the close of the fifteenth century, gave sudden maturity to this odious trade. We have seen that Columbus, in consequence of his search after a west passage to India, when he encountered the new continent, gave the name of West Indies to the islands which he first discovered. Of these, Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, also called Hayti by the natives, which is the second largest of the Antilles group, was taken possession of by Columbus, in 1492, in the names of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain. Here was established the first Spanish-American colony. The aborigines were described by Columbus as most simple, generous, and peaceable, freely contributing to the wants of the new comers, and treating them with every kindness. We may judge of the return made by the Romish Christians from the fact, that in little more than fifty years, out of a population of above 2,000,000, only 150 natives were to be found on the island ; and every trace of them has long since vanished. Instigated by an insatiable thirst for the gold which the island was found to contain, the Spaniards obliged the wretched inhabitants, by a series of the most shocking barbarities, to work in the mines which yielded the precious ore ; until, worn out with toil, and sinking beneath unheard of cruelties, the miserable race dwindled away, and by death alone eluded the savage exactions of their tyrants.

The thirst for gold continuing, while the supply of labourers in the mines began to fail, the Portuguese, in 1503, sent a few African slaves to obviate any deficiency that might occur ; and, in 1511, the King of Spain* sanctioned a larger supply from the African coast. The superior produce, however, of the mines of Mexico and Peru, in South America, having somewhat diverted attention from those of Hispaniola, and the poor Africans being found rather unmanageable as miners, their services were transferred from the hills to the plains, where they were soon found useful in cultivating the soil, and obtaining from it those riches of the

* Ferdinand V.

vegetable world, which have proved not less valuable than any mineral production which it could supply.

In 1517 the slave trade was regularly established in Spain, and Charles V. granted to Lebresa, his favourite Fleming, the exclusive privilege of importing, annually, 4,000 slaves, which the latter sold for 25,000 ducats, to the Genoese merchants, who organized a regular slave trade between Africa and America. Charles, however, soon repented of the part he had taken in this atrocious system ; and by an order made in 1542, he set all the slaves, in his West Indian possessions, free ;* but upon his retiring into a monastery in 1555, and the succession of his son and brother to his dominions ; the inhuman traffic was resumed with all its painful accompaniments. It should, if possible, increase our abhorrence of this traffic, to know that religion lent its encouragement to those by whom it was maintained. The Portuguese missionaries in Africa, and the ecclesiastics at home, ceased not to represent to the civil powers the advantages conferred upon true religion, by the transportation of the negroes from Africa, where they obstinately cherished their native superstitions, to other countries ; thus affording greater facilities for their conversion in their separation from old associations, and the ready application of a wholesome measure of constraint on their inclinations. Such reasonings as these prevailed upon Louis XIII. of France, who was much opposed to the trade, to sanction its continuance.

Sir John Hawkins, an able naval commander, is represented as the first English officer who engaged in the barter and sale of human beings. He undertook three expeditions to the coast of Africa, for the seizure and purchase of slaves, to be afterwards disposed of in the West Indies. His first voyage commenced in October, 1562 ; and having stopped at Teneriffe for refreshments, he sailed for Sierra Leone, called Tegarín by the natives, and there got into his possession, by the sword and other means, upwards of 300 negroes, besides several commodities which that country affords, with which he sailed to Hispaniola, where, with considerable trouble from the Spaniards, he eventually disposed of his cargo ; and having loaded his ship in return, with hides, ginger, sugar, and a good quantity of pearls, he returned to England in September, 1563. This voyage has left an indelible stain on our national and Christian character ; but many years have not elapsed when it was scarcely suspected to affect either, and such voyages were undertaken and chronicled without a blush. From a

* To the honour of Cardinal Ximenes, prime minister to Charles V., it must be mentioned, that he took every occasion to discountenance this hateful traffic, and laboured with great earnestness and considerable success, to influence the mind of his imperial master against it.

work, entitled “Lives of the Admirals,”* of a hundred years ago, we may extract the following account of Sir John Hawkins’s first attempt at man-stealing as an example. “In the spring of the year 1562, he formed the design of his first famous voyage, advantageous to himself and most of his proprietors, but more so in its consequences to his country. In several trips to the Canaries, where, by his *tenderness and humanity*, he had made himself much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the slave trade, and of the mighty profit obtained by the sale of negroes in the West Indies. After due consideration, he resolved to attempt somewhat in this way, and to raise a subscription amongst his friends (the greatest traders in the city of London) for opening a new trade, first to Guinea for slaves, and then to Hispaniola, St. John de Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands, for sugars, hides, silver, &c. Upon his representation of the affair, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, Mr. Bromfield, and Mr. Gunson, whose daughter Mr. Hawkins married, readily joined in the undertaking. At their expense a little fleet was prepared, composed of the following ships:—the Solomon, of the burthen of 120 tons, in which went Mr. Hawkins himself; the Swallow, of 100 tons, commanded by Captain Thomas Hampton; and a bark of 40 tons, called the Jonas, on board of which there were one hundred men in all. With this squadron he sailed from England, in the month of October, 1562, and in his course first touched at Teneriffe, sailed thence to the coast of Guinea, where having, by force or purchase, acquired three hundred negro slaves, he sailed directly to Hispaniola, and making there a large profit, he returned safe into England, in the month of September, 1563.†

In 1564 he entered upon the second of these nefarious expeditions, with a larger force of men and shipping. In this he lost some of his men, but obtained a larger number of negroes, for which he found a ready market, and obtained a high price. His third expedition was undertaken in 1567. He now commanded two of the Queen’s (Elizabeth) ships, and four belonging to private owners, and having torn 400

* By John Campbell, Esq., 1748.

† Campbell, in a note, refers the reader to a work called “Hakluyt’s Voyages,” vol. III. p. 500:—To form an idea of the indurating effects of this odious trade, we need go no farther than the case of the Rev. John Newton, the distinguished author of the *Cardiphonia*, *Olney Hymns*, &c. Even after his conversion to God, from a life of sin and moral depravity, during which he made several voyages in the slave trade, and when he had become master of a vessel, he pursued this godless traffic with great zeal and success on his own account—“it seeming,” says his biographer, “from the account he gives, that he had not had the least scruple as to the lawfulness of the slave trade. He regarded it as the appointment of Providence—he considered this employment as respectable and profitable; yet he could not help thinking himself a sort of gaoler, and was sometimes shocked with an employment so conversant with chains, bolts, and shackles.” His eyes, however, were afterwards fully opened to all the horrors of the system, and he became one of the most strenuous advocates of negro emancipation, both from the pulpit and through the press.

negroes from their homes, he proceeded to Spanish America ; but the government of Rio de la Hacha refusing to trade with him, he landed and took the town, although there was then peace between England and Spain, and disposed of the greater part of his slaves there, and the rest at Carthagená. But the vengeance of the Almighty seems to have overtaken him ; for, having taken refuge from a storm in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the Bay of Mexico, he was there attacked by a Spanish fleet, which, upon strong assurances of friendship, he had permitted to enter, and the English squadron being far inferior in ships and men, after a terrible conflict, was entirely defeated, and Hawkins obliged to fly, with only one ship and a bark of fifty tons ; and, finding his provisions begin to fail, to land half of his men in a creek, and proceed home without them. It appears a rather curious illustration of the refinement of this Augustan era, as it has been called, that an armorial distinction was invented for this man, who fixed so foul a blot on the escutcheon of his country, representing the perfidious work in which he had been engaged. A crest of arms was granted to him by patent, consisting of a demi-Moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord. His posterity, if any, should repudiate the inhuman symbol. In justice, however, to Queen Elizabeth, it must be mentioned, that she strongly objected to the traffic, and remonstrated against it ; but being informed that none were transported from Africa, but those who voluntarily offered themselves as labourers, she seems to have contented herself with issuing some stringent injunctions against the employment of force, with which those interested in the trade promised—we have seen how falsely—to comply.

The Island of Jamaica having been taken from the Spaniards by Admiral Penn and General Venables, during the Protectorate of Cromwell ; and the English having formed settlements in others of the West India Islands, which were either originally occupied by them, or captured in war during the reigns of James I., Charles I., and Charles II., the slave trade was rigorously pursued for the supply of labourers on the plantations, which were commenced in every island, and in which British capital and enterprise began to be largely embarked. So extensively was England soon after engaged in this inhuman trade, that, as Edwards in his history of the West Indies informs us, having—as he says, in his hands, lists of all the entries—the total import of slaves into all the British colonies, from 1680 to 1786, may be put down at 2,130,000. The number imported into Jamaica alone, from 1700 to 1786, was 610,000. In the year in which he writes (1793), he says the number exported from Africa by all the European powers was 74,000, of which 38,000 were exported by the British. In one year (1771) there sailed from England to Africa 192 ships, provided for the accommodation of 47,146 negroes.

To come nearer to our own times, Sir Fowell Buxton, in his valuable work on the slave trade and its remedy, has calculated from the most irresistible sources of information, that the number of slaves imported annually into Brazil, in South America, amounts to 78,331 ; and into Cuba, the largest of the West India islands, and, except Porto Rico, the only Spanish possession in the West Indies, 60,000. Besides these, he calculates the number rescued annually from slave ships on their way to either of these settlements at 8,294 ; and of those who are lost from various casualties on the passage, such as shipwreck, suicide, (which is very common,) or being thrown into the sea during a chase, a failure of provisions or water, he supposes the number would reach at least 3,375 ; thus making a total of 150,000 human beings, who, he says, are annually conveyed from Africa across the Atlantic, and sold for slaves. This, however, is a very low estimate. Captain Maclean, for several years governor of Cape Coast Castle, on the gold coast, says, " In the year 1834, I have every reason to believe that the number of slaves carried off from the Bights of Benin and Biafra amounted to 140,000;" and this draft was only from the part of the coast which fell under his own immediate observation. In the year 1838, he found there were on the same coast 200 slave vessels under Portuguese colours. Mr. M'Queen, a gentleman who has visited the slave colonies, and made his calculations on the spot, rates the slave trade of Brazil annually at 90,000, and that of Cuba and Porto Rico at 100,000, which, together with 6,146 actually captured in 1837, make a total of 196,146. There is another method of calculating, which raises the estimate still higher ; that by the quantity and value of goods manufactured expressly and exclusively to be bartered for slaves. The value of Manchester cottons manufactured in 1836, exclusively for the slave trade, and suited only to that, was £250,000 ; while the amount of goods in the same year intended for the legitimate trade to Africa was only £150,000. Now, as each slave averages £4 for his cost price, £250,000 purchased in the above year 62,500 slaves ; but as it is fully ascertained that only one-third of the slaves are obtained by barter, we shall have 187,500 according to this standard ; but to these must be added the product of goods supplied from Glasgow, ammunition and fire-arms, manufactured largely for the slave trade alone, American arms and goods, and East India goods, which are also employed ; all which may be allowed to raise the above total to 250,000. Such is the share which those who call themselves Christians take in this nefarious trade. It is not surprising that the Mahommedans lend their help to afflict the poor Africans ; they have slave markets at Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and the borders of Asia, and their trade is divided into that from the eastern coast of Africa, and the desert or caravan trade, by which the slaves

are conveyed from the interior across the great desert to Barbary, Egypt, and even Turkey, Arabia, Syria, Persia, and Bokhara. It is supposed that by the former, or coast trade, Africa is drained of 30,000 of her inhabitants annually, and by the latter of at least 20,000, making 50,000 in all, to be added to the 250,000 victims of the Christian trade as above stated.

But how is this annual drainage to be supported—or is it possible that it can go on without opposition from the people of Africa, whose country is thus outraged, and its social rights so grossly abused? This inquiry conducts us to a view of the machinery by which this diabolical system is worked, and by which its wickedness is aggravated a thousand-fold. The internal convulsion of this unhappy continent is the main-spring of the slave trade. The most cruel wars are unceasingly waged among the numerous petty states in the interior, simply for the purpose of supplying slaves for this traffic, and the ingenuity of the slave dealers, on the coast, is continually exercised to foment and multiply them; knowing that their trade cannot be otherwise carried on. Every African traveller has referred to this fact. Their account is, that when slave ships are known to be on the coast waiting for their cargoes, a series of the most barbarous incursions of one tribe, or village, against another, immediately commences; the villages are attacked in the night; if considered expedient, they are set on fire to increase the confusion, and the wretched inhabitants, as they are flying naked from the flames, are seized and carried into slavery. One of the strongest inducements with the petty kings to commit these acts of treachery and blood, is the offer of ardent spirits, with which the slaves are supplied for the purpose; this, and the love of gain, are found sufficient to overcome all the scruples of justice, or even of affection. Princes will sacrifice their subjects, and even parents their children, at the instigation of the European trader. Park tells us that the slaves sold on the coast, to the traders, are of two kinds, such as were slaves from their birth, having been born of enslaved mothers; and these, he says, outnumber the free population of Africa, in the proportion of three to one; and those who were born free, but who owe their enslavement to one or other of these four causes—captivity in war, famine, insolvency, crime. The first, he says, is by far the most productive source. African wars are of two kinds—those called *killi*, that is, a “calling out,” because they are with notice and previous declaration; and those called *tegria*, “plundering or stealing,” because, without any cause of hostility being assigned, or notice given, a predatory excursion is undertaken; towns and villages are surprised and plundered; and the inhabitants butchered, or carried away for sale as slaves. Famines sometimes occur, when many poor creatures sell their liberty for bread. Insolvency to pay a debt contracted is a very fruitful source of

slavery, as contracts are very common, and the disability to fulfil them not unfrequent. The crimes for which slavery is the punishment, are murder, adultery, and witchcraft; the last never failing as a cause of offence, and consequent enslavement.

Major Denham, who, with Lieutenant (afterwards captain) Clapper-ton, was sent out by the British government on an expedition of African discovery in 1821, alludes frequently, in his "Travels," to the system of slave-hunting in the interior, for the supply of the dealers on the coast. In one place, speaking of an alliance between the Sheik of Bonroo and the Sultan of Mandara, he says—"This treaty of alliance was confirmed by the sheik's receiving in marriage the daughter of the sultan; and the marriage portion was to be the produce of an immediate expedition into the Kerdy country, by the united forces of these allies. The results were as favourable as the most savage confederacy could have anticipated—three thousand unfortunate wretches were dragged from their native wilds, and sold to perpetual slavery, while probably double that number were sacrificed to obtain them."

One more example must be given; it is from the pen of Mr. Ashmun, agent of the American Colonial Society, writing to the Directors from Siberia in 1823:—"King Boatswaine, our most powerful supporter and steady friend among the natives, (so he has uniformly shown himself), received a quantity of goods on trust from a French slaver, for which he stipulated to pay young slaves. He makes it a point of honour to be punctual in his engagements. The time was at hand when he expected the return of the slaver, and he had not the slaves. Looking around on the peaceable tribes about him, for his victims he singled out the Queahs, a small agricultural and trading people, of most inoffensive character. His warriors were skilfully distributed to the different hamlets, and making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping occupants in the dead of the night, accomplished, without difficulty or resistance, in one hour, the annihilation of the whole tribe; every adult, man and woman, was murdered—every hut fired! Very young children generally shared the fate of their parents; the boys and girls alone were reserved to pay the Frenchman."

On the march from the places where they are captured, to the coast, the slaves suffer the most cruel torments from fatigue, heat, hunger, and thirst. Park tells us that they are commonly secured by putting the right leg of one, and left of another into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the neck, with a strong pair of twisted thong; and in the night an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain is passed around their necks. In this painful and degraded manner they are obliged to travel five hundred, a thousand, or even

three thousand miles, according to the distance to the coast, from the village or house from which they are plundered. Females or feeble persons, overcome with fatigue, often lag behind, or drop down unable to proceed, but the only commiseration they receive is repeated strokes of the lash, until they rise, and they are then dragged or pushed along. "None of the owners ever move without their whips, which are in constant use. Drinking too much water, bringing too little wood, or falling asleep before the cooking was finished, are considered nearly capital crimes, and it is vain for these poor creatures to plead the excuse of being tired—nothing can avert the application of the whip. No slave dares to be ill or unable to walk; but when the poor sufferer dies, the master suspects there must have been something "wrong inside," and regrets not having applied the *usual* remedy of burning the belly with a red hot iron; thus reconciling themselves to their cruel treatment of these unfortunate wretches."* Numbers of course die on the journey; for if the whip fails to urge exhausted nature into action, the disabled are left to perish. Denham, speaking of a particular locality, says,— "Round this spot were lying more than one hundred skeletons. Our camels did not come up till dark, and we bivouacked in the midst of those unearthed remains of the victims of persecution and avarice, after a long day's journey of twenty-six miles, in the course of which one of our party counted 107 of these skeletons." It has been computed that thirty-six per cent., out of every coffle or caravan of slaves, perish in their march to the coast, not to speak of the inexpressible sufferings which the survivors endure.

When, however, they are conveyed to the coast, it often happens either that there are no slave vessels there to receive them, or that the market is overstocked, or capture by a cruiser apprehended, in any of which cases a considerable time may elapse before they are embarked, when the best treatment they can expect is, to be shut up in crowded yards, and half-starved, wearing all the time heavy irons, which literally eat into their flesh; but it is not uncommon, should there appear no immediate prospect of embarkation, to thin their numbers, by picking out the old, diseased, and infirm, and then to chain them together, and rowing them in a canoe into the middle of the river, to fling them into the water, with a heavy weight appended to their necks. This is to avoid the cost of their maintenance. Indeed sometimes even the healthy and strong are put to death, should they accumulate in too great numbers, without a prospect of their being disposed of.

Harrowing as this picture is, it must yield in depth of colouring to the portraiture of human suffering which the interior of a slave-ship presents. This primarily proceeds from the disproportion between the

* Captain Lyons's Narrative, 1821.

numbers embarked and the accommodation which the vessel usually affords. The British parliament, in 1788, enacted, that in vessels under 150 tons, five men only should be carried for every three tons ; and in vessels above 150 tons only three men for every two tons. In Spain and Portugal the same rule was adopted in 1817. Let us keep this standard in view, while we proceed to consider how it has been regarded. In the report of the African Institution for the year 1820, we have an account of the capture of a Portuguese schooner, called the *Nova Felicidade*, of eleven tons burthen, having on board seventy-one slaves, and a crew consisting of one master and ten sailors ; that is, fifty-three more than the law permitted. Captain Kelly, by whom the vessel was captured, declared that “the state in which these unfortunate creatures were found was shocking to humanity ;—seventeen men shackled together in pairs by the legs, and twenty boys, one on the other, in the main hold—a space measuring eighteen feet in length, seven feet eight inches main breadth, and one foot eight inches in height, and under them the yams for their support.” When released their appearance was most distressing—scarcely any of them could stand from cramp and starvation.

Doctor Walsh, in his “*Notices of Brazil*,” describes a Spanish slaver, detained by the vessel in which he returned, thus :—“When we mounted her decks, we found her full of slaves ; she had taken on board 562, and had been out seventeen days, during which she lost fifty-five. The slaves were all enclosed under grated hatchways, between decks. The space was so low that they sat between each others legs, and stowed so close together, that there was no possibility of their lying down, or at all changing their position by night or day. As they belonged to, and were shipped, on account of different individuals, they were all branded, like sheep, with the owners’ marks, of different forms. These were impressed under their breasts, or on their arms ; and as the mate informed me, with perfect indifference, ‘burned with the red hot iron.’” Doctor Walsh was told that this vessel was a most favourable specimen of those engaged in the trade ; the height, sometimes, between decks, being only eighteen inches, so that the unfortunate beings could not turn or lie on their sides, the elevation being less than the breadth of their shoulders.

The mortality of the middle passage (as the voyage from Africa to the slave colonies is called) averages from one-third to one-half of the wretched beings embarked ; nor is this surprising when we consider the sufferings to which, during the voyage, they are exposed, and the diseases which, from want of room and air, from hunger, thirst, heat, filth, and ill-treatment, they are liable to contract—not to speak of the wholesale murders often committed by the captains of these vessels in

throwing the wretched slaves into the sea by scores, should they prove sickly, or should provisions fail, or the vessel be chased by a British ship, suspecting her cargo. Thus in 1831, "the Black Joke and Fair Rosamond fell in with the Rapido and Regulo, two slave ships, off the Bonny River. On perceiving the cruisers, they attempted to make their escape up the river ; but finding it impracticable, they ran into a creek and commenced pitching the negroes overboard. The Fair Rosamond came up in time to save 212 slaves, out of the Regulo ; but before she could secure the other, she had discharged her whole human cargo into the sea." A Spanish schooner, when taken possession of, in 1822, had a lighted match hanging over the open magazine hatch. The match had been placed there by the crew before they escaped. It was seen by one of the British seamen, who boldly put his hat under the burning wick, and removed it. The magazine contained a large quantity of powder. One spark would have blown up 325 unfortunate victims lying in irons in the hold. During a chase, in 1820, of a Spanish slaver, by an English ship, the crew of the latter observed several casks floating on the water, which they had not time to stop and examine. On their boarding the slaver, the captain denied having any slaves on board, but one English sailor having struck a cask head, a faint voice was heard issue from it, as of some one dying. The cask was at once opened, and two slave girls, about twelve or fourteen years old, were found packed up in it. These were immediately identified as two out of fourteen girls carried off from a village on the coast.

Deaths from sickness are almost inevitable, and it is common for the living and the dead to be chained together for several days, the crowded state of the vessel not admitting of frequent inspection. Dysentery is the most general disorder, and this sometimes carries its wretched victims off by hundreds at a time. Ophthalmia is very common ;—the scurvy, the small-pox, and malignant fevers, are frequent auxiliaries in the work of torture and death. Many examples might be given, if space permitted. One must suffice : it is contained in an extract from the log of H. M. schooner *Fawn*, cruising on the South American station :—"On the 19th Feb., 1841, *Cacupas*, on the coast of Brazil, observed a large brig standing in for the land ; altered our course so as to cut her off, if possible. On approaching, she appeared not to have the least idea of our being a man-of-war ; allowed her to close within range of our long 32 pounder ; fired a gun over her, and another as quick as possible ahead. She then up with her helm, attempted to run, but appeared in great confusion. We continued to throw the shot over, ahead, and astern of her, without intention of striking, as we were positive of slaves being on board. Shots were then thrown under her stern twice ; a third was about to be fired, when we observed her round to. In about twenty

minutes we came up, and boarded her. The slaves were all below, with the hatches on : on turning them up, a scene presented itself enough to sicken the heart even of a Portuguese—the living, the dying, and the dead, huddled together in one mass ; some unfortunates in the most disgusting state of small-pox—even in the confluent state, covered from head to foot ; some distressingly ill from ophthalmia ; a few perfectly blind ; others living skeletons, who with difficulty crawled from below, unable to bear the weight of their own bodies ; mothers with their infants hanging to their breasts, unable to give them a drop of nourishment. How they had brought them thus far appeared astonishing. All were perfectly naked, their limbs much excoriated, from lying on the hard plank for so long a period. On going below, the stench was insupportable. How beings could breathe such an atmosphere, and live, appeared incredible. Several were under the loose planks, which were called the deck, dying—one dead.” This case will serve for two purposes—one, to exemplify the sufferings from disease incidental to the middle passage ; and the other, to show that the slave-trade, with all its horrors, is now, in spite of British example, backed by an unparalleled sacrifice and exertion, in full operation—this capture having been made as late as February, 1841, and others might be produced of a much later date.*

Another harrowing feature which the picture presents, is the barbarous treatment which the poor captives experience at the hands of the hardened wretches who have them under their despotic charge during the passage. Torn as they have been from country, home, and relatives, smarting under the agony of filial, parental, or conjugal bereavement, it is not strange that the first bursts of anguish should be succeeded by a listlessness and apathy—an indifference to all surround-

* The following case is more recent, and, if possible, more atrocious. It is extracted from a number of the “Nautical Magazine,” published so late as October, 1843 :—

“**SLAVE-TRADE.**—The Portuguese schooner of 44 tons, the *Esperanza*, has been condemned by the Mixed Commission Court, and broken up for sale, agreeably to our treaty with Portugal. Her instructions contain a tale of horror, requiring no varnishing to render it a romance. She was commissioned for the coast of Africa, for the Mozambique, and with a crew of 10 men, and provisions for 15 days (!) was to take in 220 slaves ; or, if small bales, (so the slaves are termed) 250 ! and easily packed in a space of (what ? gracious God !) the hold of a vessel of 44 tons, with a height of 32 inches—ay, inches !—between the slave or under and upper deck. Manacles and chains were on board to the number of 900, for another cargo ; and, with provisions for 15 days, was this frightful freight—this cargo of human misery—to cross the wide Atlantic, to traverse, at a bird’s flight, nearly 4,000 miles !

“Suppose calms, or adverse winds, or storms occurred—suppose the voyage was delayed for 20 days ; to no port dare the slave-ship run ; from no vessel dare she seek for assistance. 250 human beings, without water or food, crammed into a space not high enough to sit up in, lying down in one position for 20 days and nights, in a hold fetid with their own filth, without ventilation, with a putrid and foul atmosphere, on a deck 32 inches from the ceiling ! Can any fiction, any romance, pourtray what might have been the bitter agony, the tortures of these Africans ?”

ing objects, and even to life itself, which only argue that the storms of grief have subsided into the more horrible stillness of despair, and that the wound is no less fatal, because its smartings have ceased. Such is commonly their state; so that death is sought for in every possible way, as a release from the anguish of a breaking heart. Often when brought on deck for air, they madly leap into the sea locked in each other's arms. When this is prevented, they determine to refuse all sustenance, and so die. For the state of mental agony which such conduct indicates, the slave captain and his crew feel no sympathy: tortures are invented and employed to overcome such stubbornness, as they call it. Mr. Falconbridge, who went out as surgeon to one of these slavers, towards the close of the last century, relates:—"Upon the negroes refusing to take sustenance, I have seen coals of fire glowing hot put on a shovel, and placed so near their lips as to scorch and burn them, and this has been accompanied with threats of forcing them to swallow the coals if they persisted any longer in refusing to eat. These means have generally the desired effect. I have also been credibly informed, that a certain captain, in the slave trade, poured melted lead on such of the negroes as obstinately refused their food." They are also, he says, compelled to dance and sing by a liberal application of the lash, if any reluctance is exhibited.

"A child about ten months old, on board a slave ship, refused to eat; the captain flogged it, swearing that he would either make it eat or kill it. From this and similar ill-treatment, and from disease, the child's legs swelled. He then ordered them to be soaked in warm water to abate the swelling; but even the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel. The cook, on putting his hand into the water, said it was too hot. On this the captain swore at him, and ordered the child's feet to be put in. This was done; the nails and skin of the feet came off! Oiled cloths were then put round the feet, and the poor child tied to a heavy log. Two or three days afterwards the captain caught it up, and repeated that he would make it eat, or kill it. He immediately flogged it again, and in a quarter of an hour it died! But the cruelty of the barbarous captain was not yet satiated. He commanded its wretched mother to throw overboard the body of her murdered infant; and on her shrinking from the office, he beat her till she complied. She carried it to the other side of the vessel, and dropped it into the sea, turning her head the other way that she might not see it." This example is abundantly illustrative of the brutality which the slave system engenders.

We must now turn away from this sickening delineation, alas! not for want of materials to continue it, but not to extend this chapter to an undue length; as we must not leave the subject without some inquiry into the condition of the wretched slave, when arrived at his

destination, having survived the hardships of the capture, the overland journey to the coast, the detention there, and the middle passage.

When we take into account the diseases contracted on the voyage, and the accumulation of evils which exist to aggravate them, we are neither surprised at the number of deaths that occur, nor at the sickly and dying state in which the slaves are landed from their floating dungeons; a large proportion of them, in fact, die in a very short time; and the ingenuity of the slave captains is severely taxed, to prepare those afflicted with fatal disorders for the market, so as to pass them off on purchasers, either as perfectly sound, or only suffering from temporary illness. In the unprincipled as well as brutal practices which are resorted to for this purpose, these *gentlemen* are not excelled by the most astute and experienced jockey that ever *doctored* a horse. Astringent lotions, mercurial ointments, and all descriptions of the most active medicines, are in constant requisition for this purpose, and have often proved fatal to the wretched beings, whose condition they were intended to improve.

The slave-market now opens upon our view, and discloses a scene of mental agony such as the previous, or even subsequent physical suffering cannot parallel. Here the tenderest of human ties are rudely and unfeelingly rent asunder, and the keenest sensibilities of our nature outraged. The slaves are sold separately or in lots, to suit the purchasers and it seldom happens that an entire family falls to one master. Thus children are wrenched from their mother's embraces—husband and wife are separated for ever, and brothers and sisters, who

Grew in beauty, side by side—
Who filled one house with glee,

are torn asunder to meet no more on this side of eternity. On such an occasion as this, it happened that a particular group engaged the attention of an observer. "A mother and her children were easily discerned, by the extreme agitation and terror they discovered at the idea of being torn from each other. When any one approached the little group, or even looked towards them with the attentive eye of a purchaser, the children, in broken sobs, crouched nearer together, and the tearful mother, in agonizing impulse, fell down before the spectator, bowed herself to the earth, kissed his feet, clung to his knees, clasped her children to her bosom, wrung her hands, and cast up an imploring look, beseeching him, in nature's truest language, in dealing out to her the hard lot of slavery, to spare her the additional pang of being torn from her children. But alas! little regard was paid to her cry. The purchaser fixed on one or two of the family, because they were strong and healthy; but he required no more. Another took one

or two that appeared less robust and healthy, because they were *damaged*, and were offered at a lower price, and the remainder being left to the close of the first day's sale, were called 'the *refuse slaves*,' and purchased by some speculating higgler who, calculating on the chance of one or two surviving, and repaying his adventure, took a large lot of these wretched, rejected beings, giving, perhaps, not more than a dollar for each, intending to carry them out into the country and retail them."

We shall now suppose the wretched Africans carried off by their different owners to the plantations, where they are destined to pass the remainder of their lives in hopeless slavery. The great majority are sent to labour in the fields, where coffee, sugar, or cotton, is produced, under the superintendence of a driver, who is armed with a cart-whip, which he uses at his discretion or caprice, and every stroke of which is sufficient to inflict a gash in the flesh of the wretched being upon whom it is employed, which lays open the muscles to the bone, and leaves, when healed, a broad welt, which is never removed. The object of the slave-owners being to obtain the largest amount of labour at the least expense, the victims of their cupidity are, of course, compelled to labour to the utmost limit of physical endurance, and have their daily sustenance dealt out to them with the most niggardly hand. In most colonies special laws have been enacted, regulating the labour and allowance of the slaves; but these laws are generally both partial and easily evaded, so that their condition is but little improved thereby. In some islands, Sunday is the only day allowed them to rear their own provision; but in others a few week-days throughout the year are added for this purpose; and they must toil unceasingly for the whole year besides, in consideration of the ground occupied by a hut and a small garden, which they must find time to cultivate for themselves.

Upon the temper and disposition of the slave-owner will, of course, materially depend the condition of those wretched beings over whom they have purchased a power which may be called absolute. Individual instances of tenderness are happily not uncommon, but the general impression, that the value of a slave must be extracted by the lash, in consequence of the natural indolence and sulkiness of the negro race, has too often prevailed over the better feelings of masters, and prevented them trying a more humane and Christian stimulus; while the general prejudice against the poor African has left with a numerous class of heartless tyrants an almost irresponsible power of inflicting the most savage cruelties, under the name of wholesome discipline or necessary chastisement. That such a power should be abused, no one acquainted with human nature will wonder; but, fortunately perhaps for themselves, there are few in our day and country who have any idea of the actual results. Our sketch of the odious traffic would be

incomplete without an example to illustrate this head of the subject. In the fifth report of the African Institution,* we meet with the following case, which was made the ground of a criminal prosecution, with what result will appear :—

Edward Higgins, an eminent planter in the island of Nevis, one of the West India islands, by great success became the owner of 600 slaves, and had purchased several estates. This wealth was amassed amid a general depression among the other planters, by compelling his unfortunate slaves to perform night-work in the fields, whenever the moonlight made it practicable : that is, to carry dung from the homestall to the fields, in wicker baskets, on their heads. This was in direct contravention of an act of general council, assembled at Saint Christopher's, in 1798, by which it was provided that no slave should be turned out to work before five o'clock in the morning, nor after seven in the evening, except in crop time, or from some evident necessity, under a penalty of five pounds. The slaves either having heard of this law, or being worked beyond endurance, began to show their sense of the injury inflicted by deserting from the estate, and by resisting the order for night-work whenever it was made ; whereupon Mr. Higgins determined to take vengeance, as fearful as it was summary, upon the refractory slaves ; and here the article from which we quote, proceeds to describe the instrument of punishment employed as follows :—

“ The ordinary punishment of slaves is whipping with a cart-whip, or, as it is called in Jamaica, the cattle-whip, because it is the same which the drivers of carts or waggons in the West Indies apply to their mules or other cattle when working in a team. The same instrument coerces the labour of slaves in the field ; but when applied as a punishment for past faults, and in a solemn way, its inflictions are much more severe. The slave, instead of receiving a lash or two horizontally or obliquely, over his jacket, shirt, or trowsers, (which, nevertheless, is sufficiently painful,) is laid down on the ground, his arms and legs being extended, and generally held down, and his body laid bare from the back downwards. The lash is then applied vertically, by the driver or executioner, who stands at the proper distance to make the sufferer feel the full power of his torturing instrument. The report of the lash is louder than that of the long whalebone whips of the London car-men, and its effect so severe, (except when the drivers are humanely forbid *to cut*, as the phrase is,) that blood is drawn, and the skin stripped off by every lash ; till at length, if they are numerous, the poor victim's flesh, from the small of the back or hips down to the middle of the thigh, is not only excoriated, but cruelly mangled and torn. Such deep incisions are often made, that the parts, after

they are healed, retain a shocking appearance during the rest of life." On account of the severity of this punishment, the number of lashes has been, both by law and practice, limited to forty; and by judgment of law, there is no medium punishment between thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip and mutilation, banishment, and death. Ten or twelve lashes, in ordinary cases, is usually considered quite sufficient. After this explanation, Mr. Higgins's conduct will be better understood.

Not content with gratifying his vengeance on his own plantation, where he might have committed his barbarities with impunity, he determined "to show his contempt for the law, and for the feelings of his more humane fellow colonists, by making the public market of Charlestown, which is the seat of the insular court and government, the theatre of a dreadful execution upon his unfortunate slaves. Accordingly, on the 23rd of January, 1810, he went, attended by two of his sons, on horseback, with upwards of twenty of his devoted victims, men and women, in custody of the drivers, through the streets of Charlestown, to the market place, and there proceeded to indulge his cruelty to the utmost, during two hours, in the face of day, and in the sight and hearing, not only of free persons, but of magistrates, who offered him no interruption.

To one negro man he gave, by the hands of expert drivers, no less than three hundred and sixty-five lashes; to another, one hundred and fifteen; to a third, one hundred and sixty-five; to a fourth, two hundred and fifty-two; to a fifth, two hundred and twelve; to a sixth, one hundred and eighty-one; to a seventh, one hundred and eighty-seven; to a woman, one hundred and ten; to another, fifty-eight; to a third woman, ninety-seven; to a fourth, two hundred and twelve; to a fifth, two hundred and ninety-one; to a sixth, eighty-three; to another, eighty-nine; and to many others, men and women, various cruel measures of the same punishment. The sufferers, dreadfully mangled, were conveyed to the plantation of their savage master, and attended by his surgeon, who, at his request, was present at the trial, and who, although a justice of the peace, had not interfered to prevent the execution. In one case, having counted two hundred and thirty-six lashes, he said he thought it was enough; but Mr. Higgins replied that he did not want his advice, unless he thought the man could bear no more, upon which he retired.

Many of the poor creatures suffered severely from fevers, the effects of the punishment, and one woman died. Either this or some other female sufferer cried out, during the whipping, that she was with child, but was disregarded, and her punishment went on. Among the circumstances of cruelty which have been mentioned, one of the drivers was brother to one of the men whom he was compelled to lacerate in the presence of the unfeeling master. On this occasion no less than

seven magistrates were in Charlestown, and, although within hearing of the lash, never interfered.

The House of Assembly at Nevis, however, considered this transaction as one that they were bound in humanity, and from a regard to the credit of the colony, publicly to reprobate, and to make the subject of legal investigation. Accordingly, on the 31st of January, 1810, eight days after the fact, they came to a resolution to that effect, which they ordered to be printed and transmitted to England, and circulated through all the Islands, together with the evidence laid before them as to the facts of the case. An indictment was preferred against Mr. Higgins, founded on the act of council before referred to, and early in May, 1810, it came on to be tried in the Court of King's Bench and Common Pleas, at Nevis, when the facts above stated were fully proved, and not disputed by the defendant. The whole offence brought home to the slaves, was their absenting themselves from the estate at night, to avoid carrying out dung by moonlight; and even in this offence some of the sufferers were not implicated—one of them had only neglected his duty as a watchman. This, however, was all the defence; but it was effectual. Mr. Higgins, after a short deliberation by the jury, was acquitted. But this was not all: a large party was made in his favour, and he had the audacity to prosecute the editor of the "Colonial Gazette" for publishing the evidence against him, sent to it by the House of Assembly, and obtained the following verdict against the responsible party—"Guilty of publishing a libel, issued by the House of Assembly of Nevis, under a mistaken opinion that it was not a libel, and that the authority of that body justified his publishing their resolution." The printer, too, was sentenced to a month's imprisonment, and to find bail to keep the peace for three years.

In the Sixth Report of the African Institution, we are furnished with a list of barbarities, which even exceed those practised by Mr. Higgins. The perpetrator of them in this case was the Hon. Arthur Hodge, of Tortola,* a member of His Majesty's Council for the Virgin Islands. His crimes, however, were at length overtaken by retributive justice, and he paid the penalty of them with his life, as a common felon, on the 8th of May, 1811. Among the facts sworn to in the several depositions which led to his apprehension and trial, were the following:—

"In January, 1806, a slave named Welcome, belonging to Mr. Hodge, was employed by him as a hunter, to go in quest of runaway slaves. After hunting for four or five days, he returned home unsuccessful, in consequence of which he was laid down by Hodge's order, and severely cart-whipped. He was *immediately* sent out to hunt a second time, and in a few days again returned unsuccessful; when,

* The largest of the Virgin Islands, annexed to the government of the Leeward Islands. It is about fifteen miles long and six in breadth.

with his old wounds uncured, he was a second time, by Hodge's order, laid down and severely cart-whipped. Welcome was immediately sent out hunting a third time, and returning in a few days with the same success as before, he was again severely cart-whipped, by Hodge's order, and put in very heavy irons, with a pudding on each leg, and a crook round his neck, and in the night time was confined in the bilboas or stocks. He was at the same time allowed little or no food, and, consequently, became so weak, that he could scarcely walk. In this condition, with dreadful sores, occasioned by his former whippings, he was ordered to go to a neighbouring estate; but being unable to proceed, he fell down on the road, and being carried home, he was again cart-whipped, and died in consequence the same night."

This murder seems to have been committed without even a reprimand on the part of the local authorities, and so Hodge proceeded to further acts of atrocity.

"One of the deponents saw in the sick-house a child about ten years of age, named Tamsen, with the skin entirely off. The deponent asked the sick-nurse what was the matter with the child; but the sick-nurse refused to give an answer, and seemed afraid lest her master should know that the child had been seen. On inquiry, it appeared that the child had been dipped, by Hodge's order, into a copper of boiling liquor.

"A slave named Prosper was, by Hodge's order, and in his presence, laid down, and for more than an hour cart-whipped, without intermission. He was then taken up, by Hodge's order, and with his hands tied behind his back, lashed to a tree. Hodge then ordered his driver to use 'close quarters'—meaning by this expression a more cruel and severe cart-whipping than is ordinarily used—the whip in this case being shortened, and going all round the body, cutting every part, particularly the stomach and belly, and making, at the same time, comparatively little noise. In this situation Prosper was beaten till he fainted, his head hanging down backwards, and was no longer able to cry out. He was then carried to the sick-house, where within a fortnight he died.

"Mr. Hodge frequently caused the children, on his estate, about nine years of age, to be taken up by the heels and dipped into tubs of water, with their heads downwards, and kept there till stifled, then taken out and suffered to recover and breathe, when they were again treated in the same manner, and so repeatedly, until they have been seen to stagger and fall: on this Mr. Hodge has ordered them to be taken up and suspended to a tree, by their hands tied together, and in this situation cart-whipped for some time at close quarters. Among others, a mulatto child, reputed to be his own, named Bella, was repeatedly cart-whipped by his order; and he was also seen repeatedly

to strike the child with a stick on the head, so as to break her head ; and also to kick her so violently as to send her several feet on the ground.

“ A boy named Dick, whom Mr. Hodge charged with having stolen his geese, was very often flogged severely and in quick succession, at close quarters, and otherwise ; in consequence of which he died. He had also been put in chains, and had his mouth burnt with a red hot iron.

“ One of the deponents, besides swearing to several of the above facts, stated that for several years, during which the deponent resided on Mr. Hodge's estate, Mr. Hodge had been guilty of repeated and excessive acts of cruelty towards his slaves. Another deponent who had lived, at different periods, as a manager on the estate of Mr. Hodge, called Belle Vue, and who was also a witness to many of the atrocities detailed above, swore that at most of the numerous and severe cart-whippings inflicted by Mr. Hodge on his slaves, he was not actually present ; Mr. Hodge generally choosing to inflict them without the presence of any competent witness ; but that in addition to the instances at which he was present, and which are mentioned above, there were many others where he saw only the effects of Hodge's cruelty in the lacerations, burnt mouths, &c., of the slaves. He was satisfied these cruelties were inflicted by Hodge himself, as otherwise he should have heard him inquire and complain concerning those marks of suffering on his own negroes. It was scarcely possible to remain in the sick-house, on account of the offensive smell proceeding from the corrupted wounds of cart-whipped slaves. When this deponent first went to live on Hodge's estate, there was, upon it, a fine gang of upwards of a hundred able negroes ; but when the last wife of Hodge died, in 1808, that number was so reduced by cruelty, that negroes enough were not to be found on the estate to dig her grave ; and therefore the deponent, and Daniel Ross, Esq., one of the magistrates who signed this deposition, assisted in digging it. He could not remember the names of all the negroes who had died, in consequence of the cruelties of Hodge ; but he knew the number to be great ; sometimes three and four have died in the course of a day and night. On such occasions the doctor was never called in. He lived, in all, about three years with Mr. Hodge, and in that time he was satisfied that Hodge lost sixty negroes at least, by the severity of his punishments ; and he believed that only one negro died a natural death during the same period.

“ Such, then, are the facts of this case. On their being brought before Governor Elliott, he immediately issued a special commission for the trial of the offender. The trial took place on the 29th of April, and lasted from ten o'clock in the morning, until half-past five on the

morning of the 30th. The jury, after deliberating for two hours, brought in a verdict of guilty, and sentence of death being passed upon him, he was executed on the 8th May." We cannot, however, but feel shocked to learn that the verdict was accompanied by a recommendation of the prisoner to mercy,* on the part of a majority of the jury, to which, however, the governor refused to pay attention; but such was the state of irritation produced by the novel and unprecedented circumstances of a white man having been condemned to death, on account of the murder of his own slaves, that he was obliged to proclaim martial law in the island, call out the colonial militia, and avail himself of the aid of a frigate, in order to awe the white population, by whom a rescue was dreaded, into submission.

Multitudes of other cases might be given, but these will answer the end proposed, to show the cruelties which may be, and which actually are inflicted upon the hapless sons and daughters of Africa, by the Christian and civilized inhabitants of Europe, who claim an absolute right over the destinies of their sable brethren, and whose conduct in the exercise of it proves that the claim is not of God, but of the devil, for whom the usurped power is employed. These cases likewise prove that the inevitable tendency of the slave system is to brutalize the mind, by familiarising it with scenes of human agony—with the blood, shrieks, and dying groans of our fellow-creatures. The acquittal of Mr. Higgins, and the clamorous interest excited on behalf of Mr. Hodge, are sufficient evidence of such a tendency. Should it be known that a master or mistress in England struck their free servant, they would suffer materially in character, as well as expose themselves to judicial punishment; and what should palliate the most appalling cruelties inflicted by masters in Jamaica, or St. Christopher's? Nothing but the ignorant prejudice artfully disseminated by slave-dealers, and but too fatally adopted and cherished by an unthinking public, that a black skin indicated moral and intellectual inferiority, and, consequently, an incapacity for religious or mental cultivation. Such an assertion as this at once placed the poor African on a level with the beasts that perish, and handed him over to the tender mercies of the driver and the cart-whip, as a being whom it would be absurd to pity, and contrary to every motive of self-interest to spare. The tenacity with which these notions clung to the public mind, argued the length of time which they had been growing, and the extent to which they had insinuated themselves into all the ramifications of the social system. Hence the almost discouraging difficulties which the friends of the unhappy negro had to encounter in their philanthropic experiments on the religion or humanity

* And this at a period when, by British law, the stealing of a horse or a sheep was punishable with death, and many had been executed for the offence.

of their fellow-countrymen. It is a proud reflection for Britons, that these exertions were the offspring of British hearts, and that Britain has been called upon to render such a testimony to her boasted regard for liberty and right, as the world gives her credit for best understanding—that of pounds, shillings, and pence; but it would seem as if the shame of having ever participated in the blood and tears of African commerce, should be more than sufficient to suppress any risings of pride at the contemplation of an act of justice tardily conceded, and only an instalment of a debt enormous in its amount, and imperative in its righteous exaction.

A pleasing task now lies before us—that of tracing the dawn and sunrise of England's regeneration in the matter of the negroes' wrongs. She had slept her sleep. Dreams of ill-gotten wealth had occupied her unhallowed slumbers; but it was even "as when an hungry man dreameth, and behold he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty; or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and behold he drinketh, but he awaketh, and behold he is faint, and his soul hath appetite:"* so were the wages of iniquity to a people whom the Lord had enriched with his word, and with a church founded on the pure and lovely doctrines of the Gospel; yet of whom it might literally and emphatically be said—"They have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward."† "Woe unto them," saith the apostle; but England "returned from her evil way, and from the violence that was in her hands;" and when "God saw her works and that she turned from her evil way, God repented of the evil that he said that he would do unto her, and he did it not."‡

The nations of the earth had not committed the great crime of enslaving their fellow creatures, with all its accompanying horrors, without hearing a warning voice raised against it, from time to time, by faithful men, whom the God of mercy raised up in the poor negroes' behalf. Among those in England who were the precursors, or the actual instruments of the abolition, we may mention the celebrated names of Bishop Saunderson, Richard Baxter, the non-conformist minister; George Fox, founder of the sect called Quakers; Sir Richard

* Is. xxix. 8.

† Jude, 11. Cain slew his unoffending brother; and Balaam, who loved the "reward of unrighteousness," violated the command of God, from love to filthy lucre; and, it is said, advised the Moabites to seduce Israel into licentiousness, that they might thereby expose them to the wrath of God, and thus accomplish their vindictive ends. The application of the crime of Adam's first-born is obvious, and the sin of Balaam is well represented by the perfidiousness of the slave-traders, who, true to the example of their master, satan, are known to seduce their wretched victims into acts and confessions of crime, that they may take advantage of the invariable sentence of slavery pronounced by African legislation against the guilty.

‡ Jonah, iii. 9, 10.

Steel, one of the authors of "The Spectator;" John Wesley, George Whitfield, Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich; Bishop Warburton, the poets Pope, Thompson, and Savage; Dr. Adam Smith, author of the *Wealth of Nations*; Dr. Robertson, the historian; Archdeacon Paley, &c. &c.; but the actual originator of the exertions which have been, after a long struggle, crowned with such triumphant success, was Granville Sharp, who was born in Durham, in November, 1735, and having come to London early in life, was bound apprentice to a linen draper, in which employment he continued for some years, passing from one master to another, until 1758, when he obtained a subordinate situation in the Ordnance-office, which he held until the commencement of the American war; when, disapproving of that unnatural struggle, and finding large demands made on his office for stores, &c., to support it, he resigned his appointment. He was now chiefly engaged in literary pursuits, until his mind was providentially directed to the subject of African slavery, in which he embarked with all the ardour of an enthusiast, and all the self-denying philanthropy of a sincere Christian. A new course was now given to his life and feelings, and his name was henceforth enrolled among the friends and benefactors of the human race.

It had been for some time the custom for West India planters, on coming to England, to bring with them one or more of their slaves, to attend upon them during their stay, without any fear that their proprietorship in human flesh was thereby endangered; and although these slaves sometimes absconded from their masters, the advertising columns of the public papers bore testimony, by frequent offers of rewards for runaway slaves, describing their age, height, &c., that their masters as little dreamt of any change made in their relative condition by the soil of England, as they would of the loss of property in a horse or a cow under the same circumstances; and, in many instances, they claimed and exercised the same right of inflicting upon them every ill-treatment, as if still surrounded by the savage life of their own estates, where there was no Christian eye to see, or heart to feel for the oppressions of the poor and helpless. One of these slaves, David Strong, became the first object of Granville Sharp's benevolence. He belonged to Mr. David Lisle, a lawyer of Barbadoes, by whom he was brought to England, and treated with great cruelty, especially by being beaten with a pistol on the head, which caused it to swell, and which also produced a disorder of the eyes, threatening blindness. From such treatment an ague and fever ensued, and a lameness in both his legs; upon which his inhuman master turned him adrift as useless. Happily he was directed to Wm. Sharp, a humane surgeon, and brother to Granville Sharp, by whom, in process of time, he was cured, and provided by Granville with a situation as porter in an apothecary's

establishment ; but being seen by his old master in his restored and healthy state, he was traced to his residence, and carried off to the Poultry Compter, by two men employed by Lisle for that purpose. In this emergency he sent for his friends and benefactors, who had his case brought before the Lord Mayor, by whom he was discharged, as he had been arrested without a legal process.

Previous to this, an opinion had been prevalent in England that slaves on touching British ground, and being baptized, became free ; the consequence of which was, that the negroes who were brought hither by their masters, on hearing this opinion, obtained baptism as soon as possible, securing such persons for their sponsors as would be powerful enough to protect them from their former owners. As this system began to spread, and resistance was extensively made to the right which the planters exercised over their slaves, much perplexity was felt on the part of the former as to the course which they should pursue ; especially as Lord Chief Justice Holt had, in the reign of William III., pronounced the celebrated opinion, that a slave, on reaching England, became free. Consequently, they laid the case before the then attorney and solicitor-generals, who gave an opinion directly in opposition to that of Chief Justice Holt ; whereupon the slave-owners proceeded* to make the decision of the law officers of the crown as public as possible, by inserting advertisements in the public papers for slaves who had absconded ; also, notices of auctions, in which they were offered for sale, either by themselves, or together with horses, carriages, &c. So absolute was now the power of the masters, that the slave-trade was openly carried on in a country boasting of its freedom. Not only blacks, but even white persons, were now kidnapped in the streets, and sold to slave-captains, who carried them to the West Indies.

This state of things having continued for some years, the case of Strong, in 1765, again caused the law of the subject to be inquired into ; and Granville Sharp perceiving, that in the part he took, the current of legal opinion ran strongly against him, and that even his own professional advisers doubted the justice of his arguments, devoted himself for nearly two years to the study of the laws, so far at least as concerned the liberty of the person in British subjects. This he did, having first applied to many lawyers of eminence—and, among the rest, to the celebrated Justice Blackstone—for their opinion on the subject, without obtaining the satisfaction he required. The result of his philanthropic studies was a tract, “On the Injustice and Danger of tolerating Slavery in England,” in which he combatted the opinions of a York and a Talbot, by the authority of a Holt, and had his efforts crowned with complete success.

* This was in 1729.

In 1768 he brought an action for a poor slave, named Hylas, whose wife had been kidnapped, and sent to the island of Barbadoes—the result of which was, that the offender was obliged to bring back the woman to her husband, within a given time. Notwithstanding, however, this decision, “a black girl, the property of J. B., eleven years of age, who is extremely handy, &c.” was actually advertised for sale, in one of the London newspapers, during the course of the very next year! and in 1770, Thomas Lewis, an African, was seized by two watermen, in a dark night, and dragged to a boat on the Thames. He was there gagged, tied with a cord, and carried on board a ship in the Downs, bound for Jamaica, where he was to be sold. This act of violence was committed near the garden of the humane Mrs. Banks, mother of Sir Joseph Banks, the celebrated traveller and naturalist, and on her being informed of it by her servants, who heard the cries of the poor man, she hastened to his assistance, but without effect, as the boat was gone. She sent for Sharp, and offered to bear the expenses of whatever law proceedings he would institute against the perpetrators of the outrage. By means of a writ of *habeas corpus*,* he succeeded in rescuing Lewis from the ship at Gravesend, just as she was on the point of sailing. He then brought an action against the person who had instigated the seizure, which the latter defended, on the plea that Lewis was his own property, but the verdict of the jury was, “that he possessed no property in him recognized by law.”

About this time it became evident that, although several verdicts had been actually obtained in favour of African slaves, their general right to freedom, in England, was still an unsettled question, wholly dependant on the fluctuations of opinion, and not as yet solemnly recognized by the laws. At length the case of James Somerset occurred, who had been brought over from Jamaica in 1769, by Mr. Charles Stewart, who, on his leaving him a short time after, had him seized and conveyed on board a ship bound for the same island. On this occasion the most generous offers of professional assistance were tendered to Sharp, by Mr. Hargrave, who greatly distinguished himself by his lucid, powerful, and learned arguments against the legal existence of slavery in England. On February 7th, 1772, this cause was brought on for trial, before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, assisted by the Justices Ashton, Willes,

* By the writ of *habeas corpus*, British subjects are secured against illegal imprisonment. This legal process is provided by the statute of 16 Car. I. c. 10, which enacts that if any person be restrained of his liberty by order or decree of any illegal court, or by command of the king's majesty in person, or by warrant of the council board, or of any of the privy council, he shall, upon demand of his counsel, have a writ of *habeas corpus*, to bring his body before the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, who shall determine whether the cause of his commitment be just, and thereupon do as to justice shall appertain. By the 31 Car. II. c. 2., commonly called the *Habeas Corpus Act*, the methods of obtaining this writ are plainly pointed out, and enforced.

and Ashhurst; and after two adjournments, and the hearing of five counsel, the Sergeants Davy and Glynn, with Messrs. Mansfield, Hargrave, and Alleyne, all of whom appear to have most generously declined fees on this occasion—the negro was discharged on this glorious principle, “that as soon as any slave sets foot on English ground he becomes free.” After this verdict, the poor African walked the streets without fear or danger. No more advertisements for runaway slaves disgraced the newspapers, and the friends of negro freedom were emboldened to pursue their benevolent object with great spirit and activity.

This was the first step taken towards compelling slave-owners to relinquish their indefensible claims to the persons and lives of their fellow-men. Public interest was now excited in favour of the poor negro, not only in Great Britain, but in America, where a petition to the king was presented from Virginia, praying for the interference of parliament to check the inhuman slave traffic. It is worthy of notice, that the refusal of the British government to allow to the Virginians a legal exclusion of slaves from among them, was afterwards introduced among the reasons for America’s separating from the mother country.

The Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, have the distinguishing honour of presenting the first petition that ever was laid on the table of the House of Commons for the abolition of the slave-trade. This petition was presented by Sir Cecil Wray, and seconded by Lord North, one of the secretaries of state.* The occasion of it was the passing of a bill for regulating the trade of the African Company, in which there was a clause prohibiting the officers of the company from exporting negroes; and it prayed “that the clause in question might be extended to all persons whatsoever,” the petitioners professing themselves “deeply affected with the consideration of the rapine, oppression, and blood attending this traffic!” “Under the countenance of the laws of this country,” they continued, “many thousands of these our fellow-creatures, entitled to the natural rights of mankind, are held as personal property, in cruel bondage. Your petitioners regret that a nation professing the Christian faith should so far counteract the principles of humanity and justice.” It is said that this petition awakened, in a remarkable degree, the compassion of the House, and of the public, for those unhappy beings whose sufferings it sought to remove. The Society of Friends also published “The Case of the Africans, respectfully addressed to the Legislature of Great Britain, by

* This was under the coalition ministry, as it was called, with the Duke of Portland at its head, which came into office in 1783. Charles James Fox and Lord North, who were hitherto most violently opposed to each other, being now associated as joint Secretaries of State—the latter for the Home, and the former for the Foreign Department.

the People called Quakers.”* This they distributed, together with an American publication, by Anthony Benezet, of Philadelphia, entitled—“A Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies on the calamitous State of the enslaved Negroes,” among the cabinet ministers, the members of both Houses of parliament, the schools of Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul’s, Merchant Tailors’, Eton, Winchester, and Harrow, and presented copies of them to the king, queen, and Prince of Wales. In 1783 this philanthropic body formed themselves into a society for the specific purpose of promoting the abolition of the slave-trade. Their first meeting was held the 7th of July, in that year, and its object was stated to be “a consideration of the steps to be taken for the liberation of negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa.”

The first public petition to parliament for the abolition of the slave-trade was presented from the town of Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, by the Hon. Ann Poulet, and Alexander Hood, Esq., afterwards Lord Bridport, members for the town. This petition, as being the first of a long catalogue of similar documents deserves to be preserved amid the archives of philanthropic enterprise. We shall insert it at length :—

“The humble petition of the inhabitants of Bridgewater sheweth,—

“That your petitioners reflecting, with the deepest sensibility, on the deplorable condition of that part of the human species, the African negroes, who, by the most flagitious means, are reduced to slavery and misery in the British colonies, beg leave to address this honourable House in their behalf, and to express a just abhorrence of a system of oppression, which no prospect of private gain, no consideration of public advantage, no plea of political expediency, can sufficiently justify or excuse.

“That, satisfied as your petitioners are, that this inhuman system meets with the general execration of mankind, they flatter themselves that the day is not far distant when it will be universally abolished ; and they most ardently hope to see a British parliament, by the extinction of that sanguinary traffic, extend the blessings of liberty to millions beyond this realm ; hold up to an enlightened world a glorious and merciful example, and stand foremost in the defence of the violated rights of human nature.”

After presenting this petition, which was read and ordered to lie on the

* The name of Quakers is said to have been given to the members of this society in Derbyshire, by one of the justices before whom its founder, George Fox, was arraigned for his doctrines, after having been imprisoned for some time in Nottingham gaol. On that occasion he exhorted the judges, and those about him, to “tremble” at the word of the Lord ; upon which, one of the former, with a tone, and in a language of derision very unbecoming his judicial character, attached to him and his followers the *soubriquet* of Quakers, which they have ever since borne.

table, the members for Bridport wrote to their constituents.—“There did not appear the least disposition to pay any further attention to it. Every one, almost, says that the abolition of the slave trade must throw the West India islands into convulsions, and soon complete their utter ruin. Thus, they will not trust Providence for its protection in so pious an undertaking.”

In every grand enterprise there must be one great spirit, at least, to prove the spring and regulator of the machinery employed to conduct its movements. Without such a prime agent the exertions made by any party, however large or powerful, are too desultory and unconnected to produce any striking effect;—forces which, if combined, would effect mighty results, are comparatively insignificant by acting independently of each other. Concentration is the sufficiency of moral, as well as of physical power, and a point of union is all that is required in the one case as well as the other. When the hour arrived that Africa's regeneration should commence, the All-wise found a fitting instrument to take the lead in the great movement by which it was to be ultimately achieved, and collect the scattered rays of thought and feeling by which the engine was to be set going, and its movement continued, until the glorious consummation was effected: this was Thomas Clarkson, at that time bachelor of arts in the University of Cambridge. It happened that, in the year 1785, it devolved on Dr. Peckard, master of Magdalen College, and vice-chancellor of the university, to name the subject for two prize essays to be contended for by the bachelors of arts, and he gave the question:—“Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?” Clarkson had gained a prize in this department the previous year, and of course was anxious to support the character he had already obtained; so that no exertion was spared by him to master the proposed subject; and it was in collecting materials for his essay, that he was made acquainted with the enormity of the system which he was thus providentially led to examine. A work of Benezet's, on the history of Guinea, came under his notice, and he there learned sufficient to awaken in his mind an uneasiness that superseded all concern for the vice-chancellor's prize, and laid the foundation of that deep devotion to the cause of the injured African, which seems destined to cease but with life itself.* The essay breathed all the ardour of a young proselyte, and exhibited the research of an acute and interested inquirer: it could not

* Thomas Clarkson still lives (1844). In spite of all his labours, sufferings, and anxieties, he has attained to his eighty-fifth year. We have before us a petition presented to the House of Commons, by Charles Buller, Esq., M.P., on Thursday, July 27th, 1843, on behalf of 12,000 fugitive American slaves, located in Canada, whether they had fled to enjoy the freedom and protection of British territory, signed with the honoured name of Thomas Clarkson.

fail to be successful, and the literary ambition, at least, of the writer was gratified by its being awarded the first prize.

Clarkson now hastened to London, and it is related that he stopped his horse within sight of Wadesmill, in Hertfordshire, and having dismounted, he sat down by the road side, and holding his horse, pursued his reflections on the condition of the wretched negroes. Here a thought occurred to him. "If the contents of the essay are true, it is time that some person should see these calamities to their end." Full of this idea he reached London, and after pondering on various schemes for engaging public interest in the subject, by which his own mind was agitated, he determined to test the feelings of his countrymen, by the publication of an English translation of his essay, which he thought could scarcely fail, by its facts and reasonings, to make an impression similar to the one his own heart had received while composing it. The essay was published in June, 1786, and Clarkson, in consequence, soon found himself surrounded by a host of friends. He had previously been introduced to Granville Sharp, the Rev. James Ramsay, who had resided nineteen years in the island of St. Christopher's, and on his return to England, published "An Essay on the treatment and conversion of the African Slavers in the British Sugar Colonies;" also, William Dillwyn, an American, who came to England to prosecute the cause of the negro, and several distinguished members of the Society of Friends.

Among the friends whom his essay procured for him, was Bennet Langton, Esq., a gentleman of rank, fortune, and literary taste, who was surrounded by some of the most distinguished characters of the day, among the rest Dr. Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Jonas Hanway, the philanthropist: he was also a favourite at the court of George III. Mr. Langton continued an earnest friend to the African cause during the remainder of his life. The Rev. Dr. Baker, Dr. Porteus, at that time Bishop of Chester, Lord and Lady Scarsdale, Sir Charles and Lady Middleton, afterwards Lord and Lady Barham, Mr. James Phillips, bookseller, and his brother, were also among the associates whom he united with himself in his work of benevolence, by the publication of his essay; and he now determined to devote himself, with all his time, talents, and resources, to the work which he had thus so propitiously begun. The course of procedure which he laid down for himself was, to collect and diffuse authentic information on the subject of slavery, and the slave-trade: to excite public feeling, and occasion its expression; and to invite the interference of the legislature by public petition, interest with individual members of parliament, and otherwise.

Among the ardent, active, and influential friends of Africa, who now pressed forward in its behalf, was Hannah More, the talented patroness

and advocate of every benevolent work. When Dr. Porteus was, in 1787, translated from the see of Chester to that of London, Hannah More, who was intimately acquainted with the bishop, wrote thus to a friend: "I am sure you rejoiced with me on the removal of our excellent friend to the see of London. I rejoiced for many reasons; but for none more than that his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, extending to the West Indies, will make him of infinite usefulness in the great project I have so much at heart—the project of abolishing the slave-trade in Africa. This most important cause has very much occupied my thoughts this summer. The young gentleman who has embarked in it with the zeal of an apostle,* has been much with me, and engaged all my little interest, and all my affections in it. It is to be brought before parliament in the spring. Above one hundred members have promised their votes. My dear friend, be sure to canvass every body who has a heart. It is a subject too ample for a letter, and I shall have a great deal to say to you when we meet. To my feelings it is the most interesting subject that ever was discovered in the annals of humanity."

Clarkson sought information from every possible source: vessels trading to Africa, from which he procured specimens of the natural productions and of the manufactures of that continent, proving its fertility, and the intelligence of its inhabitants; slave-vessels, from which he turned away sickened and indignant; and persons who had visited Africa, and had been personally conversant with the barbarities of the slave-trade. Amongst these was the Rev. John Newton, himself once engaged in the slave-trade, and a slave among the Moors. He had written a work on the subject.† Speaking of it in a letter to Hannah More, he says—"My account of the slave-trade has the merit of being true. I am not afraid of being solidly contradicted by any or all who are retained by interest to plead on the other side. Some of my friends wish I had said more; but I think I have said enough. Those who, admitting that my testimony is worthy of credit, are not convinced by what I have offered, would hardly be persuaded by a folio filled with particular details of misery and oppression. What may be done just now I know not; but I think this infamous traffic cannot last long—at least this is my hope. But after the period of investigation, should it still be persevered in, I think it will constitute a national sin, and of a very deep dye. I should tremble for the consequences; for whatever politicians may think, I assuredly know there is a righteous Judge who governs the earth. He calls upon us to redress the injured; and should we perseveringly refuse, I cannot doubt but He will plead the cause Himself."

* The illustrious William Wilberforce, then in his 28th year.

† *Thoughts on the African Slave Trade.*

Clarkson was unwearied in his endeavours to interest members of parliament in the cause of suffering humanity, and for this purpose he waited personally on numbers of them. Among the rest, he had some time before this submitted his case to William Wilberforce, whose name was to be distinguished in the annals of Great Britain, for a philanthropy pure, untiring, and triumphant, which he brought to bear upon the claims of Africa and her murdered population, and which, emanating from "a practical view of Christianity," superior to the twilight system of religion that marked the age in which he commenced his bright career, but which he happily outlived, resisted alike the blandishments of wealth, the rancour of exasperated avarice, and the ridicule of interested villainy. He read Clarkson's essay, and became deeply interested in the subject, upon which he had frequent conversations with the author, who, to substantiate his statements, referred him to Mr. Newton, and others, from whom he received much information. It was not long before Wilberforce's whole heart was engaged in the cause, and he was prepared to take any part in the work of abolition, for which his talents or position might be required.

On the 22nd of May, 1787, an Anti-slavery Society was formed, consisting of all the friends and advocates of the wretched Africans, which employed itself in the collection of evidence against the slave trade, the publication of anti-slavery books and tracts, correspondence with foreign societies of the same character, and especially the adoption of every measure calculated to secure the interference of the legislature in favour of abolition. The committee of this honoured society spared neither time, money, nor labour, to effect their philanthropic object.

Wilberforce early enlisted the illustrious William Pitt, then first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the cause; and on the 11th of February, 1788, an order in council was issued by the king (George III.) directing that a committee of the privy council should "take into their consideration the present state of the African trade, particularly as far as related to the practice and manner of purchasing or obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, and the importation and sale thereof, either in the British colonies and settlements, or in the foreign colonies and settlements in America and the West Indies; and also as far as related to the effects and consequences of the trade, both in Africa and in the said colonies and settlements, and to the general commerce of this kingdom; and that they should report to him in council the result of their inquiries, with such observations as they should have to offer thereupon."

Every exertion was now made, both by the friends and opponents of abolition, to supply evidence to the council in support of their respective views and objects. Delegates were dispatched to London from Liverpool and other slave-trading ports, to defeat, if possible, the advocates

of the suffering negroes; and no art or argument, however preposterous, was left untried to embarrass the question, and avert an adverse report. At first the attempt had all the success that was desired. So plausible were the reasonings of the slave merchants, that the minds of the privy councillors and others began to waver; but when the anti-slavery society produced their evidence, and laid bare the enormities of the murderous traffic, which even the interested witnesses on the other side were forced, on cross-examination, to confess, an entire revolution of sentiment occurred, both in the council and among the public; so that petitions against the slave-trade poured into both houses of parliament from every quarter, and an anxiety for legislative interference became general.

Owing to the illness of Mr. Wilberforce, who was to have introduced the subject into the House of Commons, that task devolved on Pitt, who, on the 9th of May, 1788, moved that the House should pledge itself to discuss the subject of the numerous petitions which had been presented, early in the next session, when the report of the council should have been presented, and Mr. Wilberforce would be able to perform the duty which he had undertaken. This motion was, after some discussion, carried unanimously; but as the prospect of parliamentary interference would naturally tend to stimulate the avarice of the slave-traders, and thus aggravate the miseries of the wretched negroes, Sir William Dolben moved, on the 21st of May, for leave to bring in a bill to mitigate the sufferings of the middle passage. This motion and the bill that followed it produced several stormy debates, and again aroused the slave merchants to procure petitions and witnesses, to be sent to London, to avert, if possible, the threatened mischief.* In the investigation that took place, the most unheard-of atrocities were brought to light connected with the middle passage, which one of the advocates of slavery had the audacity to say was "one of the happiest periods of a negro's life." The reader may judge of the truth of this from what has already been said on the subject. All the efforts of falsehood and villainy failed, and Sir W. Dolben succeeded in securing the royal assent for his bill, on the 11th of July, in spite of every device in and out of parliament, that unprincipled ingenuity could suggest to defeat it.

On the 12th of May, 1789, Mr. Wilberforce introduced the impor-

* One of the petitions presented against the bill, was a curiosity in its way; it came from one Miles Peter Andrews, manufacturer of gunpowder, who complained that the bill, if passed into a law, would materially injure his trade, by diminishing the consumption of gunpowder in Africa; and he begged to remind their lordships of the upper house, of the great service which he had rendered to his country by his sale of that commodity during the last war. We sincerely trust that the fears of the worthy petitioner were fully realized, and that fewer of the poor Africans had afterwards an opportunity of testing the excellence of his gunpowder.

tant subject to the House of Commons, which had resolved itself into a committee, with Sir William Dolben in the chair, in a speech characterised by Burke, in the course of the subsequent debate, as "equalling any thing he had ever heard in modern oratory, and, perhaps, not to be excelled by any thing to be found in ancient times." It occupied three hours and a-half, and laid bare, in the most lucid manner, the whole complicated iniquity of the trade. He concluded by reading and laying on the table twelve propositions, comprehending all the principal features of the subject for future discussion.

It is not our intention to attempt even an outline of the debate that ensued on the 21st, which was one of the most violent ever witnessed in the House of Commons; even Pitt's usual self-possession forsook him, and he spoke with an irritation for which he afterwards apologised. The slave-traders obtained leave to produce counsel and evidence in opposition to the propositions, and thus succeeded in postponing the further consideration of the subject to the next session.

The anti-slavery committee, meanwhile, were not idle. They continued their publications, enlisting distinguished writers in the cause of humanity, among whom were Cowper the poet, with whose compositions on the subject of slavery every reader is familiar, Hannah More, Bishop Porteus, &c. The indefatigable Clarkson, too, having traversed England, visited France to promote the great cause there, and every effort was continued to supply authentic evidence to the privy council, and to sustain and deepen British sympathy in favour of the long-injured negro. Cameo representations of Africans in chains were freely distributed, and it became fashionable for ladies to wear them in bracelets and other ornaments, and for the other sex to carry them about inlaid on the lids of their snuff-boxes. A determination was also about this time entered into by many, not to purchase or consume articles of West India produce, such as sugar, rum, &c., extracted, it was argued, from the blood, tears, and groans of suffering humanity.

Every successive session, up to the year 1800, witnessed a renewal of the attempt on the part of Wilberforce and his friends to obtain a legislative enactment against the odious trade in human beings, but without effect. Interested parties, in and out of parliament, succeeded in securing the rejection of each succeeding bill presented and discussed. It was in vain that proof after proof of barbarities the most revolting, and human butcheries without number, were heaped upon the table of the House; the heartless majority closed up every avenue of relief, and determined that, in spite of man's cries or God's remonstrances, they would continue to grow rich on the agonies of their fellow-men.

At length the friends of humanity determined, in the year 1800, on suspending their parliamentary exertions for a season, until some event should arise to change the present temper of both Houses. They, therefore, allowed four years to pass over without renewing their legis-

lative efforts. In 1804 an event occurred which promised to answer their expectation. In consequence of the union which had been effected between Great Britain and Ireland, the House of Commons received an addition of one hundred Irish members, most of whom, to the honour of their country be it mentioned, were known to be friendly to the anti-slavery cause. On the 30th of March, Wilberforce asked leave to re-introduce his bill, and such was the effect of the transfusion of Irish blood, that his motion was carried by a majority of one hundred and twenty-four to forty-nine. On the 27th of June the bill passed the Commons by a majority of sixty-nine to thirty-six.* It was, however, nearly three years after these first steps in the path to victory, before complete success was achieved, for the measure did not pass both Houses of Parliament until the 24th of March, 1807. The royal assent was given to it by commission, at almost the very last minute of the following day. Thus, after a struggle of twenty years, during which, probably, millions of unhappy beings had perished at the hands of British subjects, and both friends and foes of the proposed remedy had wasted their best energies in the unnatural strife,† the God of the negro enabled Great Britain to triumph over the petty interests of selfish policy, and the gross sophistries of godless wisdom. It is instructive to reflect that the revival of evangelical truth may be referred to this period; and thus, while the minds of British Christians were devising physical freedom for the African, the day began to dawn in which they were themselves to enjoy the light and liberty of the Gospel of Christ.

Wilberforce had, on the 10th of June, 1806, when a majority in favour of abolition had been obtained, which rendered the ultimate success of the measure morally certain, moved an address to the king, "praying that he would be pleased to direct a negotiation to be entered into, by which foreign powers should be invited to co-operate with his majesty in measures to be adopted for the abolition of the African slave trade." This motion was carried without a division. The continental war, however, in which Great Britain was then engaged, prevented this object being carried out; but immediately on the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1814, addresses were presented to the Prince Regent from both Houses of Parliament, beseeching him to exert his influence with the allied powers for the abolition of the slave trade, by their respective governments. Petitions from the city of London

* "It is worthy of remark, that in the division of the House of Commons, on the first motion of Mr. Wilberforce for the abolition of the African slave trade, after the Irish union, every Irish member present supported the measure. Ireland should be the land of the *free*."—*Copley's History of Slavery*.

† Both Pitt and Fox, the two great rival statesmen of the day, yet who harmonized in sympathy for Africa, may be said to have died in the breach, the former on the 23rd of January, 1806, and the latter on the 13th of the following September.

and its vicinity, signed by nearly 40,000 inhabitants, loaded the tables of both Houses to the same effect; and subsequently, during the sitting of the Congress of Vienna, petitions to the amount of 900, with little short of a million of names attached, were likewise presented, urging the government to take some decisive step at so critical a juncture, in favour of suffering Africa. The friends of humanity were not altogether unsuccessful: the traffic in human blood was branded by all the sovereigns assembled as "a scourge which had long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity;" and the ministers of all the great powers signed a declaration to accelerate the suppression of the barbarous traffic.

An article in the treaty concluded between the allies and France, in November, 1815, had provided for conferences among the respective ministers, without loss of time, on the most effectual measures "for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious, and so strongly condemned by the laws of religion and of nature." One of these conferences, composed of the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, was held in London, in December, 1817. The principal subjects debated in these conferences were the enactment, by each government, of stringent laws against the trade, and the expediency of admitting a mutual right of search. Difficulties arose from the reluctance of the King of Portugal to adopt the proposed measures. The matter was again urged at the important Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle,* in October and November, 1818, by the British minister, Lord Castlereagh; but objections were taken, especially by the plenipotentiary of France, on that part of his plan which involved a mutual right of visiting suspected vessels. At the Congress of Verona,† held November, 1822, the Duke of Wellington again

* The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, capital of the district of the same name in the Prussian Grand Duchy of the Lower Rhine, took place in October and November 1818, at which plenipotentiaries from all the allied powers were present, and by the decision of which, the allied army, consisting of 150,000 English, Russian, Austrian, and other troops, which, since the second peace at Paris, had remained in France to watch over its tranquillity, was withdrawn, after France had paid the contribution imposed at the peace of 1815. Other matters of great influence on the future destinies of Europe, and the world, were also made the subject of arrangement at this congress. The sovereigns, and their representatives who attended it, have been accused of political bigotry; seeking to advance the objects, and to perpetuate the existence of arbitrary power, and to resist the advance of free institutions. It would not be surprising that, with their recent experience of the French Revolution, and its devastating effects, they should seek to devise measures to prevent the second act of so bloody a drama.

† The Congress of Verona, capital of the Austrian Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, was held on the 24th November, in the year 1822. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Sardinia, and Naples, were personally present. Canning, disapproving of its intended armed interference with Spain, declined to send a British minister; the Duke of Wellington, however, and the English ambassador at Vienna, attended. Viscounts Montmorency and Chateaubriand appeared for France. Counts Pozzo di Borgo and Nesselrode, and Senator Tatis-

expressed the solicitude of Great Britain for the co-operation of Europe in carrying out her project of justice to Africa. On this occasion the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, pledged their respective cabinets to concur in every thing that might secure and accelerate the complete and final abolition of the slave traffic.

While Great Britain was thus seeking to engage other countries in her philanthropic projects, she did not neglect any means to ensure the compliance of her own subjects. Ships of war were sent out to the African coast to guard against and detect any infraction of the abolition act. Prize courts, succeeded in 1819 by courts of Mixed Commission,* were constituted at Sierra Leone, "for the trial and adjudication of any captures of slaves taken as prize, and of all ships, &c. in which the same shall be found, and of the cargoes therein laden." By an act passed, May 14, 1811, known as the 51st Geo. III. cap. 23, the slave trade was declared to be felony, punishable by transportation for a term not exceeding five years, nor less than three; and by a subsequent act, 5th Geo. IV. cap. 77, passed on the 31st of March, 1824, slave dealers are declared to be guilty of piracy, felony, and robbery, and on being "convicted thereof, shall suffer death, without benefit of clergy, and loss of lands, goods, and chattels, as pirates, felons, and robbers on the high seas, ought to suffer."† Unceasing have been the exertions, as every reader of periodical intelligence knows, to guard, by legislative restrictions, the integrity of the abolition act.‡

chief, for Russia; Prince Hardenburg, for Prussia. There were, besides these, Prince Metternich, who presided; Chevalier de Gentz, who drew up the protocol; Count Montecigno, Count Berenstorff, and Cardinal Spina, who represented Rome. A good deal of mystery was attached to the proceedings of this Congress, but the subjects taken into consideration were chiefly the affairs of Italy, Turkey, and Spain.

* Courts of Mixed Commission were constituted under the provisions of the treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and Brazil. Each court is intended to consist of a commissary, a commission of arbitration, and a registrar from each of the high contracting parties. From its decision there is no appeal. The duties of these courts are extensive, and the expenses proportionally large; the whole of which are, in the first instance, paid by the British government, but one-half is afterwards repaid by the several foreign governments concerned.

† The punishment of death was subsequently, by 1 Vic. c. 91, commuted to transportation.

‡ The following is the present state of the law, as laid down by Lord Brougham on a recent occasion:—"The law is, that in any part of the world, whether in a country where the slave-trade is unlawful, or in a country where the slave-trade is lawful, or in a country where the slave-trade is not only allowed, but protected and even encouraged by the law,—if, except on some savage coast, there be such a country,—the slave-trade, if engaged in by a British subject, is, in that person, illegal—a felony and piracy, punishable with transportation for life, if committed on the high seas, or within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty; punishable with transportation for fourteen years if committed in any place out of the Admiralty jurisdiction. For several years the offence of slave-trading, if

Treaties have, from time to time, been concluded, on the part of Great Britain, with almost all the civilized nations of the earth, to secure an abandonment, on their part, of the odious traffic, and to obtain the enactment of legal prohibitions against it. It is notorious that these treaties are set at nought by the parties who have entered into them; repeated and flagrant evasions of the most solemn engagements have been proved against the countries most anxious to sustain a character for civilization and refinement. The governments of these countries cannot be acquitted of connivance in the grossly dishonest practices that have been resorted to in avoidance of existing contracts; and Great Britain, who has persevered in her righteous struggles, with a constancy almost incredible, amid evasion, imposture, and falsehood, the most barefaced and disgusting, and at a sacrifice of money, labour, and human life, quite incalculable, sees now the murderous traffic carried on more murderously than ever; her humane exertions having only aggravated the sufferings of those whom she sought to befriend, by rendering their savage captors more desperate, and stimulating their ingenuity to devise means for escaping detection, to the total disregard of the convenience, or even lives of their hapless victims.*

The almost endless negotiations which have been carried on between this country and foreign nations, for the universal suppression of the African slave trade, would be found interesting and instructive, if our limits would admit of the recital, and to those who still entertain any expectation of good for Africa from the most potential measures of human diplomacy, or the wisest and most disinterested schemes of human beneficence; the study of the sickening struggle of the last thirty or forty years, between British benevolence and foreign duplicity, cannot fail to be useful. The following table, for which we are indebted to one of the annual reports of the British and Foreign Anti-

committed within the Admiralty jurisdiction, was a capital felony; but, by an act passed four years ago, it has been reduced to transportation for life; though it is still piracy as well as felony. If committed elsewhere, by a British subject, though in a colony or a country where slave-trading is ever so much permitted, and even favoured by the laws of the place, it is a felony in that British subject; he is liable to be tried, or taken and brought to a settlement of the British crown; or if taken and brought into this country, he is liable to be tried for that act of slave-trading, as if it had been committed in the county of Middlesex; and, on being convicted, he is liable to be transported as a felon for fourteen years."—*Speech of Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, 5th October, 1841.*

* "It is painful," says the Twenty-first Report of the African Institution, "to dwell on the perpetual scenes of rapacity and profligacy, of fraud and falsehood, in which it is difficult to say which most excites disgust and abhorrence, the ferocious cruelties practised by the immediate agents in the trade, or the heartless indifference with which the Spanish authorities contemplate these atrocities." Other civilized governments have sat for the same portrait.

slavery Society, must supply the place of a more detailed account of British effort and success :—

Treaties and Conventions of various Governments in Europe and America with Great Britain, for the suppression of the Slave-trade.

Countries.	Period of Abolition.	Date of Treaties and Conventions.	Right of Search, when conceded.	Equipment Article,* when agreed to.
Denmark . . .	16 Mar. 1792	14 July, 1814	26 July, 1834	26 July, 1834
Great Britain	25 Mar. 1807	26 July, 1834		
United States	2 Mar. 1807			
Sweden . . .	3 Mar. 1813	3 Mar. 1813	6 Nov. 1824	6 Nov. 1824
		6 Nov. 1824		
		15 June, 1835		
Netherlands .	15 Jan. 1814	4 May, 1818	4 May, 1818	
		31 Dec. 1822		
		25 Jan. 1823		25 Jan. 1823
France	30 July, 1815	30 Nov. 1831	30 Nov. 1831	
		22 Mar. 1833		22 Mar. 1833
		20 Dec. 1841		
Spain	30 May, 1820	28 Aug. 1814		
		23 Sept. 1817		
		10 Dec. 1822		
		28 June, 1835	28 June, 1835	28 June, 1835
Buenos Ayres	15 Nov. 1824	28 Feb. 1825		
		24 May, 1839	24 May, 1839	24 May, 1839
Columbia . .	18 April, 1825	18 April, 1825		
Mexico	26 Dec. 1826	26 Dec. 1826		
		14 Feb. 1841	14 Feb. 1841	14 Feb. 1841
Brazil	23 Nov. 1829	23 Nov. 1826	23 Nov. 1826	
		27 July, 1835		27 July, 1835
		27 May, 1839		
Sardinia . . .	8 Aug. 1834	8 Aug. 1834	8 Aug. 1834	8 Aug. 1834
Portugal . . .	17 Dec. 1836	19 Feb. 1810		
		22 Jan. 1815		
		28 July, 1817	28 July, 1817	
		11 Sept. 1817		
		15 Mar. 1823		
Hanse Towns	9 June, 1837	9 June, 1837	9 June, 1837	9 June, 1837
Tuscany . . .	24 Nov. 1837	24 Nov. 1837	24 Nov. 1837	24 Nov. 1837
Bolivia	5 June, 1837	5 June, 1837		
		25 Sept. 1840	25 Sept. 1840	25 Sept. 1840
Peru	5 June, 1837	5 June, 1837		
Naples	23 Dec. 1838	14 Feb. 1838	14 Feb. 1838	14 Feb. 1838
Hayti	33 Dec. 1839	23 Dec. 1839	23 Dec. 1839	23 Dec. 1839
Venezuela . .	15 Mar. 1839	15 Mar. 1839	15 Mar. 1839	15 Mar. 1839
Chili	9 July, 1839	9 July, 1839	9 July, 1839	9 July, 1839
		7 Aug. 1841		
Uruguay . . .	13 July, 1839	13 July, 1839	13 July, 1839	13 July, 1839
Texas	16 Nov. 1840	16 Nov. 1840	16 Nov. 1840	16 Nov. 1840
Austria . . .	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841
Prussia	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841
Russia	23 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841	20 Dec. 1841

* A convention, stipulating that any vessel equipped for the purpose of carrying slaves, should be liable to seizure and condemnation, equally with those having

To the above we shall add, from the same source, an account of the sacrifice incurred by Great Britain, in the prosecution of her philanthropic object :—

TABLE,

Showing the Amount paid for Salaries and Incidental Expenses for the Commissions established under the Treaties with Foreign Powers, for the suppression of the Slave-trade, from 1819 to 1841, both included.

DATES.	SIERRA LEONE.			HAVANA.			RIO DE JANEIRO.			SURINAM.			LONDON.			TOTAL.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1819	5,279	10	11	4,187	19	9	3,688	5	9	2,662	18	3	4,168	4	7	19,986	19	3
1820	4,652	18	9	3,000	0	0	2,601	16	0	2,500	0	0	4,585	11	2	17,340	5	11
1821	5,002	16	6	3,000	0	0	2,725	1	5	2,250	0	0	3,981	3	8	16,959	1	7
1822	5,055	8	3	3,700	0	0	2,658	3	2	2,532	5	6	4,160	5	0	18,106	1	11
1823	4,800	10	10	3,700	0	0	2,666	18	9	2,556	3	11	4,743	16	8	18,467	10	2
1824	7,194	1	11	2,172	3	4	2,680	8	4	2,114	11	5	4,799	16	11	18,961	1	11
1825	6,112	5	4	3,223	11	11	2,631	18	6	2,500	0	0	440	12	8	14,908	8	5
1826	5,752	5	4	4,119	4	5	2,646	4	0	2,530	10	0	630	3	5	15,678	7	2
1827	4,393	10	1	4,118	14	10	1,849	0	8	2,282	9	11	837	2	11	13,480	18	5
1828	7,237	2	1	3,535	1	11	2,010	15	10	3,013	14	9	905	0	4	16,701	14	11
1829	5,916	8	6	3,290	2	4	2,376	6	0	2,701	7	4	907	5	11	15,191	10	1
1830	6,001	8	5	2,685	15	8	1,858	0	7	2,500	0	0	936	0	3	13,981	4	11
1831	6,376	10	3	2,432	7	7	2,128	14	6	2,332	13	8	926	19	3	14,197	5	3
1832	7,314	5	10	3,616	12	10	2,451	14	9	2,333	6	8	1,044	6	10	16,760	6	11
1833	7,025	17	1	3,572	14	6	2,125	19	1	2,239	0	11	1,053	0	0	16,016	11	7
1834	6,523	19	7	4,116	18	5	2,153	4	2	1,872	10	1	977	7	8	15,643	19	11
1835	6,099	17	11	3,677	17	4	2,093	18	7	2,200	0	0	963	10	6	15,035	4	4
1836	5,334	11	10	3,359	7	10	2,036	8	4	2,200	0	0	1,159	8	7	14,129	16	7
1837	5,415	5	1	3,991	19	6	1,708	18	2	2,169	17	3	962	8	3	14,248	8	3
1838	5,380	7	7	3,603	15	0	2,065	1	3	2,000	0	0	1,215	6	11	14,265	0	6
1839	6,456	18	1	3,447	4	6	2,096	0	5	1,800	0	0	1,287	17	5	15,088	0	5
1840	6,630	2	7	3,467	9	9	2,213	3	1	1,901	13	0	1,369	2	5	15,581	10	10
1841	5,451	5	4	3,448	12	11	2,850	0	0	2,107	0	9	943	13	3	14,803	12	3
	135,410	8	1	79,507	14	4	54,316	1	4	53,300	3	5	42,998	4	7	365,732	11	9

In the foregoing table, the actual charge belonging to each year has been apportioned to the expenses of the year to which it belongs; and the sums received from foreign governments, for their shares of the expenses, have been apportioned in like manner, and deducted from the charges for the years for which they were due.

There were at first five commissions: one at London, under a treaty with Portugal, for settling the compensation due on cases of Portuguese slave ships, captured prior to 1815. It closed in 1824. Since then there have been but four commissions: that at the Havana, under treaty with Spain; at Surinam, under treaty with the Netherlands; at Rio de Janeiro, formerly under treaty with Portugal, and, since the separation of Portugal from Brazil, under treaty with Brazil; and that at Sierra Leone, which is now under treaties with Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Brazil, and which adjudges the cases of vessels of all these nations.

slaves actually on board. This was rendered necessary by the practice of slavers, when chased, suddenly landing their slaves, throwing them into the sea, or otherwise disposing of them.

A moiety of the expenses of the commission at the Havana is paid by Spain; a moiety of the expenses of the commission at Surinam is paid by the Netherlands; and a moiety of the expenses of the commission at Rio de Janeiro is paid by Brazil, and the remainder by Great Britain. Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Brazil pay each a sixth-part of the expenses at Sierra Leone, and Great Britain pays the remaining two-sixths. But Great Britain has usually had to advance in the first instance, the whole of the expenses at Sierra Leone; and the foreign governments repay their shares afterwards.

The sums due by foreign governments for their respective shares of these expenses have all been paid up to the end of the year 1837. There remains due for 1838, £315 12s. 6d.; 1839, £445 12s. 7d.; 1840, £456 16s. 5d.; 1841, £602 12s. 1d.—Total, £1820 13s. 5d. Of which sum total, the sum of £463 14s. 1d. is due by each of the three governments of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil; and £429 11s. 2d. is due by the government of the Netherlands.

NOTE.—Under the late treaty with Portugal, additional mixed Commission Courts, for the adjudication of slavers captured under the flag of that power, have been appointed at the Cape of Good Hope, Jamaica, Boa Vista, in the island of St. Jago, Cape de Verdes, and Loando, Africa.

AN ACCOUNT

Of the number of Persons now receiving Pensions for Service in Commissions, established under Treaties with Foreign Powers, for the suppression of the Slave-trade :—

Name.	Rank.	Amount of Pension.	Date of Commencement.
		£	
Chris. Edward Lefroy	Late Commissary Judge	600	23 Feb. 1829.
Henry T. Kilbee	idem	750	5 Jan. 1830.
Henry Hayne	idem	750	5 April, 1830.
Robert F. Jameson	Late Commissioner	500	5 June, 1830.
John H. Lance	Late Commissary Judge	750	31 March, 1834.
William Smith	idem	850	5 April, 1835.
William S. Mackleoy	idem	750	1 Feb. 1837.
Henry W. Macaulay	idem	750	14 Jan. 1841.
Richard B. Jackson	Late Clerk to Commissioners	225	1 Jan. 1842.

TABLE,

Showing the number of Vessels which have been employed on the WEST AFRICAN STATION, from 1829 to 1841, both included, the Force in Guns, Complement of Men, Deaths, distinguishing those which occurred in Action with Slavers, and by Accident, and the Expenditure for Stores, Wages, and Victuals for each Year :—

Years.	Number of Ships.	Force.	Complement.	Deaths in Action.	Deaths by Accident.	Total Deaths.	Expenditure.
							£
1829	8	192	1142	1	8	199	86,091
1830	9	210	1279	3	2	55	106,111
1831	7	135	840	1	2	28	51,361
1832	9	139	929	—	5	26	74,815
1833	10	134	1013	—	5	31	83,540
1834	13	135	1102	—	9	28	71,921
1835	12	90	710	—	2	22	35,889
1836	15	161	1170	—	6	21	87,720
1837	17	153	1159	1	9	111	65,280
1838	17	224	1536	1	7	109	93,180
1839	19	172	1394	3	3	81	78,671
1840	13	108	964	—	5	43	63,737
1841	18	199	1618	8	15	86	121,451
				18	78	840	1,019,767

NAVAL FORCE EMPLOYED, AND EXPENDITURE INCURRED IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD, IN 1842.

The number of vessels of war of all sizes engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade, during the year 1842, under treaties with foreign powers, was 58, manned by 8,554 seamen, and mounting 594 guns. The estimated expense of keeping up this force is stated at £575,466 per annum.

ESTIMATED TOTAL EXPENDITURE INCURRED IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The total expenditure for the suppression of the slave-trade, for a period of 32 years, ending in 1840, has been computed as follows, viz. :—

Squadron, Africa and West Indies, for 32 years	£12,224,000
Expenditure in and for Sierra Leone	1,678,724
„ Gold Coast and Fernando Po	763,130
Paid to foreign powers for co-operation	2,237,077
Bounties from 1808 to 1840	1,060,536
Commissariat accounts and pay	40,288
Ordnance pay and estimates	115,917
Support of liberated Africans	1,372,057
Salaries to mixed commissions, 1819, 1840	398,250
Sundries, illegal captures, &c.	196,891
„ pensions, &c.	563,060
Military expenditure, 1808, 1840	1,779,357
	£22,429,271

So vast an expenditure, with so little fruit, must surely show the impolicy of the measures adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade. By force it never can be extinguished; for as fast as it is beaten down in one direction, it springs up in another. To be effectual, its root, slavery, must be destroyed."

In connexion with the subject of British sacrifice and exertion in behalf of Africa, the following communication from Captain Hall, late in command of H. M. brig *Rolla*, on the coast of Africa, to the editor of the *United Service Gazette*, in January, 1843, may be inserted, as showing the difficulties to which British cruisers are exposed on that station, besides furnishing some interesting particulars in reference to the disgusting traffic with which we have been vainly endeavouring to contend:—

"The cruel, unfeeling, and heartless slave-traders, or their agents, reside at the most convenient places at or near the slaving towns or villages on the west coast of Africa, and have generally large expensive establishments in the shape of baracoons, for from 500 to 600 men slaves to live in; others for women and boys, with comfortable dwelling-houses, and every luxury for themselves. They have also factories or store-houses, containing quantities of slave goods, the only inland barter for slaves. A great part of English manufacture, viz., muskets, gunpowder, bar-iron (for forging shackles and chains), cutlery, slave cottons, rum, tobacco, woollen cloths, salt provisions, flour, rice, farina, &c., are carried to the coast, and considered as *legal trade* by mercenary merchant ships of all nations, particularly English, French, and Americans. The produce these vessels generally get in return from the coast is nominally nothing—mostly leave in ballast, receiving from the slave-dealers payment in cash or bills on London houses for the goods or freightage out. There is scarcely an English merchant on the slave coast but indirectly carries on, and finds it his interest to keep up the slave trade; and the slave-traders can, at all times, procure an unlimited supply of slave goods from them. The slaving piratical vessels which run across the Atlantic for cargoes of slaves sail very fast, and are generally well armed with large guns, for the express purpose of killing and wounding the seamen, and sinking the boats belonging to British cruisers, showing at the time no flag of any nation. On their making the slave coast where they are bound to, they immediately, night or day, communicate with the shore by means of light canoes, (which, in some instances, they carry across the Cuba,) when they immediately make sail off the land, and at the appointed hour stand in close to the beach, keeping under weigh, often receiving on board from the shore numbers of desperate armed ruffians, to aid and assist the piratical slave-vessel's crew to beat off or sink our armed boats belonging to the British cruisers, and most wantonly destroy the seamen.

"Every thing being previously arranged and prepared, they ship off from the open beach their slaves, provisions, and water for them, in three or four hours, crowd sail, and escape with impunity, which more than half do in defiance of the vigilant cruisers. The elements seem to befriend the slavers on the coast of Africa, the weather being generally thick and hazy, with light breezes and smooth water, which answer their diabolical purposes. They have certain information where the cruisers are on the coast, and know their sailing qualities to a nicety, having scouts along the coast, and a communication kept up by signals, fires, smokes, and small

croocanoes, which pull along the shore very fast, giving timely notice of the approach of a man-of-war, or her boats. The inducements to the slave-dealers are very great; indeed, if at all successful, they realize a profit of from 180 to 200 per cent. and upwards. All the chiefs and natives on the slave coast heartily turn their sole attention to the exportation of slaves, and nothing else, which they consider to be their only legitimate revenue; any other trade is lost sight of, and they consider treaties as a mere piece of paper.

"A speculating slave-dealer from Cuba or the Brazils, if he cannot readily procure a fast vessel for slaving, or to avoid the outward risk, gets a passage across to the slave coast in an American or a Brazilian merchant vessel, generally laden with articles manufactured mostly at Manchester and Birmingham, expressly for the slave market; and which is the only barter to purchase slaves with in the interior, money being of no use there for that purpose. The slave-dealer either takes a round sum of money with him, or deposits a sum beforehand in a London banking-house, on which he draws his bills to pay for the slave goods, and for the purchase of a fast-sailing vessel, mostly American, built for the express purpose, and brought to the Cape de Verd Islands, and on the coast, for sale.

"Any quantity of English manufactured goods, only fit for the slave trade, can be procured by the slave-traders on credit from English houses, on the coast of America, at the risk of twenty-five per cent. on the first cost.

"The present system pursued in endeavouring to put down the slave trade by cruisers, is attended with great risk, anxiety, and loss of life, with heavy expenses to the country; it is also attended with unspeakable horrors, and unutterable sufferings to the poor unfortunate slaves who are doomed for exportation. They are frequently for months (from a man-of-war blockading the slaving place) kept in a state of mere starving existence in the baracoons on shore. From the heavy expense of feeding them, many are starved to death, chained together in gangs (by the neck) from twelve to twenty, or shackled by the legs in pairs. On an opportunity offering, they are shipped off in an exhausted, inanimate state, and packed in a slaver's hold nearly in bulk, when their miseries or sufferings increase, as they are deprived of fresh air, and almost of water, which they did not feel the want of on shore, in the baracoons. Only fancy, if you can, their increased sufferings during the voyage across the Atlantic. Should they be taken by a man-of-war on the eve of landing the cargo of slaves at Cuba, or on the coast of Brazil, they would then, poor wretches, have to proceed on another voyage of extreme misery, until many are happily relieved by death!

"The slave-traders control and keep the native chiefs in subjection; on the coast they make defences, and mount guns at the slaving establishment on shore; often fire on the cruisers' boats; showing no flag of any description, and generally succeed in cutting off all supplies from ships-of-war.

"The articles made expressly for the slave trade are of the worst possible manufacture; the rum is horrible, and drives the natives mad; the muskets burst to pieces in their hands; and the tobacco is made up of the worst ingredients possible. The most worthless articles are exported, for which the natives are charged exorbitant prices. Every possible imposition is practised on the poor, much-benighted African; and debased in intellect to the lowest grade by the white piratical slave dealers, the scourge and curse of Africa, and to the utter disgrace of any thing in the shape of a human being.

"CHARLES HALL, Commander,

"Late in command of H.M. brig *Rolla*, employed on the
"West Coast of Africa."

The reader may wish to know what are the profits to be derived from slave-trading adventures. We shall lay before them a communication extracted from a Hamburg paper, which contains an estimate of a proposed speculation of this kind, which will serve as a fair specimen of all such nefarious enterprises :—

“ The question of the slave-trade having been, of late, so frequently a topic of discussion, it may not be disagreeable to your readers to know something of the enormous profit made by West Indian and North American slave-dealers ; I shall, therefore, hand you for publication a letter addressed to me when I was in America, in 1841, proposing to me to take a share in a speculation of the kind.

The original was written in French, and was addressed to me by Captain Auguste L., one of the most notorious slave-dealers, and was delivered to me by his own hand.

The calculations of Captain L., it will be seen, are not quite accurately summed up ; still I have sent them as they are, a nearly literal translation, without altering any part of the original.

HEINRICH FLINDT.

CONTO RENTO OF THE PROBABLE RESULT OF A CARGO OF 250 NEGROES.

Preliminary Expenses.

	Dollars.
Purchase of a suitable vessel	4,000
Equipment and advance to the crew	2,000
300 muskets, of the usual quality	700
600 machetas, or negro knives	300
1,500 pieces of calico, gingham, &c.	3,000
1,000 pieces of cloth	1,000
1,000 lbs. of tobacco	200
1,500 lbs. of gunpowder	400
800 casks of tafia	200
Bullets, flints, knives, and looking-glasses	400
Fittings up between the decks, chains, 300 small demi-fcannes, water casks, and medicine chests	800
Total	13,000

The captain's wages are 150 dollars a month, besides 12 per cent. on the gross produce of the slaves. The first mate's wages are 80 dollars a month, and four dollars a head on each negro ; the second mate 60 dollars, and two dollars a head. The cook receives monthly 50 dollars, the carpenter 50 dollars, and each sailor 35 dollars.

Expenses after Landing the Negroes.

	Dollars.
To be paid to the captain and crew, say	16,000
To the consignee	4,000
To the governor, one ounce per head	4,000
	24,000

The value of the ship remains to the owners, say 2,500 dollars, and might be sold to cover the cost of lodging, and feeding the cargo till the sale.

The gross proceeds of the sale, estimating the 250 negroes to bring the very low price of 22 Spanish ounces, or 37½ dollars a head (they seldom bring less than 400 dollars,) would be dollars 93,500

Deduct expenses 37,000

There will remain a net profit of 56,500

Every thousand dollar share will, therefore, produce 4,345 dollars netto.

The equipment may take place either at Havana or in the United States. In the latter case, however, the muskets and machetas must be bought at Havana, as these articles would not be easily obtained in an American harbour.

It will be well to let the equipment begin immediately, as about four months are required to complete the affair, namely, between the departure from Havana and the return thither. It would be possible, therefore, to be back in August; and at this season there are few or no cruisers to be apprehended, most of them taking shelter for the winter in the harbours. The moment of landing the slaves is, perhaps, the only one of real danger.

It would be better, in many respects, that this affair should be undertaken in shares."

Sir Fowell Buxton produces, as a sample, two cases of slave adventure; in one of which there was a clear profit of £18,000, or just 180 per cent., and the other he sets down thus:—

850 slaves, at £50 each	£42,500
Expenses of voyage	£2,500
Cost of slaves on the coast, at £4 per head	3,400
	5,900
Nett profit	£36,000

We have now to notice the extent to which this odious trade is carried on, referring our readers to the clear and decisive statements and calculations on the subject made by Sir Fowell Buxton, in his unanswerable work on the slave trade and its remedy, for the authorities in support of such a frightful exhibition of suffering and death. The parliamentary papers from which he quotes continue to fill up the horrible picture:—

"Upon the most moderate computation, the slave-trade dooms to the horrors of slavery every year, among

Christian powers	120,000
Mahommedan powers	50,000
	170,000
Destroyed annually in procuring the above	280,000
Making a total of	450,000

Of every thousand victims to the slave-trade, *one-half* perish in the seizure, march, and detention on the coast; *one-fourth* of those embarked, perish during the middle passage; and *one-fifth* of those who are landed, perish in the seasoning during the first year, and the remaining three hundred, with their descendants, are doomed to hopeless bondage and a premature grave.

AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE SINCE 1808.

Carried away from Africa for the Brazils	2,420,000
Ditto, ditto, Cuba and Puerto Rico	1,020,000
Ditto, ditto, French colonies, Mexico, and for United States	300,000
Captured and liberated, and died after capture, about	140,000
(1808 to 1840) Total	3,880,000

The numbers that die on the middle passage, the decrease by deaths over the births, and the number yearly enfranchised in the colonies, are equal to, at least, 25 per cent. on the number shipped from Africa.

SIERRA LEONE.

The total number of cases of captured slaves, adjudicated by the Mixed Commission Courts, established at Sierra Leone, between June, 1819, and the 31st December, 1838, appears by the official returns to have been 334. The number of slaves emancipated and registered in the colony, 48,359; and the number liberated and registered elsewhere, chiefly in the West Indies, was 7,219; making a grand total of 55,578. The number of cases adjudicated between 1st January and 31st December, 1839, was 60; and the number of slaves emancipated, 3,232. In reference to the captures made by British cruisers during the year 1839, it should be observed that most of them took place under what is termed "The Equipment Article," and this will account for the small number of slaves liberated by the Mixed Commission Courts, at Sierra Leone, during that period. The number of slaves liberated by the Mixed Commission Courts, at Rio de Janeiro, Havana, and Surinam, will probably amount to about 15,000, in addition to those set free at Sierra Leone."

We shall not be surprised at the enormous annual sacrifice of human life and happiness, when we calculate the immense slave population to be kept up throughout the world, and the fearful expenditure of human life which the barbarities of slave labour occasions—about ten years being considered the longest average time to which the existence of a slave can be protracted. Africa is the exchequer upon which human avarice makes these immense and ceaseless demands, and she pays them in rivers of blood and tears. Let us see, according to this view, what part of this startling account should belong to Christendom. The following table exhibits the amount of *stock* which must be kept up:—

SLAVE POPULATION UNDER NOMINALLY CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENTS.

<i>North America.</i> —United States	2,483,536
Texas	75,000
<i>South America.</i> —Columbia	152,000
Brazil	2,500,000
Peru	284,773
Surinam	55,000
Cayenne	16,140
<i>West Indies.</i> —Spanish Colonies	600,000
French ditto	170,603
Danish ditto	38,000
Dutch ditto	17,000
Swedish ditto	5,248
	6,397,300

According to this computation, if we omitted the births, it would be necessary, annually, to drain Africa of upwards of 600,000 of her inhabitants, to supply the waste in Christian possessions alone, besides as many more destroyed during the capture, the middle passage, and seasoning. But as we must take the comparatively few births into account, the total before given may be adopted as certainly not exaggerating the annual sacrifice of human life.

We must bring this chapter to a close. Enough has been said to reveal the past and present sufferings of Africa, and to point out the quarter from which alone she may expect pity and redress. If the foregoing statement is true, two prominent facts are established; first, that Britain is the only nation in earnest in concern for Africa; and, second, that with a will to relieve her, eager and undoubted, and with a physical and political power second to none ever possessed by any empire of ancient or modern times, she has utterly failed, by efforts commensurate with her stupendous ability and pecuniary sacrifices, that would have involved other nations in ruin, to make the smallest impression on the execrable system, against which the almost boundless resources of her might and her influence have been employed for a period of nearly forty years. British life has been sacrificed; British wealth lavished; and the majesty of the British name pledged to extinguish the slave trade. "The result, the melancholy result, remains to be stated. The traffic has not been extinguished—has not been diminished, but from the latest accounts, from which any estimate can be correctly formed, the number of Africans exported has increased—the destruction of human life, and all the guilt and misery consequent thereon, have been fearfully augmented; and, at the same time, it may be stated that the numbers now exported from Africa are, as compared with the year 1807, as two to one, and that the annual loss of life has risen from seventeen to twenty-five per cent."*

One of the subjects of inquiry submitted to a committee of the House of Commons, in the sessions of 1833 and 1834, appointed to consider "what measures ought to be adopted to promote the spread of civilization among the aborigines of our colonies, and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion," was, "Whether the experience of the several missionary societies led to the belief that it would be advisable to begin with civilization in order to introduce Christianity, or with Christianity in order to lead to civilization?" All the missionaries examined, without any previous concert among themselves, replied, "that there is no remedy so effectual, under the divine blessing, to benefit man, for 'the life that now is,' as well as 'that which is to come,' as Christianity." Mr. Coates, one of the

* Prospectus of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and for the Civilization of Africa. Instituted, June, 1839.

secretaries to the Church Missionary Society, in his lengthened reply observed—"I find the preceptive part of Christianity tends to make man peaceable, honest, sober, industrious, and orderly—these, in my opinion, are the very elements of civilization, in the moral sense of it."

Now it is undoubted that civilization in Africa would put an end to the slave-trade ; it has done so in every nation of the earth—that is, as regards the sale and exportation of the inhabitants by their countrymen. But, civilization is Christianity, either vitally embraced in its regenerating power, or exerting its resistless influence over the laws, institutions, and morals of a community. Experience has abundantly proved that we cannot, by the most comprehensive machinery, prevent Africa being applied to for the sale of her people ; it remains for us to try and render such an application abhorrent to her feelings, by enlightening and elevating them above their present brutalized condition. Here again there is, blessed be God, a will and a power, in our highly-favoured land, to effect this noble and indispensable object. British Christians must possess the will, and the word of God is the power. It has done good for Africa before ; it has effected the only good which she has received in modern times, and whatever of promise there is for the future, in the present circumstances of Africa, the triumphs of scriptural truth over native barbarity and superstition, and the loathsome effects of natural depravity, developed and fostered by foreign avarice, declare that the Gospel is the lever by which the evils of Africa will be ultimately uprooted, and the rule of moral and spiritual debasement overthrown.

EARLY AFRICAN CHURCHES.

A HISTORY of the early African churches is yet a desideratum in literature. It seems strange that so little interest is felt for a portion of the globe where Christianity achieved some of its first and proudest conquests, and secured many of the noblest testimonies to its truth and power which were supplied in any region where the banner of the cross has been unfurled. The voice of Africa has been for centuries silent amid the Christian communities of the earth—her candlestick removed—her light extinguished; but there was a period, and that for centuries, when Northern Africa occupied no subordinate station in ecclesiastical rank—when, from her episcopal thrones and councils, she issued her decrees in all the dignity of conscious authority, and enforced them with a power which she knew could not be disputed. Twelve centuries of darkness and degradation intervene between that period and the present, and little, save the name of Christian, exists to direct the researches of the historian, or rescue the account which has been transmitted to us of numerous and flourishing churches in that now sterile region, from the suspicion of fable or romance.

Several parts of Africa, besides Egypt, are referred to in the Holy Scriptures. Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, is frequently mentioned. Its conversion to God is predicted (Ps. lxxviii. 31), and the prophecy may date its fulfilment from the baptism of the officer under Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, by Philip the deacon, recorded Acts viii. 27. The Libyans are joined with them in a prophecy of Daniel, (Dan. xi. 43,) and some of the inhabitants of Libya are mentioned as being present at the effusion of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, (Acts ii. 10). Here, also, Cyrene is introduced as neighbouring on Libya. Simon, who was compelled to bear our Lord's cross, was a native of this part of Africa, (Mat. xxviii. 32). Natives of Cyrene are also spoken of, (Acts xi. 20, xiii. 1). Alexandria gave birth to Apollos, "an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures," (Acts xviii. 24); and in a ship belonging to this renowned city, Paul sailed into Italy, (Acts xxvii. 6).

Africa being a province of Rome, it was natural that the Christian religion should be carried thither; and accordingly we find that in the second century it abounded with Christians,* though of the manner in which the Gospel was introduced there, we have no certain account. Eusebius and Jerome allege that St. Mark, the evangelist, was the first founder of a congregation at Alexandria, and he is accordingly called the first bishop of that see.† The Ethiopian eunuch baptized by Philip is said to have preached Christ to his countrymen on his return; but Frumentius is named as the apostle and first bishop of the Axumi, or Axumitæ,‡ as by the Abyssinians are called. It happened that he, when a boy, accompanied Meropius, a Syrian philosopher, who desired to explore the country of Abyssinia. Meropius was murdered by the natives, but Frumentius, together with another youth, Edesius who also accompanied Meropius, were presented to the king, who took them under his patronage. On the king's death, Frumentius was made prime minister. He collected a congregation of Christians, for whom he built a church; and some time after, having obtained permission to return home, he related his adventures to Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, with a request that he would send out a faithful missionary to improve the opportunity afforded for the propagation of the Gospel. After some deliberation Athanasius fixed on Frumentius himself, as the first bishop of the Abyssinian Church, and in that character he returned to the land of his adoption.

That the light of the Gospel had reached the famous city of Carthage, in the latter part of the second century, we are informed by the history of Tertullian, the first Latin writer of the church, whose works have come down to us, who flourished at that period. He was educated for the law; but afterwards, on his conversion to Christianity, became a presbyter of the church at Carthage. His history and writings are calculated to disappoint the Christian antiquarian, who expects that the current of Christian doctrine will be found most pure the nearer he approaches its source: for here we have, within two hundred years after our Lord's departure from earth, a distinguished ecclesiastic and religious writer becoming the dupe of a silly, extravagant man, named Mantonus, who announced himself as the paraclete or comforter pro-

* Eusebius names the bishops in regular succession from St. Mark: as Annianus, who succeeded the apostle and evangelist, in the eighth year of the reign of Nero; Avilius, who succeeded Annianus, in the fourth year of Domitian; after him Cerdon, in the first year of Trajan; then Primus, in the twelfth of Trajan, Marcus, Celadin, Agrippinus, Julian, Clement, &c.

† Gibbon asserts, on the authority of the Donatists, confirmed, he says, by Augustine, that Africa was the last of the Roman provinces that received the Gospel.

‡ From Axim, the ancient capital of Abyssinia, said to have been built in the days of Abraham. In the second century it was a flourishing city, but Bruce found it in ruins.

mised by Christ to his disciples, and who imposed the grossest superstitions and austerities upon his followers. The writings of Tertullian, which are praised for their eloquence, exhibited little of the clearness of Gospel truth—little of the freeness of Gospel privileges. He seems generally correct in the fundamental doctrines of the Bible ; but in his strictures on Christian practice he is morose and severe ; and should we judge of the teaching in the church at Carthage in his day, from his writings, we should consider it little calculated to win souls to Christ. “There was, indeed,” says a well-known historian,* “such a mixture in the qualities of this man, that it is difficult to fix his real character, and to determine which of the two were predominant—his virtues or his defects. He was endowed with a great genius, but seemed deficient in point of judgment. His piety was warm and vigorous, but at the same time melancholy and austere. His learning was extensive and profound ; and yet his credulity and superstition were such as might have been expected from the darkest ignorance : and with respect to his reasonings, they had more of the subtlety that dazzles the imagination, than of the solidity which brings light and conviction to the mind.” His name, Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, indicates that he was descended from illustrious ancestors, and as he acknowledges himself, previous to his conversion, he, like St. Paul, was a deadly persecutor of the disciples of Jesus.

Tertullian wrote an apology for the Christians, which has been much and justly admired. One or two passages from this work will give pleasure : “We,” he says, meaning the Christians, “pray for the safety of the emperors to God—even to the true, the living God, whose favour the emperors themselves prefer to that of others who are called gods. We look up to heaven with outstretched hands, because they are harmless—with naked heads, because we are not ashamed—without a prompter, because we pray from the heart. We earnestly request, for all emperors, a long life, a secure empire, a safe palace, strong armies, a faithful senate, a well moralized people, a quiet state of the world, and whatever else they would wish for, either in their public or private capacity. These blessings we cannot solicit from any other than from Him, from whom we know we shall obtain them, because He alone can grant them ; and we are they who may expect them of Him, being His servants who worship him alone, and are ready to lose our life in His service. Whilst our hands are thus stretched out in prayer, let your tormenting irons harrow our flesh ; let crosses suspend us ; let fires consume us ; let swords pierce our hearts : **A PRAYING CHRISTIAN IS IN A FRAME FOR ENDURING ANY THING.**” The practice and the spirit here exhibited are well worthy of imitation.

* Mosheim.

His testimony to the rapid spread of the Gospel in his day is valuable. "Were we disposed," he says, in another place, "to act the part, I will not say, of secret assassins, but of open enemies, should we want forces or numbers? Are we not dispersed through the world? It is true we are but of yesterday, and yet we have filled all your towns, cities, islands, castles, boroughs, councils, camps, courts, palaces, senate, forum. We leave you only your temples." After a few more remarks, he proceeds—"Nothing is more foreign to us than political concerns. The whole world is our republic. We are a body united in one bond of religion, discipline, and hope. We meet in our assemblies as those who are about to storm heaven with the fervour of our devotions; a violence acceptable to God. We assemble also to have recourse to the Divine oracles for caution and recollection on all occasions. **BY THE WORD OF GOD, we nourish our faith, erect our hope, and confirm our confidence,** and we strengthen our discipline by repeatedly inculcating precepts, exhortations, corrections." After alluding to the practice recommended by the apostle, of "contributing to the necessity of saints," he adds—"This very charity of ours has caused us to be noticed by some—**SEE (say they)—HOW THESE CHRISTIANS LOVE ONE ANOTHER.**"

It were well if all the writings of Tertullian, and they were numerous, breathed such a spirit as this; but in some of them there is much superstition, bitter asperity, and a slavish reliance on bodily exercises, for acceptance with God; severe to himself, he can find no excuse for the infirmities of others, and under an unscriptural view of Christian perfection, exacts from professors a discipline and practice foreign to the religion of Jesus, and the least calculated to secure the object in view. Tertullian died about the middle of the third century, having lived, according to Jerome, to a very advanced age.

That Numidia also extensively embraced the religion of the cross, we collect from the fact, that early in the fourth century, the occasion of an election to the see of Carthage, without the presence and sanction of the Numidian Bishops—a breach of respect which had never before occurred—originated the celebrated Donatist schism which, for more than a century, convulsed the church, and embroiled even the state in its insatiable rancour. The Numidian Bishops, to the number of seventy, assembled, and deposed the prelate who had been elected, and chose another in his stead. Of this schism we shall have occasion to speak presently. It is now alluded to for the purpose of showing how widely the Gospel had been disseminated in the country over which these prelates presided.

We may here just mention, as a proof that it is not because reconciliation was not offered, that the curse pronounced by Noah abides upon the land of Ham; that for four or five centuries Northern Africa

abounded with churches and the sees of bishops. At the first council of Alexandria, A. D. 322, assembled to condemn the fatal doctrines of Arius, there were present nearly one hundred bishops. At the conference between the Donatists and the Catholics, on the 1st of June, 411, the Donatist bishops amounted to 279, and those of the Catholic party, to 286.* At the council of Carthage, convened in A. D., 417, to oppose Pelagius and Celestius, no fewer than 214 African prelates assembled; and when Genseric, king of the Vandals, wrested Africa from the Romans, he banished 300 bishops, by one act of tyranny, from their sees; and, notwithstanding the removal of so many, Genseric's son and successor, the brutal Henneric, was afterwards able to assemble 466 orthodox bishops at Carthage, 376 of whom were likewise exiled from their flocks. It is true that Gibbon speaks somewhat disparagingly of these bishops, alleging that they were appointed to the most inconsiderable towns and obscure villages; but we shall be in no danger of imbibing the spirit of this derogatory statement, if we remember that there were also presbyters and deacons in the African churches, as we have seen, in the case of Tertullian, who was only a presbyter of Carthage, and as we shall further see as we proceed; and that, therefore, as each bishop must have had a number of the inferior clergy under him, their sees must have been somewhat more considerable than he would insinuate.

While on this subject we shall here quote Dupin, the erudite French historian, who, after having given an account of the African councils, and their acts, says:—

“The reflections which may be made on the councils of Africa, of which we have just now spoken, are these:—First, that there were in Africa a great number of bishops. Secondly, that the title of metropolitan in Africa was not, as in other places, affixed to the bishop of the civil metropolis, but to the antiquity of the bishopric. Thirdly, that the bishop of Carthage had much authority over all Africa; that he enjoyed great jurisdictions and prerogatives; in a word, that he was—as it were—the ex-arch or patriarch of all Africa. Fourthly, that synods were very often held in Africa; and they were distinguished into two sorts—one provincial, the other national or general, which were commonly held at Carthage, where the bishops deputed from the provinces assembled under the authority of the bishop of that city. Fifthly, that they handled matters of discipline, and made such canons as they saw the juncture and state of

* The Donatists asserted that the entire number of their bishops was 400 (see p. 115). The Catholics had 121 of their bishops absent on this occasion, besides sixty-four vacant bishoprics. This would make the entire number of African prelates, in the beginning of the fifth century, 871. Dupin, however, reckons only 690 in the most prosperous times.

affairs required. Sixthly, that their discipline, with respect to clergymen, was very regular and exact. Seventhly, that they endeavoured to maintain the ecclesiastical authority by the assistance of the imperial laws. Lastly, that they made many canons very useful for all Christians."

It will be collected from the above reflections, that the African church possessed a self-ruling jurisdiction, and did not acknowledge the authority of any foreign ecclesiastical power.* This is one testimony among many against the pretensions of modern Rome, who asserts the antiquity of her title to universal dominion, as one of the arguments in favour of her usurpation. It is true that she early claimed a supremacy over the churches, the natural consequence, she conceived, of her civil pre-eminence. So did Constantinople, when it became the seat of empire: but in Africa, at least, her claim was disallowed. In the third century, Tertullian treats with just severity a decree of the Roman prelate, in which a power to absolve from sin is assumed. "I hear," he says, "that a decree—a peremptory decree—has been issued. The chief pontiff, forsooth! the bishop of bishops! declares, 'I absolve penitents from the sin of adultery and fornication.' Oh, edict pregnant with every abomination!—who can pardon sin but God alone. This is, indeed, the prerogative of the Lord, not of the servant: of God himself, not of the priest."† And in the same century, Cyprian, the distinguished bishop of Carthage, maintained an obstinate controversy with Stephen, bishop of Rome, concerning the baptism of heretics, in which, to use the language of Mosheim, "he treated the arrogance of that imperious prelate with a noble indignation, and also with a perfect contempt." Indeed, it was not likely that Cyprian, enjoying so extensive a jurisdiction in his own province, and with a mind fully alive to the dignity of his station, as metropolitan of all Africa, would submit to be ranked as subordinate to a prelate whose see was not as extensive as his own.‡

Having mentioned the name of Cyprian, we are led to take some further notice of this remarkable man, of whom even Gibbon is constrained to say—"he possessed every quality which could engage the

* In A.D. 425, there was a council held in Africa of bishops from all the provinces, which decreed that no bishop should be called head of all priests, and that no appeal should be made out of Africa to any other bishop.

† *Treatise de Castitate.*

‡ Cyprian's own account of his jurisdiction is: "*Latius fuit est nostra provincia; habet enim Numidiam et Mauritanias duas sibi coherentes.*" So far from Cyprian acknowledging subjection to the Roman church, the latter, on the occasion of the Novatian controversy, made application to him for his advice and influence. We know also that it was determined at the first council of Nice, A.D. 325, that the metropolitan bishops, in their respective provinces, should have the same power and authority that the bishop of Rome exercised over the subaltern churches and countries.

reverence of the faithful, or provoke the suspicions and resentment of the pagan magistrates. His character, as well as his station, seemed to mark out that holy prelate as the most distinguished object of envy and of danger.

Thracius Cæcilius Cyprian was born at Carthage towards the close of the second century. He possessed an ample fortune, and considerable abilities : he had obtained a good education, and became a professor of oratory in his native city. Previous to his conversion he lived most luxuriously : "his dress," as he says himself, in one of his epistles, "was splendid; his retinue ostentatious, and he never went abroad without being attended by a crowd of clients and followers." Cæcilius, a presbyter, was the instrument of his conversion, about the year 216,* and from that happy occasion until his death he was a remarkable example of holiness and self-denial, being so filled with a spirit of Christian philanthropy, that he is said to have sold whole estates for the relief of his indigent brethren.

Two years after his conversion he was ordained presbyter, and very soon after, much against his own will, he was elected to the see of Carthage—five presbyters alone opposed his exaltation, which otherwise gave general satisfaction; and for the eleven years during which he filled the episcopal office, no true friend of the Gospel had reason to regret that such a man had been chosen to preside over the African church.

Cyprian could not boast of human learning—in literary research he was excelled by many of his day; but in Christian zeal and usefulness he had few competitors. His historian, Pontus, bears the following testimony to his conduct as a bishop :—"How Cyprian now conducted himself who is able to relate! His piety, his zeal, his compassion, and the steadiness of his whole administration, were all admirable. His very aspect displayed such sanctity and grace as arrested the attention of every beholder. His countenance was grave, but cheerful, and equally distant from the extremes of levity and moroseness; so that it was doubtful whether he more deserved love or respect, though both would be readily awarded him. His garb was of a piece with his countenance, maintaining a happy medium. He had renounced his former secular pomp; but avoided the appearance of affected penury."

When Cyprian attained to the episcopate, the church had for some years enjoyed a state of tranquillity. Philip the Arabian† was emperor, and although he had secured his elevation to the imperial dignity by the murder of his predecessor, Gordian, Eusebius says he was a Chris-

* He added, in consequence, the name of his spiritual father to his own.

† Philip was an Arab by birth, and, says Gibben, "a robber by profession." He was prætorian prefect of the Emperor Gordian III., whom he caused to be executed, and whose throne he usurped.

tian by profession, and countenanced the spread of the Gospel. Prosperity had, as usual, enervated the church, and with the decay of vital godliness, laxity of discipline prevailed to a fearful extent in both the East and West. Cyprian was the man for the times. The reformation of abuses was entrusted to a well-selected instrument, and the African church, under his sway, quickly began to exhibit symptoms of revival. Meanwhile, Philip died, and Decius succeeded to the empire. Decius hated Philip, and was a bigotted pagan; the consequence was, that a persecution, the most violent that the church had yet sustained now commenced against it. The extirpation of Christianity was aimed at, and now the faith of the African church was weighed in the balance, and found wanting. During the preceding year, Christians had corrupted their ways before the Lord, and now he was not with them in the fire: crowds of them, as soon as the edicts of Decius against Christianity were promulgated, ran to the tribunals to exculpate themselves, and offer sacrifices to the heathen gods, the prescribed test of apostacy, and the day seemed too short for the number that pressed forward to this work of blasphemy. The venerable Cyprian did all that he could to comfort the faithful, confirm the wavering, and restrain the headlong impiety of the lapsed; but when the populace demanded that he, the leader of the Christians, should be thrown to lions, and there appeared no chance of appeasing their fury, he thought it prudent to retire, and for two years he remained concealed in a place of safety, so well selected, that his enemies never discovered his retreat.

Cyprian kept up a constant correspondence with his clergy during his absence. His letters, which are extant, breathe a spirit of piety and Christian affection, and were well calculated to support and comfort his afflicted brethren; who, during his absence, were called on to endure the most unheard-of sufferings—they were scourged, racked, roasted alive; their flesh was torn from them with red hot pincers, and every ingenuity was exercised to invent for them new species of torture, and to prolong their agonies. Many submitted to these torments with amazing constancy, several expiring under them, and others were cast into prison with mangled bodies, to envy their brethren who had been removed by death from their miseries. The spirit of Cyprian was deeply afflicted by tidings of these atrocities, but more by learning that numbers of the lapsed had, without due trial, been re-admitted into the church, and even to the Lord's table, before his opinion had been asked on the subject—conduct which he severely reprimanded in an epistle to the presbyters. The following letter, which exhibits the friendly intercourse that existed between the churches of Rome and Carthage, on a footing of perfect equality, was addressed to Cyprian in reference to this subject:—

“The presbyters and deacons, dwelling at Rome, to Pope Cyprian greeting.*

“We have carefully read, brother, the letter just sent us by Fortunatus, your sub-deacon, and are greatly distressed to learn that, in the midst of so severe a persecution, you are harassed by the immoderate petulancy and arrogancy of the lapsed. But though these circumstances have greatly afflicted us, yet the weight of our sorrow is considerably lightened by your firmness and strict adherence to the discipline of the gospel. You have properly repressed their presumption, and by exhorting them to repentance, have shown them the scriptural way of salvation. Indeed we are astonished that at a time so mournful and unseasonable as the present, and especially when their crime was so great, and their apostacy so scandalous, they should proceed to such lengths as rather to claim their readmission to the church as a right, than to implore it as a grace, and even to affirm that their pardon was already sealed in heaven.

“Never cease brother in your charitable endeavours to quiet the minds of the lapsed, and to offer the proper medicine to the erroneous, though the inclination of the sick may often dislike the attention of the physician. This wound of the lapsed is still fresh, and its tumours are yet increasing; but we feel assured that at length their heat will subside, and they themselves will then be thankful for the delay which was absolutely necessary for a wholesome cure, unless officious persons arm them against their own safety.” We may here remark that it was this question of the readmission of the lapsed—those who had been terrified into denying their faith, or those who had fallen into gross sin after baptism into the church—which gave rise to the Novatian schism, originated by a presbyter at Rome, named Novatian, assisted by another who had fled from Carthage, named Novatus. His decision was, that the lapsed should not be restored to the communion of the church, although he did not shut them out from all possibility or hopes of salvation. This rigid discipline was rejected by many, and a serious division was created.†

* So vigilant were the enemies of the Gospel at Rome, that for sixteen months the clergy were prevented proceeding to the election of a bishop. This accounts for the bishop's name being absent from this document. The title pope, or papa, applied to Cyprian, was common at this time to all bishops, and means simply, father. In this place it marks the admitted equality of the Carthaginian see.

† The lapsed in Egypt, and Africa especially, were in the habit of applying to the martyrs in their last moments for recommendations to the church to re-admit them to communion; and they received from them letters of reconciliation and peace, which were received with great veneration and implicitly obeyed by many; but Cyprian opposed, with great resolution, a practice which was productive of the greatest abuse. Eusebius says, that Cyprian, and the bishops connected with him, were of opinion that the lapsed should be re-admitted on no condition before they were first purified from their error by baptism.—Euseb. l. vii. c. iii.

During Cyprian's absence the church was also much disturbed by the misconduct of five presbyters, one of whom, Fortunatus, had the effrontery to get himself elected to the See of Carthage, thereby deposing the lawful bishop, and further distracting the church. It was now that, upon the death of Decius, who was slain in battle, in the year 251, Cyprian determined on venturing out of his retreat. His return produced a most happy effect—peace and order were restored—his authority was fully acknowledged, and in a council which he assembled at Carthage, the case of the lapsed considered and settled. Meanwhile, the Novatian controversy raged at Rome, and it was on this occasion that Cyprian was appealed to by the Roman church, and he was unfortunately involved in a conflict which he allowed to irritate his temper, and betray him into unguarded language. His views, however, were correct, leaning towards charity and moderation, and thus he was opposed to the Novatians.

We must hasten to conclude our brief notice of this faithful prelate, who continued most actively engaged in the duties of his see to the close of his valuable life. A dreadful pestilence, which visited Africa during the reign of Gallus, called his Christian benevolence into exercise. Animated by his example, the African Christians astonished their pagan neighbours, by their self-denying labours and sacrifices. Upon this occasion Cyprian wrote his *Treatise on Mortality*, in the course of which he says, “he only can fear death who is unwilling to go to Christ: nor can any one feel disinclined to go to Christ, but he who fears that he will not reign with Him. It is written, the just shall live by the faith. If, then, you are just, and such as live by faith, and really believe in God, why do you not rejoice in your being called to be with Christ, fully relying on the promise of the Lord?” Again, “Let that man fear to die who, not being born again of water and of the Spirit is obnoxious to the fires of hell; who, not being a partaker of the cross and passion of Christ, dreads eternal flames.”

Shortly after the pestilence, his Christian philanthropy and that of his people was again called into exercise, by the sufferings of their Numidian brethren, many of whom had been seized and carried into captivity by a tribe of savages, who had made an irruption into the country. Some of the Numidian bishops sent to inform Cyprian of this sad event, and he immediately collected a considerable sum of money for the redemption of his brethren, which he remitted, with a letter of condolence, from which we will venture to make an extract:—

“We indeed feel very thankful to you for admitting us to a share in your solicitude, and in so excellent and necessary a work; for offering us such faithful fields in which we may deposit the seeds of our hope, in the full expectation of an abundant harvest. We have sent you a

hundred thousand sesterces,* the collection of the clergy and people belonging to my church, which you will take care to distribute in a proper manner. We heartily wish that no such occasion may happen in future, and that our brethren may be protected by the favourable providence of God from similar calamities. If, however, for the trial of our faith and charity, any such affliction should again befall you, do not hesitate to inform us, and rest assured that our church, and all our brethren will heartily unite with you in prayer, and in liberal contributions."

A question having arisen in the church, whether infants might receive baptism immediately after birth, or not until the eighth day, analogously with the Jewish right of circumcision—it was decided in a council of sixty-six bishops, convened for the purpose, in A.D. 253, that they might be baptized immediately. This fact, the reader will perceive, establishes, at all events, the antiquity of infant baptism.

The time of Cyprian's departure drew near. In the year 257, Paternus, the pro-consul, or governor of the province, summoned Cyprian to appear before him; he then informed the venerable prelate of the edict of the Emperor Valerian, which he had just received, that those who had abandoned the Roman religion should return to the practice of the ceremonies of their ancestors. "I am a Christian" replied Cyprian, "and know no god but the one true God, who created heaven and earth, the sea, and all things in them: this God we Christians serve; to Him we pray night and day for all men, and even for the emperors." The pro-consul threatened him with exile. "He is no exile," replied the bishop, "who has God in his heart." Paternus said, "Before you go, tell me where are your presbyters; they are said to be in this city?" Cyprian reminded Paternus of the edicts made by the best Roman emperors, against informers. "They ought not, therefore," he added, "to be discovered by me, and you yourself do not approve of men who offer themselves voluntarily to you." "I will make you discover them by torments." "By me," meekly, yet firmly, replied Cyprian, "they shall not be discovered." Paternus told him the Roman princes had directed that the Christians should hold no conventicles; and whoever attempted it should be put to death. "Do what you are directed," was the answer of the bishop. He was now banished to Carubis, a small town about fifty miles from Carthage. During his absence nine bishops and a great many Christians, of both sexes, were condemned to labour in the mines, and were treated with every indignity.

A new pro-consul, Galerius Maximus, having been appointed to

* A sestertertium, or a thousand sesterces, amounted £7 16s. 3d. of our money; consequently, the sum sent to redeem the Numidian captives was just in British money £781 5s., a very considerable sum in that day, when money rated much higher than it does now.

Africa, Cyprian was recalled ; but not long after a fresh persecution commenced, and he was seized, and carried before the pro-consul, who commanded him to offer sacrifices, and reminded him of the consequence of refusing. " I pity your case," continued Galerius. " You would judge better to consult your own safety, and not to despise the gods." " My safety and my strength," replied Cyprian, " is Christ the Lord, whom I desire to serve for ever." " You must then," rejoined the pro-consul, " be an example to the rest, that by the shedding of your blood they may learn their duty." He then passed sentence on him in these words—" Let Thracius Cyprian be immediately beheaded as the enemy of the gods of Rome, and as the chief and ringleader of a criminal association which he has seduced into an impious resistance against the laws of the most holy emperors, Valerian and Gallianus. " God be praised," exclaimed the martyr ; while a cry of—" We will die with our bishop," arose from the crowd of Christians who were waiting at the gate of the palace.

A scene of indescribable affliction now ensued, and heart-rending was the parting between the pastor and his devoted flock. Amid the tears and groans of his people he was hurried to a spacious plain, crowded with spectators ; when taking off his mantle, the Christian prelate knelt down and engaged in fervent prayer. His presbyters and deacons who were permitted to accompany him then tied his hands, and several Christians spread linen on the ground to receive his blood. He now directed that twenty-five gold pieces should be given to the executioner ; and shortly after with one blow his head was severed from his body.

During the remainder of the day, his corpse remained exposed to the gaze of the pagans ; but at night the Christians removed it, and afterwards buried it in a splendid manner in the neighbourhood of Carthage. He died in the year 258.

We must now turn to other quarters of the African vineyard, having lingered almost too long at Carthage.

Alexandria became early celebrated as a centre of Gospel light—as the capital of Egypt, and the emporium of eastern commerce—it was calculated to bear a prominent part in the dissemination of the new religion ; but, unhappily, a mixture of heathen philosophy seems to have adulterated the pure revelation of Jesus Christ ; and the worst consequences ensued from an attempt to explain the sacred oracles according to the absurd dogmas of the Stoics, and other heathen sects. Pantænus, the first master of the Alexandrian school, of whom we have any notice, was of the sect of Zeno ; and to him succeeded Clemens Alexandrinus,* his pupil in Stoic philosophy ; but who said of

* So called to distinguish him from Clement, Bishop of Rome, and author of the Epistle to the Corinthians.

himself—"I espouse neither this nor that philosophy—neither the Stoic, nor the Platonic, nor the Epicurean, nor that of Aristotle; but whatever any of these sects hath said, that is fit and just; whatever teaches righteousness, with a divine and religious knowledge—all this I select and call it philosophy." This language seems scarcely consistent with the profession of a man who believed that God had, by the Gospel of his Son, made foolish the wisdom of this world, and that the Gospel was the wisdom of God, and the power of God unto salvation. We may see, in such a leaning to human systems as this, the seeds of those fatal heresies which continually distracted, and, subsequently destroyed the African church. Clement's idea that heathen philosophy "waters and softens the earthy parts of the soil that the spiritual seed may be the better cast in and take vital root in the minds of men," is certainly not the scriptural view of the matter.

Clement's name would have been handed down to posterity, if for nothing else, as the master of the celebrated Origen, whose character and habit of thinking he was no doubt greatly instrumental in forming. Unhappily for Origen's usefulness and fame, he was but too deeply imbued with the philosophic notions of his teacher.

Origen was born in the city of Alexandria, in the sixth year of the Emperor Commodus, and of the Christian era, 185. He was the eldest of seven children, and his father, Leonidas, was a Christian of eminent piety, and sedulously devoted himself to the religious education of his children. Origen was extremely studious, and of a melancholy turn of mind, so that he early turned his attention to theology, into the depths of which he penetrated with untiring industry. Leonidas rejoiced at the disposition which his son manifested, and it is related that he frequently entered his chamber at night, and, as he lay asleep, offered up earnest prayers for the Divine blessing upon him, and then uncovering his breast, kissed it with a mingled feeling of reverence and affection, as being the temple of the Holy Spirit. After having been some years a pupil of Clement, he placed himself under Ammonius Saccas, a teacher of eminence in the Platonic school, under whom he became master of the philosophy of the Platonics, Pythagoreans, and, Stoics, and acquired the allegorical and mystical style of interpretation which he afterwards employed in his commentaries on the Scriptures.

The Emperor Severus commenced a deadly persecution against the Christians, when Origen was seventeen years old; and the principal weight of the calamities which ensued fell upon the church of Alexandria, in which city the emperor was then sojourning to examine the antiquities of the place, and whither he caused to be brought from all parts of Egypt the most celebrated of the Christian divines, that he

might satiate his fiendish hatred of the Holy Jesus, by feasting his eyes on the dying agonies of his most devoted saints. Vast numbers of Christians suffered martyrdom on this occasion, by every species of torment which heathen ferocity could suggest, and, among the rest, Leonidas, the father of Origen, who, however, was mercifully allowed to be beheaded.

The perverted zeal of young Origen now displayed itself in a manner common among Christians in those times. He panted for the honour of martyrdom, purposely exposing himself to danger, and determined to join his father in prison, that he might die with him; but his mother concealed his clothes, and thus confined him to the house. He now wrote a letter to his father—one line of which only has come down to us. "Take heed father that your care for us, do not make you change your resolution."

Upon his father's death, his paternal property was all confiscated, and he reduced to the greatest distress, but God raised up a friend for him, in the person of a rich lady, who gave him an asylum in her house, where he applied himself to his studies with unwearied diligence—among which the Scriptures occupied a principal place. He was scarcely eighteen when he opened a school, to support himself and his mother, and his success was most rapid. Still the persecution raged, and young Origen was unceasing in his attendance on the martyrs in prison, and at the place of execution; his own escape was almost miraculous, for he had become a celebrated character, multitudes crowding to hear his expositions of the Divine Word, and, as Demetrius, the bishop, had committed the school of Alexandria to him, he was placed in a position of dangerous pre-eminence.

With all Origen's piety and zeal, nothing could be worse than his mode of interpreting Scripture. Forsaking the plain and obvious sense, he discovered a mystic meaning, under the most literal statement of facts, and supposed that the sacred history was only a parabolic mode of conveying to the initiated, Divine truths, too deep for common understandings. After this manner the whole word of God was turned into a fable, and, as a necessary consequence, rendered perfectly useless as a revelation from above (* speaking, as it was thus made to do, a language foreign to the sense meant to be conveyed. We are tempted to introduce here an example of this method of exegesis, which is furnished to us by Dr. Adam Clarke, in his

* In the 10th book of the work called *Stromata*, he thus expressed himself: "The sources of many evils flow in adhering to the carnal or external part of Scripture. Those who do so shall not attain to the Kingdom of God. Let us, therefore, seek after the spirit and substantial fruit of the word, which are hidden and mysterious." And, again: "The Scriptures are of little use to those who understand them as they are written." See, too, that the critical explication of the sacred Volume, does not end at each proposition in this—

“Succession of Sacred Literature,” as it illustrates, not only Origen’s teaching, but that of several others also of his day. The portion of Scripture to be interpreted, is that from Ex. i. 15–22, connected with ii. 1–10. This passage contains Pharaoh’s cruel order to the Hebrew midwives, and the discovery of Moses by Pharaoh’s daughter. Origen thus treats it :—

“*Pharaoh, King of Egypt*, is the *devil*. The *male* and *female* children are the animal and rational faculties of the *soul*. *Pharaoh, the devil*, wishes to betray all the *males* ; that is, the seeds of *rationality* and *spiritual science*, by which the *soul may tend to*, and seek *heavenly things* ; but he wishes to preserve the *females alive* ; that is, all those *animal propensities* of man by which he becomes carnal, sensual, and devilish. Hence, when you see a man living in luxury, banqueting, pleasures, and sensual gratification, know that the *King of Egypt* has destroyed all the *males*, and preserved the *females alive*. The midwives, are the *Old and New Testaments* : the one is called *sephora*, which signifies a *sparrow*, and means that sort of instruction by which the *soul* is led to hover aloft, and investigate heavenly things ; the other is called *phua*, which signifies *ruddy*, or *bashful*, and indicates the *Gospel*, which is ruddy with the blood of Christ, spreading the doctrine of his passion over the world. By these two, as midwives, souls are born into the church, and educated in spiritual and evangelical truths. *Pharaoh, the devil*, wishes to corrupt these midwives, that all the *males*, the spiritual and heavenly propensities may be destroyed ; and this he endeavours to do by *bringing in heresies* and corrupt opinions. But the *midwives feared God* ; therefore *He built them houses* ; that is, the two *Testaments* ; teach and inculcate the *fear of God*, which is the *beginning of wisdom* ; and thus the *houses* of the *church* are built in different parts of the world. By *Pharaoh’s daughter* the *church* is to be understood, who leaves the *house* of her impious and iniquitous father, according to the word of the prophet—‘Hearken, O daughter, and consider—incline thine ear ; forget also thine own people and thy father’s house ; so shall the king greatly desire thy beauty.’* Thus she obeys the word, and comes to the waters to bathe—that is, to the *baptismal font*, that she may be washed from the stains she had contracted in her father’s house. Here she finds *Moses in an ark of bulrushes, among the flags, daubed over with pitch* ; that is, being filled, after baptism, with bowels of compassion, *Pharaoh’s daughter, the church*, finds *Moses, the law*, in an ark made of reeds, daubed with pitch and bitumen, deformed and obscured by the absurd and carnal glosses of the Jews, by which all its beauty and elegance had been concealed ; and thus it necessarily continued till the *church* formed out of, and *coming from among the Gentiles* receives *Moses, the law*, as her own child, which being

* Ps. xiv. 10, 11.

given into the care of those who are spiritual, they strip it of its carnal glosses, and give it its proper spiritual interpretation; then it acquires strength and excellence; and thus Moses grows up, and becomes, through the means of the Christian church, more respectable, even in the sight of the Jews, according to the saying of Moses—‘I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation.’*

“When Moses was grown up, he was brought into the palace of Pharaoh’s daughter; so when we have cast aside our evil ways, and have come to the baptismal waters, we receive *Moses*, the *law*, in its true and spiritual meaning, and see no more in it any thing *base* or *vile*; all being magnificent, elegant, and excellent; and we put it into the palace of *our heart*, and pray the Lord Jesus that He would reveal and show us, more and more, how great and sublime Moses is; and this He does by His Holy Spirit, to whomsoever He will. To Him, therefore, be glory and dominion, for ever and ever. Amen.”

We adopt Dr. A. Clarke’s reflections on this curious specimen of scriptural instruction. “Who,” he says, “can deny this the merit both of piety and ingenuity? but who, at the same time, does not see that on this plan of interpretation the Sacred Writings may be obliged to say *any thing, every thing, or nothing*, according to the fancy, peculiar creed, or caprice of the interpreter?” The effects of such teaching were fatal to the repose and to the very existence of the African church. Heresies multiplied; appeals to Scripture became every day more uncertain and unsatisfactory; and as the professedly Christian work soon ceased to be of God, it quickly came to nought.

But not only did Origen thus allegorize away the simple statements of the inspired volume: he largely adulterated its doctrinal parts with the learned nonsense of the schools, and plainly intimated, as his master, Clement, had done before him, that heathen philosophy and scriptural truth were derived from one source, and were, consequently, of equal authority. Clement used to say that philosophy was to the pagans what the law of Moses was to the Jews—a communication from God through the administration of angels; and that both religions pointed out the way of salvation—the one to the pagans, and the other to the Jews. As both, however, had been disfigured

th human additions, God was pleased to impart to all mankind a more perfect wisdom through Jesus Christ, with which philosophy, stripped of its corruptions, would be found fully to correspond. Behold the teaching of the fathers! Who that reads this, will not love and value his Bible more and more! Origen’s mind was a chaos of extravagant

* Deut. xxxii. 21.

notions. His conduct was an equally outrageous comment on the loveliness, peacefulness, and sociability of the Gospel scheme. Self-infliction of the severest kind was practised by him, as agreeable to the tenderest of fathers ; and the fruits of the Spirit, instead of being love, joy, peace, appeared to him to be exhibited in every endeavour to banish them from his own breast, and extirpate every tendril on which they might have grown.

Origen's greatest literary work was his *Hexapla*, a compilation of six versions of the Holy Scriptures, in parallel columns: those of *Acquila*, *Symmachus*, *Theodotian*, the *Septuagint*, and the Hebrew text, in *Chaldee* and *Greek* characters. Some years after, he added two others, one discovered by himself, at *Jericho*, and another by one of his disciples, at *Nicopolis*. This work, with the exception of a few fragments, is now lost. He also composed some homilies and commentaries on the Scriptures, in his own peculiar style ; besides a *Treatise on Principles*, still extant, in which he defends the study of philosophy, and a work which he called *Stromata*, from which we have made a quotation.

About the year 228, *Demetreus*, his bishop, sent him to *Athens*, to suppress some heresies. From thence he visited *Palestine*, and was there ordained presbyter, in his forty-third year, by *Theoctistus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*. After this he returned to *Alexandria*, where *Demetreus* assembled two councils against him, by which he was removed from the office of teacher, and excommunicated from the church ; in consequence of which he retired to *Palestine*, whither he was followed by many of his scholars, and where he continued his theological studies and lectures.

About the year 249 he composed his best work, "*An Apology for the Christians*," in answer to *Celsus*, a profligate Epicurean philosopher, who had written against them. This work has been greatly applauded. Shortly after this he was called upon to endure the severest sufferings in his master's cause. He was imprisoned, and loaded with chains ; he underwent the torture of being pressed in an iron chair ; he had his feet distended to their utmost length for several days ; and by various other species of torment were his faith and constancy tested, and proved to be genuine. He endured all with Christian fortitude ; and having survived these sufferings several years, he at length died a natural death, in the 70th year of his age, leaving the church, which he had adorned by his learning and genius, and which he sought to illuminate by his teaching, to be distracted for centuries with controversies about his writings, both in the East and West.

The severe philosophy adopted by Origen and others, which consisted practically in self-mortification and the subjugation of every pleasurable emotion of the heart, and which was only an imitation of what had long been adopted among the heathens, as the supreme good,

by men wise in their own conceits, gave birth to a species of discipline for which Egypt was particularly celebrated—the monastic life. The custom of certain individuals, and even whole communities, retiring from the busy haunts of life, to seek, in caves and deserts, the fruits of an uninterrupted devotion to the concerns of the soul, was common, even before the coming of our Lord. There were two sects of such contemplatists among the Jews—the Essenes and the Therapeuta, of which one has been considered a branch of the other. Their ideas were, that religion consisted in meditation and silence, and that the higher degrees of virtue were only to be attained by rigorous abstinence, and the most merciless self-infliction of penances and mortifications. All human sensibilities were held as degrading to man's spiritual nature, and every indulgence of them as sinful and polluting; and in such a case, to controul, or, if possible, to eradicate them, was the duty of every aspirant after perfection. The classical reader will here call to mind the lessons of Pythagoras and Plato, and discover that there is a common source for the wisdom that is foolishness with God—"They know not me, saith the Lord."

It is disputed whether Paul, the first Christian ascetic, was induced to embrace a life of solitude through dread of the persecution which raged under the Emperor Decius, and which was severely felt at Alexandria; or whether he yielded to the attractions of the prevailing philosophy, and sought to realize the exalted pleasures which it promised him, in the selfish abandonment of his suffering brethren. Probably Platonism prepared him for a step which the bloody edicts of a tyrant suggested as an immediate means of safety. At the age of fifteen he was left by his parents master of a considerable estate, and Dr. Milner describes him as "a person of much learning, of a mild temper, and full of the love of God." He was a married man, and it was owing to the treachery of his wife's brother, who, to obtain his property, intended to denounce him to the authorities as a Christian, that, at the age of twenty-three, he formed the resolution of retiring to the desert of Thebais, in Lower Egypt, near which he resided. "Here he led," says Mosheim, "during the space of ninety years, a life more worthy of a savage animal than of a rational being," and died at the advanced age of a hundred and thirteen years.

This took place in the third century, and the example of Paul was at once imitated by many whose peculiar notions of what was pleasing to God led them to renounce the society of their fellow-men. The deserts of Egypt soon swarmed with hermits; of these, an illiterate young man named Anthony, of the same part of the country as Paul, is considered the founder and head, as he was the first who formed them into a regular body, engaged them to live in society with each other, and instituted a system of rules for the regulation of their con-

duct ; and from this the monastic order took its rise, which has since adhered as a foul excrescence to the fair surface of Christianity, deforming its symmetry, eating as a canker into its vitals, and disgusting every enlightened mind with its odious assumption of spiritual health and soundness.

The treatment to which these wretched ascetics submitted from their spiritual superiors was sufficiently humiliating. "They performed," says Gibbon, "without reluctance, the menial offices of slaves and domestics ; and the several trades that were necessary to provide their habits, their utensils, and their lodging, were exercised within the precincts of the grand monasteries."—"The more humble industry of the Egyptian monks was contented with the silent sedentary occupation of making wooden sandals, or of twisting the leaves of the palm-tree into mats and baskets. The disciples of Anthony were satisfied with their daily pittance of twelve ounces of bread, or rather biscuit, which they divided into two frugal repasts, of the afternoon and of the evening. It was esteemed a merit, and almost a duty, to abstain from the boiled vegetables which were provided for the refectory ; but the extraordinary bounty of the abbot sometimes indulged them with the luxury of cheese, fruit, sallad, and the small dried fish of the Nile."

"The actions of a monk, his words, and even his thoughts, were determined by an inflexible rule, or a capricious superior : the slightest offences were corrected by disgrace or confinement, extraordinary fasts, or bloody flagellation ; and disobedience, murmur, or delay, were ranked in the catalogue of the most heinous sins. A blind submission to the commands of the abbot, however absurd, or even criminal, they might seem, was the first virtue, the ruling principle of the Egyptian monks ; and their patience was frequently exercised by the most extravagant trials. They were directed to move an enormous rock ; assiduously to water a barren staff, that was planted in the ground, till, at the end of three years, it should vegetate and blossom like a tree ; to walk into a fiery furnace, or to cast their infants into a deep pond ; and several saints, or madmen, have been immortalized in monastic story by their thoughtless and fearless obedience. The freedom of the mind, the source of every generous or rational sentiment, was destroyed by the habits of credulity and submission ; and the monk, contracting the views of a slave, devoutly followed the faith and practice of his ecclesiastical tyrant. The peace of the Eastern Church was invaded by a swarm of fanatics, incapable of fear, or reason, or humanity ; and the imperial troops acknowledged, without shame, that they were much less apprehensive of an encounter with the fiercest barbarians.

According to their faith and zeal, they might employ the day, which they passed in their cells, either in vocal or mental prayer ; they were

assembled in the evening, and they were awakened in the night, for the public worship of the monastery. The precise moment was determined by the stars, which are seldom clouded in the serene sky of Egypt; and a rustic horn, or trumpet, the signal of devotion, twice interrupted the vast silence of the desert. Even sleep, the last refuge of the unhappy, was rigorously measured; the vacant hours of the monk heavily rolled along, without business or pleasure; and before the close of each day, he had repeatedly accused the tedious progress of the sun.* In this comfortless state, superstition still pursued and tormented her wretched votaries. The repose which they had sought in the cloister was disturbed by tardy repentance, profane doubts, and guilty desires; and while they considered each natural impulse as an unpardonable sin, they perpetually trembled on the edge of a flaming and bottomless abyss. From the painful struggles of disease and despair, these unhappy victims were sometimes relieved by madness or death; and, in the sixth century, an hospital was founded at Jerusalem for a small portion of the austere penitents who were deprived of their senses.

The monks were divided into two classes—the *Cænobites*, who lived under a common and regular discipline; and the *Anchorets*, who indulged their unsocial, independent fanaticism. The most devout, or the most ambitious of the spiritual brethren, renounced the convent as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, were surrounded by a *laura*, or distant circle of solitary cells: and the extravagant penance of the hermits was stimulated by applause and emulation. They sunk under the painful weight of crosses and chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves of massy and rigid iron. All superfluous incumbrance of dress they contemptuously cast away; and some savage saints, of both sexes, have been admired, whose naked bodies were only covered by their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals; and a numerous sect of anchorets derived their name from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the common herd.† They often usurped the den of some wild beast, which they affected to resemble; they buried themselves in some gloomy cavern, which art or nature had scooped out of the rock; and the marble quarries of Thebais are still inscribed with the monuments of their penance. The most perfect hermits are supposed to have passed many days

* *Sæpiusque egreditur et ingreditur cellam, et solem velut ad occasum tardius properantem, crebrius intuetur.*—*Cassian Institut. x. 1.*

† *Βεζκοι*, *Boskoi*, from a Greek word, signifying to feed like an ox.

without food, and many nights without sleep, and many years without speaking; and glorious was the *man* (I abuse that name) who contrived any cell or seat of a peculiar construction, which might expose him in the most inconvenient posture to the inclemency of the seasons.”*

One is reminded of the devil-possessed Gadarene, whose name was Legion, while reading the history of these insane fanatics. He chose his solitary dwelling among the tombs, and his occupation was lamentation and self-infliction. Can we suppose that a different spirit actuated the dwellers in the Theban desert? Certainly it was not the spirit of Him, in whose name these extravagancies were practised. They could not have seen him, neither known him, or they would have found rest to their souls. They would have felt that they were clothed with his righteousness; and, restored to their right mind, they would have been assured that their place was among their kindred and acquaintance, telling what great things the Lord had done for them.

The persecutions with which the church in Africa was assailed, have been adverted to as we proceeded; but, affecting very materially, as they were intended to do, the welfare of the infant community, we cannot pass them over without particular notice.

The primitive Christians were led by their interpretation of some passages of Scripture to expect ten especial persecutions of the Gentiles against the Christians, and several attempts have been made to accommodate such a view with the history of the period of which we are now writing. Several of those which have been enumerated fell with great severity on the African Church. Indeed she herself could have supplied the required number, but the first which operated with great severity, was that under Severus,† who, although himself an African by birth, distinguished the African Church by the severity of his edicts against it, and the number of his butcheries of African Christians. Yet it was not until the tenth year of his

* One of the most singular of these self-tormentors was Simeon the Stylite, so called from the peculiar penance he adopted. Born about A.D. 392, at Sison, on the borders of Syria, he exchanged the life of a shepherd for that of a monk, and determined to excel all others in ascetic extravagance. He took up his residence on a mountain, thirty or forty miles to the east of Antioch, and there ascending a pillar, which was successively raised from six, twelve, twenty-two, thirty-six, to forty feet, that he might approach nearer and nearer to heaven, he thus passed thirty-seven years of miserable existence, assuming different painful postures of devotion; sometimes praying with outstretched arms, in the figure of a cross, and at other times bending his emaciated frame from the forehead to the feet, and repeating this last feat in almost endless succession. He died at the age of sixty-nine, and was taken down from his last pillar by the hands of bishops, and conveyed to Antioch by an escort of 6,000 soldiers, and buried there with almost imperial honours.

† Lucius Septimus Severus was born at Leptis, in Africa, in A.D. 146. He rose to the imperial dignity from a military command, and by the deposition and murder of his predecessor in the empire.

reign, about A.D. 202, that he gave full indulgence to his sanguinary disposition. He then made, as we have already mentioned, Alexandria the principal altar of his human sacrifices to the demon of paganism ; but other parts of the African province, and especially Carthage, did not escape. Several most affecting instances of heathen cruelty and Christian intrepidity under extreme suffering, even in the case of the most delicate females, have been handed down to us, and we would gladly introduce some of them here, but our limits will not permit. The usual process employed, was to drag those accused of being Christians before the tribunals, and there command them to sacrifice to the heathen deities. Should they comply, they were allowed to depart, but on their refusal they were either instantly scourged or tortured in some other way ; and then, should they remain firm, led away to execution ; or they were sent to prison to be reserved for a future hearing, when, if they continued obstinate, they were thrown to wild beasts in the amphitheatre, for the amusement of the populace, or put to death by torture as in the other case. Every day some new species of torment was invented. Thus Potamiœna, a young female at Alexandria, remarkable for her beauty, was first severely scourged, by order of the judge—she had next scalding pitch poured over every part of her naked body, and she was then burned in the fire with her mother Marcella. At Carthage, Perpetua and Felicitas, one a lady of quality, and the other a servant, were stripped and put into nets, and exposed to a wild cow—Perpetua was then pregnant, and Felicitas had just been delivered of a child. They were both mangled by the cow, and then despatched by gladiators in the crowded amphitheatre.

Upon the death of Severus, which took place at York, in England, in A. D. 211, the afflictions of the Christians were somewhat mitigated, and the church enjoyed a comparative calm, until the accession of Maximin* to the empire, A. D. 235, who, during his short reign of three years, exhibited a ferocity of character which has worthily associated his name with those of Nero, Caligula, and Domitian. Of course the unoffending Christians did not escape his fury ; and, as a revolt in Africa, during his reign, particularly exasperated him against the inhabitants of that province, it may well be supposed that this event, coupled with his hatred of the Christians, towards whom his murdered predecessor, Alexander Severus, was favourably disposed, did not operate to the advantage of the African Church.

After Maximin, however, there appeared no imperial persecutor of

* Caius Julius Verus Maximinus was the son of a Thracian peasant. He was raised to a station of dignity by Alexander Severus, whose death he subsequently occasioned, and usurped his throne. His strength and courage are said to have been prodigious.

the Christians, until Decius Trajan* assumed the purple, in A. D. 249, which introduced one of the most sanguinary periods in the history of the church. We have already adverted to the persecution under Decius, in our sketch of the life of Cyprian. For the space of two years Christians were, in vast numbers, put to death, by every description of torment that the heart of malice could invent, and the unhappy defection of many, in consequence, we have already related.

“The management of this persecution,” says Milner, “seems to have been the whole employment of the magistrates; swords, wild beasts, pits, red-hot chains, wheels for stretching human bodies, and talons of iron to tear them—these were, at this time, the instruments of pagan vengeance. Malice and covetousness, in informing against Christians, were eagerly and powerfully set on work during this whole short, but horrible reign, and the genius of man was never known to have had more of employment in aiding the savageness of the heart. Life was prolonged in torture, in order that impatience in suffering might effect, at length, what surprise and terror could not.” One example of satanic ingenuity will satisfy the reader. A Christian man having been racked and burned with red-hot plates applied to his body, was ordered by the judge to be rubbed over with honey, and then to be tied down on his back beneath a blazing sun, that he might be stung to death by the flies. Humanity recoils from the contemplation of such horrors, which were only interrupted by the death of Decius, who was slain in battle, in the year 251, after a bloody reign of only thirty months.

Gallus,† the successor of Decius in the empire, began, in a short time, to exhibit the worst features in his predecessor’s character, at least as regards his treatment of the Christians. During his reign a most destructive pestilence visited Africa, carrying off entire families together. It was on this occasion that Cyprian and his fellow Christians astonished the pagans by their noble benevolence, and the disinterestedness of their conduct, in their exertions for the afflicted, whether friends or enemies; but the pagan priests took occasion, from the general calamity, to exasperate the feelings of the people and the emperor against the friends of humanity, by persuading them that the pestilence was occasioned by the anger of the gods at the lenity shown to those who despised and abused them. The hostility of Gallus,

* Decius was a senator sprung from the patrician family of the Decii. Being employed in a confidential capacity by Philip, he was forced by the army to accept the empire, which he won from Philip a short time after in battle. During his reign the first invasion of the Goths took place.

† Caius Vibrius Trebonianus Gallus was an African by birth. After the death of Decius he was associated in the empire with Hostilianus, Decius’s only surviving son.

however, was short-lived, for he reigned scarcely two years, being slain by his soldiers, in the year 253.

Æmilianus, the lieutenant and murderer of Gallus, after a brief reign of four months, gave way to Valerian, whom Gallus had appointed to the long-neglected office of Censor,* and whom he had sent to oppose Æmilianus, on hearing of his lieutenant's defection. Valerian failed in saving his master from his rival's sword, but he avenged his death. His name and character induced the soldiers of the new emperor to despatch their general, and choose Valerian emperor in his stead, A. D. 254.

For three or four years Valerian treated the Christians with the most distinguishing attention. They had free access to his palace, and could appeal to him, at all times, against their enemies. Unhappily, however, he allowed Macrianus, his prætorian prefect,† to gain a paramount influence over him, and this man, addicted to the dark superstitions of Egypt, contrived so to embitter his mind against the objects of his former patronage and esteem, that he at length converted him into their most relentless persecutor. This Macrianus is accused by Eusebius of practising magic arts, and using enchantments, in the prosecution of which he murdered infants, and searched into the intestines of new-born babes.‡ No wonder, then, that such a child of the devil should be an enemy of all righteousness, and especially infuriated against the preachers and followers of "the Holy One of God."

At the instigation of his wicked officer, Valerian published an edict, in the year 257—and, the year after, one still more severe—against the Christians, prohibiting them to assemble themselves together,§ and sending their bishops and teachers into banishment. The effect of these edicts was fearful. The venerable Cyprian, among many others, now received the crown of martyrdom; and Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, was banished from his see. It is time we should say something of this faithful man, who, for his many shining virtues, and

* Censors were officers of great dignity, appointed to preside over the numbers, estates, and goods of the people. They divided the population into its proper classes and centuries. They took care of the taxes, of roads, and of public buildings. They were likewise expected to suppress all immorality, and punish it, in whatever rank or order it was found, whether senators, knights, or commons. Their station was considered more honourable than the consulship, and the persons who had been consuls were those chosen for the censorship. The office ceased with the emperors, until revived by Gallus.

† The prætorian prefect was an officer appointed by the Emperor Augustus to command the prætorian cohorts or imperial life-guard. The name is derived from the word *prætorium*, the general's tent; all commanders-in-chief being anciently styled prætors. This officer being generally a favourite with the army, the soldiers, when they came to choose their own emperor, usually pitched upon him.

‡ Eusebius, b. vii. c. xi.

§ Before this, Eusebius remarks, "All his house was filled with pious persons, and was, indeed, a congregation of the Lord."

Christian integrity, during the most trying periods of the church's history, has sometimes received the appellation of the Great.

Dionysius is generally supposed to have been a native of Alexandria. Of the time or manner of his conversion we have no account; but, in the year 232, he was appointed president of the celebrated school of Alexandria, in the place of Heraclas, the successor of Origen, who was chosen bishop of that place. Here he continued for sixteen years, after which he succeeded Heraclas in the episcopal office.

In the Decian persecution, Dionysius was apprehended, but providentially escaped out of the hands of his captors, and retired to the deserts of Lybia, from whence, on the death of Decius, he returned to his see, and continued undisturbed for five years. He appears to have taken an active part in the Novatian schism, and also in the controversy concerning the validity of infant baptism, acting, as Dr. Cave says, more as a mediator than a controversialist.

Shortly after the Valerian persecution commenced, he was brought before Æmilian, the prefect of Egypt, and ordered to recant, for his own good, and as an example to others. His reply was, with decision: "We ought to obey God rather than men: I worship God, who alone ought to be worshipped." "Hear the clemency of the emperor," rejoined the prefect: "You are all pardoned, provided you return to a natural duty: adore the gods who protect the empire, and forsake those things which are repugnant to nature." Dionysius answered: "All men do not worship the same gods, but merely such as they severally suppose to be gods. But we worship the ONE GOD, the maker of all things, who gave the empire to the most clement emperors, Valerian and Gallienus; and to him we pour incessant prayers for the prosperity and permanence of the empire." The prefect did not understand this reasoning. The edict of the emperor insisted on conformity with the established system. A kind of accommodation, however, suggested itself to the mind of Æmilian, who exclaimed: "What is the reason, then, why you cannot continue to adore that god of yours, supposing him to be a god, in conjunction with our gods?" To this the venerable bishop answered, in the language of primitive Christianity: "We worship no other god."

Dionysius was then banished to a village called Cephro, in one of the most desolate parts of the desert of Lybia, and ordered to depart instantly. An injunction was likewise laid upon him, that he should there hold no assemblies. His removal to Cephro, however, proved to be of God; for, finding the inhabitants in the most savage state, he set about reforming their manners, and instructing them in the religion of Christ, in which work and labour of love he was eminently successful, not only at Cephro, but in many neighbouring places, where many a flower of heavenly promise, planted by his hand, soon caused the wil-

derness and the solitary place to rejoice in the Lord. The following account of the Valerian persecution in Egypt, from his pen, will convey some idea of its character. He is writing to a friend :—

“ It is needless to specify by name our numerous martyrs, as you are not acquainted with them. It may suffice, therefore, to assure you, that persons of both sexes, and of every age and condition, have been crowned as conquerors in this combat, some having endured stripes, others fire, others the sword. You have heard how I, and Caius, and Faustus, and Peter, and Paul, when we were led bound by a centurion and his soldiers, were seized by certain men of Mariota, and drawn away by violence. But at present I, and Caius, and Peter, being alone and separated from the rest of the brethren, are shut up in a dreary and uncomfortable part of Lybia, being distant three days’ journey from Parætorium.” He adds, in another place—“ Some persons have hid themselves in the city, that they may secretly visit the brethren, as Maximus, Dioscorus, and Lucius, presbyters ; for Faustinus and Aquila, being more generally known, wander up and down in Egypt. All the deacons died of the plague, except Faustinus, Eusebius, and Charamon. God empowered and strengthened Eusebius from the beginning, diligently to attend to the confessors* in prison, and to bury the bodies of the holy martyrs, not without imminent danger to himself, for the governor to this day ceases not his cruelty towards those who are brought before him ; killing some, and torturing others, or leaving them to pine away in prisons and fetters ; at the same time he forbids any person to approach them, and strictly enquires whether any one has been seen to do so. God, however, still refreshes the afflicted, by the kind and assiduous attention of the brethren.”

Valerian reigned for three years and a half, after he commenced his cruelties against the followers of Christ ; when, having undertaken an expedition against Sapor, king of Persia, he was defeated, and carried in triumph to the Persian capital, where, invested with the imperial purple, he was exposed as an object of derision to the multitude. Sapor also, to degrade him further, compelled him to bend down whenever he mounted his horse, that he might use the neck of the fallen emperor for a footstool, and at his death, to which grief and shame soon brought him, he caused his skin to be stuffed with straw, preserving as much of the human shape as possible, and placed it in the most celebrated temple

* The name of confessors was given to those who, in spite of torture, and the threat of execution, and in contempt of life, honor, riches, and every earthly advantage, had confessed the faith of Christ crucified before the Roman Tribunals. That of martyrs belonged to such as had actually died in the cause of the Redeemer. The respect which was paid to both was at length productive of great abuse. The superstitions of shrines, relics, and pilgrimages, grew out of it, and the worship of Christ became almost a matter of indifference compared with the veneration demanded for his departed creatures.

of the kingdom, where it continued for ages a monument of Roman decline. "Valerian," Milner well remarks, "had known and respected the Christians: his persecution must have been a sin against the light; and it is common with Divine Providence to punish such daring offences in a very exemplary manner."

From the deposition of Valerian until the commencement of the fourth century, a period of more than forty years, the African Church had rest, and, we would willingly add, was edified; but alas! tranquillity produced its usual results in the decay of vital godliness, and the growth of strifes and divisions within the Christian citadel, where union was the only strength of the defenders. The scourge, however, was being prepared, and when the season of its infliction arrived, it was applied with no weak or vacillating hand.

At the commencement of the fourth century, the Roman empire had four principal heads, Diocletian, Maximian, Constantine, and Galerius*—the last three having been associated, by Diocletian, with himself in the empire, and, under them, the Christians had for several years enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, insomuch that Diocletian's wife and daughter, Prisca and Valeria, embraced the faith, and their example was followed by many of the principal officers of the palace. At length, however, the pagan priests took alarm, and by fictitious oracles, and other stratagems, sought to awaken the superstitious fears and prejudices of Diocletian. Failing in that, they addressed themselves to Galerius, who being of an uncultivated savage temper, and his mother, a most bigotted pagan, readily entered into their views, and undertook to influence Diocletian to undertake the most vigorous measures against the Christians. Diocletian held out for an entire winter, but yielding at length to the importunities of his colleague and son-in-law, he issued an edict in A.D. 303, ordering the churches of the Christians to be pulled down, their books and writings to be burned,

* "As the reign of Diocletian," says Gibbon, "was more illustrious than that of any of his predecessors, so his birth was more abject and obscure." His parents were slaves. Diocletian embraced the profession of arms, and distinguished himself in the Persian war; and by general consent he was elected to the empire on the death of Numerian. After having reigned twenty-one years he resigned the sceptre of the world, and passed the last nine years of his life in a private station at Dalmatia, his native province. Maximian, his colleague, was born a peasant, and bred a soldier, without any knowledge of letters. In every act of cruelty he was the ready instrument of Diocletian, who compelled him, though unwilling, to abdicate the throne at the same time with himself. Galerius was originally a herdsman, and from thence obtained the surname of Armentarius; his character is sufficiently exhibited in the part he took in the persecution of the Christians, and his death is awfully illustrative of divine justice. "He was eaten of worms" in a most shocking manner, and died in the greatest agonies. Constantine was of noble birth by his father's side, and his mother was niece to the Emperor Claudius; he was of a mild, amiable, and humane disposition, sparing the afflicted Christians as far as policy permitted. He died at York after a victory over the Britains. He was the father of Constantine the Great.

depriving them of all political rights, and rendering them incapable of any civil distinctions or promotions. Although the lives of Christians were not aimed at by this edict, many were lost in its execution, by a refusal to deliver up the sacred books; those who, through fear of death, were induced to obey the order, were branded with the ignominious name of Traditors.* Two additional edicts, however, quickly followed this—one ordering the bishops and clergy to be imprisoned, and the other, that the most insupportable torments should be employed to compel the prisoners to sacrifice to the heathen gods—the emperor hoping that the submission of the pastors would soon be followed by that of their flocks. By a fourth edict, all persons professing the religion of Jesus, of all ranks and sexes, were handed over to the secular arm, to be tortured by every means into a compliance with the emperor's wishes.

It was four months before these edicts reached Africa, but when her season of conflict arrived, it might well be said that the furnace was heated "one seven times more than it was wont to be." Eusebius has left us a terrible picture of the sufferings endured by the Christians in Egypt. Entire families, he tells us, were put to death in various ways—they were burned, drowned, and beheaded, after enduring fearful tortures with scraping and the rack: some were stoned to death, others crucified, either in the usual way, or with their heads downward, and thus left to perish by hunger.† In Thebais every satanic device was employed to inflict torture—many were torn asunder by distorted boughs of trees, and sometimes ten, thirty, sixty, and, on one occasion, a hundred, men, women, and children, were destroyed by various torments. In fact, says Eusebius, the executioners were wearied, and their instruments of death blunted with the numbers they were employed to slay, while the Christians endured all with the utmost faith and patience. They even expressed joy and triumph, and with their latest breath sung the praises of God, in psalms and spiritual songs. In vain their judges implored them to have compassion on themselves, their wives, and children—Christ was now the supreme object of their love, and for him they were beheaded.‡

We have a fragment of a letter written by Phileas, Bishop of the Thmuitæ, in Africa, while he was in prison at Alexandria, to his own church, giving an account of the persecution in that city, which presents us with a lively representation of these horrors, and of the feelings of the sufferers. "The martyrs," he writes, "fixing sincerely the eye of

* i. e. Deliverers up.

† Eusebius, b. viii. c. viii.

‡ Eusebius, b. viii. c. ix. Among the sufferers in Thebais, Eusebius mentions one Philoromus, a person of rank, at Alexandria—one who administered justice, and was attended by a military guard.

their mind on the supreme God, and cheerfully embracing death for the sake of godliness, held immovably their calling; knowing that our Lord Jesus Christ was made man for us that he might remove all sin, and afford us the necessary preparation for an entrance into eternal life. [He then quotes Phil. ii. 5-11.] Coveting the best gifts, the martyrs, who carried Christ within,* underwent all sorts of torments over and over again; and while the guards insulted them in word and deed, they were preserved secure and unbroken in spirit, because 'perfect love casteth out fear.' But what eloquence can do justice to their fortitude? Free leave was given to any to injure them. Some beat them with clubs, others with rods: some scourged them with thongs of leather; others with ropes. Some having their hands tied behind them, were hung about a wooden engine,† and every limb of their bodies distended by certain machines. The torturers rent their whole bodies with iron pincers, which were applied not only to the sides, as in the case of murderers, but also to their bellies, their legs, and their cheeks: others were suspended by one hand to a portico, and underwent the most severe distention of all their joints: others were bound to pillars face to face, their feet being raised from the ground, that their hands, being distended by the weight of their bodies, might be closer drawn together; and this they endured almost a whole day, without intermission. The governor ordered them to be bound with the greatest severity, and when they breathed their last, to be dragged on the ground. 'No care,' said he, 'ought to be taken of these Christians: let all treat them as unworthy of the name of men.' Some, after they had been scourged, lay in the stocks, both their feet being stretched to the fourth hole; so that they were obliged to lie with their faces upwards, unable to stand, on account of the wounds caused by the stripes. Some expired under their tortures. Others having been recovered by methods taken to heal them, and being reduced to the alternative of sacrificing or dying, cheerfully preferred the latter. For they knew what was written—'Whosoever sacrificeth to other gods shall be destroyed,' and 'Thou shalt have none other gods but me.' "

We have already encroached on our limits with these accounts of Christian suffering and devotedness, and must hasten to conclude this part of our sketch. In Numidia and Mauritania the same terrific tragedies were performed, and the glorified Head of the church fulfilled His promises to His afflicted saints. When they walked through the

* *Μαρτυρες Χριστοφοροι*, Martures Christophori, the Christ-bearing martyrs—those who bore every thing for Christ, and by a strong synecdoche, said to bear Christ himself. The same idea is expressed in the name Theophorus, (God-bearing,) given to Ignatius.

† The Roman eculeus was so constructed that the person was suspended on it, and his limbs stretched by screws; like the cross, it was applied at first only to slaves.

fire they were not burnt, for He was with them, and they had no hurt. Their bodies were dissolved, but their souls were burnished in the flames; and the enemies of the church, instead of triumphing in their schemes, were exasperated at the failure of their attempts to shake the constancy of the disciples of the cross. In spite of medals and monuments made to represent the extirpation of the Christians and their religion, "the virgin, the daughter of Zion, despised her tyrants, and laughed them to scorn—the daughter of Jerusalem shook her head at them."* For their sins, indeed, and their unfaithfulness to Him who died for them and rose again, they were deservedly visited with the rod of His power; but though "persecuted, they were not forsaken—though cast down, they were not destroyed." Satan tried a system of violence carried to its utmost length, and failed: he had other plans in reserve, which, unhappily, he was but too successful in adopting.

Those who are acquainted with the history and fate of the African Church, must feel disposed to join, with special devotion, in that deprecatory petition which our beloved church puts into the mouth of her worshippers. "From all false doctrines, heresy, and schism, good Lord deliver us;" for never does vegetation spring up in her prairies, more rapid or rank, after the autumnal rains, than did unscriptural notions and fanatical sects succeed each other in the devoted Church of Africa—Donatists, Arians, Monophysites, Basilides, Carpocrates, Valentinians, Ophites, Sabellians, Meletians, and, we may add, Novatians. These, and other schismatics, which might be named, had their origin in Africa, and tended more or less to the disruption of the body of Christ, and the consequent weakening of His cause. It was this substitution of human passions and prejudices, for the simple "truth as it is in Jesus," that provoked the last and most fatal scourge of an insulted God—"Strong delusion to believe a lie," which embraced the doctrines of the false prophet in the Eastern, and of the beast in the Western Church.

We shall give a brief account of the two principal of those sectaries—the Donatists and Arians, as representing the two great subjects of ecclesiastical controversy—discipline, and doctrine, and having, moreover, produced more permanent effects than the others. We begin with the Donatists.

On the death of Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, in 311, the neighbouring bishops and clergy assembled to choose his successor; and, owing to the stratagems of two of the clergy, Botrus and Celestinus, who aspired to the vacant office, the council was worse attended than usual; Cecilian, a deacon, was, however, the person selected. The Numidian bishops were absent on this occasion, a circumstance which had never

* 2 Kings, xix. 21.

before occurred, and at which, on learning Cœcilian's election, they were greatly incensed; the two disappointed candidates for the bishopric having exerted themselves to the uttermost to awaken their resentment against their successful competitor. These bishops—to the number of seventy, several of whom history stigmatizes with the odious name of traditors*—assembled themselves at Carthage, and summoned Cœcilian before them, to give an account of his conduct. Cœcilian refused to submit himself to their judgment, and was, in consequence, deposed by them, and another bishop elected, one Marjorinus, servant to a superstitious lady, who had a grudge against Cœcilian, and who, it is said, distributed a large sum of money amongst the Numidian bishops to secure his condemnation. Thus, the Carthaginian Church was split into two factions, ranging themselves under their respective bishops, Cœcilian and Marjorinus. The latter were called Donatists, either from Donatus, Bishop of Casæ Niger, who was one of the most virulent opponents of Cœcilian, or, more probably, from another of the same name, who succeeded Marjorinus, as bishop and head of the faction; and who, from his learning and virtue, received from them the title of Donatus the Great.

Besides objecting to the irregularity of the ordination, the Numidian bishops declared themselves opposed to Cœcilian on personal grounds: they alleged that he was a traditor—that, while a deacon, he had treated the confessors and martyrs, during the late persecution, with harshness and neglect; and, lastly, that he now acted with insolence and contumacy, in refusing to obey their summons, when they commanded him to appear before them. They likewise retorted on their opponents the charge that several of the bishops, by whom Cœcilian was elected, were traditors, and therefore disqualified from exercising so solemn an office.

The Donatists appealed to Constantine the Great, now occupying the imperial throne, and as our readers know, the first Christian emperor, and who established Christianity throughout his dominions. The appeal was answered by the appointment of Milchiades, Bishop of Rome, to investigate the matter,† and of eighteen other bishops to assist him. The result was in favour of Cœcilian. The Donatists rejected the decision of only nineteen bishops against seventy, and Constantine, to satisfy them, assembled a numerous council at Arles,‡ in the year 314, composed of bishops from Italy, Gaul, Germany, and Spain. Here the Donatists were again defeated, and they now appealed to the emperor in person. He examined into the case, in the year 316, at

* See. p. 110.

† The appeal to the Emperor, and not to the Bishop of Rome, does not look like an acknowledgment of papal supremacy in the latter.

‡ A city in France, in the department of the Mouths of the Rhone.

Milan,* and confirmed the decision of the judges at Rome and Arles. The enraged Donatists accused the emperor of partiality and corruption, which so incensed him that he deprived them of their churches in Africa, and banished their bishops from their sees. From this period until the suppression of Christianity in Africa, the most fearful commotions distracted the unhappy church. The Donatists were numerous and powerful; and a number of them banding together under the name of Circumcelliones, and arming themselves against their opponents, overran the entire province of Africa with murder, rapine, and every species of violence and disorder. Filled with a spirit of the most daring ferocity, no danger could affright them, no punishment subdue, and no succession of defeats reduce them. Originally peasants of Numidia and Mauritania, their hardy natures and barbaric valour sustained them through every reverse, and their delirious zeal carried them headlong into every desperate scheme of hatred or retaliation. Their leaders assumed the title of Captains of the Saints, and their well-known war-cry, "Praise be to God!" diffused consternation wherever it was heard. To prevent the horrors of a civil war, Constantine was obliged, by the advice of the governors of Africa, to abolish the laws which he had enacted against the Donatists, and leave every one free to embrace the party which he liked the best.

Constans, the son of Constantine, to whom Africa was allotted, on the partition of the empire, sent thither Paulus and Macarius to try and accommodate the differences between the rival parties. The Donatists refused every concession with most unyielding obstinacy. Headed by Donatus, their bishop, and the Circumcelliones, they pursued their career of blood with unmitigated fury. Recourse was then had to arms, and the Donatist party suffered a signal defeat, and for thirteen years were most severely visited with the vengeance of their enemies.

On the accession of the Emperor Julian, in 362, the Donatists returned from exile, and were restored to their churches. The greatest part of Africa now embraced their cause; and towards the close of this century, they could boast of four hundred bishops. Divisions, however, that never-failing source of decay, soon arose among them, and the

* The capital of Western Lombardy, in Italy. Towards the end of the fourth century, it ranked as the sixth town in the Roman empire; and, in the sixth century, as inferior only to Rome itself in extent and population. Under the latter emperor it was the capital of the Western empire, and was considered the Athens of Northern Italy. Milan was attached to the crown of Spain until the year 706, when, on the extinction of the Spanish branch of the House of Austria, it reverted to the German empire. Napoleon made it the capital of his Kingdom of Italy. It is now the capital of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, and the residence of an Austrian viceroy.

party began to exhibit symptoms of decline ; so that when their illustrious opponent, Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, appeared in the lists against them, their power and influence were evidently much circumscribed. His hostility, as it was active and ardent, was productive of the greatest injury to their cause. By his influence the Emperor Honorius was induced to interfere in the controversy, and Marcellinus, the tribune, was sent into Africa, in the year 410, to bring it to a conclusion if possible. The tribune assembled a solemn conference at Carthage in 411, attended by 286 Catholic bishops, and 279 bishops of the Donatist party, and after having the case on both sides argued for three days, he at length decided against the Donatists, who appealed against the decision to the emperor, but without effect.

On the occupation of Africa by the Vandals, in 427,* Genseric whom they had greatly assisted in his conquest, took them under his patronage, and their condition and numbers rapidly improved. This state of prosperity they enjoyed for more than a century, until the Vandals were subdued by Belisarius, in the year 533, and driven out of Africa, when their cause again declined, although they continued to exist as a sect until the close of the sixth century, when, by the exertions of Gregory, Bishop of Rome, they were reduced to the verge of extinction, and their very name perished amid the ruins of the Christian Church in Africa ; themselves, in part, the instruments of the destruction in which both were involved.

The Arian heresy next invites our attention. Although far more important as a subject of Christian inquiry than the schism of the Donatists, it does not require to be so particularly described, as, unhappily, it has not yet ceased to afflict the church, and afford to Christians an object of humbling contemplation and just abhorrence.†

For three centuries there had been no dispute in the church concerning the co-equal Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. This doctrine was always admitted, although the doctors of the church differed sometimes in their way of announcing or explaining the mystery of the Trinity in Unity. For instance, Origen, whose views on the subject were by no means sound, held that the Son was in the Father, after a similar manner as reason is in man, and answering a similar end, and that the Holy Ghost was nothing more than the divine energy or active power ; thus destroying the personality of the two latter, which was a heresy in itself;‡ but this opinion was

* Or 429.

† The Donatists were singularly regardless of human life, whether their own or that of others. The Circumcelliones were noted murderers and suicides ; and it is curious to note how they preserved this two-fold feature of their character to the last. In revenge, they assisted the Vandals to possess themselves of Africa, who, as Arians, they knew would seek to uproot their own creed, which was certainly orthodox.

‡ Sabellianism.

rather explanatory than dogmatical, and hence no serious controversy arose on the subject; but in the year 317, the church was visited with the most daring contradiction of the established doctrine which had yet been attempted on this or any other point, by a presbyter of Alexandria, named Arius, in an assembly of presbyters, convened by Alexander, at that time bishop of that see, who had just expressed his opinion that the Son was not only of the same eminence and dignity, but of the same essence with the Father. To this Arius replied, that as the Son is begotten of the Father, there must have been a time when the Son was not. That he was the first and noblest of beings whom the Father had created out of nothing, and that by his subordinate operation the Father formed the universe; therefore, the Son was inferior to the Father.

This blasphemous and unscriptural notion was no sooner promulgated than it found ready adherents in Egypt, where the seeds of heathen philosophy had been for a long time springing up, and bearing fruit of a most pernicious tendency; and the most furious contests ensued between the Arians and the orthodox upon this new ground of unchristian warfare, which were beheld with malicious pleasure by the pagan population around them, who made the controversies of the Christians a common subject of ridicule and buffoonery.*

Arius was expelled from the church by two councils, assembled by Alexander, at Alexandria, the latter of which was composed of nearly a hundred bishops. Arius retired to Palestine, and the Emperor Constantine, seeing no chance of a reconciliation between his abettors and their opponents, assembled the famous council at Nice,† in Bithynia, in the year 325, with the view of terminating the controversy. This general council was composed of three hundred and eighteen bishops, and about as many presbyters,‡ condemned Arius and his doctrines,

* Their theatres resounded with shouts of laughter raised by ludicrous representation on the stage of Christian worship, and the numerous subjects of dissension by which the followers of Jesus were occupied, and allowed their passions to be influenced—all which must have appeared sufficiently ridiculous and contemptible to pagans.

† Some ruins are all that now remain of this city, where two celebrated councils were held; the one mentioned above, in which, besides the Arian question, the dispute about the time of celebrating Easter was settled. An attempt was here made to impose celibacy on the clergy, which was defeated by Paphnutius, a Bishop of Thebais, who had lost an eye in the last persecution; and the married clergy were allowed to retain their wives. The second Nicene Council was assembled in 787, by Irene, Empress of Constantinople, who had murdered her husband; and who afterwards put out the eyes of her son Constantine. In this council, presided over by Adrian, Bishop of Rome, the decrees of the Council of Constantinople were reversed, and the worship of images, which that council condemned, restored, and severe punishments announced against those who maintained that God was the only object of religious adoration.

‡ A goodly body of confessors appeared at this celebrated council; many that bore in their body the marks of the Lord Jesus. Paul, Bishop of Neocæsarea, had lost

after a most patient examination of the latter, proving, from Scripture, that Jesus Christ is "very God of very God, begotten, not made, *being of one substance with the Father*"*—and to this effect the venerable Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, in Spain, was appointed to draw up a creed, which is to all intents the same which we now call the Nicene creed.

Alexander, dying five months after his return home from this council, was succeeded in the see of Alexandria, by Athanasius, a deacon of that church, who has rendered his name illustrious as a champion of the truth by his zeal and activity, both before and after his elevation, against Arius and his followers. The view which Gibbon has taken of this faithful man's character and labours is worthy of being inserted here; as, coming from a historian deeply prejudiced against the doctrines he so zealously defended, it is no mean testimony in his favour:—

"We have seldom an opportunity of observing, either in active or speculative life, what effect may be produced, or what obstacles may be surmounted by the force of a single mind, when it is inflexibly applied to the pursuit of a single object. The immortal name of Athanasius will never be separated from the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defence he consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. Educated in the family of Alexander, he had vigorously opposed the early progress of the Arian heresy. He exercised the important functions of secretary under the aged prelate; and the Fathers of the Nicene Council beheld with surprise and respect the rising virtues of the young deacon. In a time of public danger the dull claims of age and of rank are sometimes superseded; and within five months after his return from Nice, the deacon Athanasius was seated on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt. He filled that eminent station above forty-six years, and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merits, and his sufferings in the cause of the Homousion, which he considered as the sole pleasure and business—as the duty and as the glory of his life. Amidst the storms of persecution the Archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism,† Athanasius displayed a supe-

the use of both hands, by the application of red hot iron; others appeared there deprived of their right eyes; others deprived of their legs; and by such men, who had drunk deep of the fountain opened for sin, uncleanness, and immortality, the blessed truth was asserted and established of "God manifest in the flesh." In the extremity of their sufferings they were "still," for they "knew that He was God."

* *ὁμοουσιος*, Homousios, consubstantial, a term then for the first time employed to represent a truth difficult of explanation.

† We beg to remind our readers "Gibbon loquitur."

riority of character and abilities, which would have qualified him far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy. His learning was much less profound and extensive than that of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and his rude eloquence could not be compared with the polished oratory of Gregory or Basil; but whenever the Primate of Egypt was called upon to justify his sentiments or his conduct, his unpremeditated style either of speaking or writing was clear, forcible, and persuasive."

To explain the cause of his frequent suspensions from his bishopric, and his long exile referred to in this extract, we must inform the reader that his enemies frequently succeeded in prejudicing the mind of the Emperor Constantine and his successor, Constantius, against him, by the most odious accusations which bigotted malice could invent. Rebellion, extortion, immorality, and even murder, were among the crimes laid to his charge; but through the good hand of his God upon him, he was able to disprove them all.*

Arius, patronised by Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia,† who recommended and introduced him to Constantia, sister of the Emperor Constantine, had the address to make the emperor believe that he had been unjustly condemned, and on being recalled to Constantinople, after five years' exile, presented to him such a satisfactory confession of faith, subscribing without hesitation to the Nicene decrees, and, moreover, at the emperor's request, confirming his assent to them by an oath, that Constantine ordered Alexander, the Bishop of Constantinople, to receive him the next day into the church. The pious bishop was aware of the dissimulation of the heresiarch, and spent the intervening night in fasting and prayer to God, earnestly imploring that He would interpose to avert from the church the calamity with which it was threatened. The next day the Arians paraded the city in a triumphant manner, with Arius at their head. As, however, they drew nigh to the forum of Constantine, Arius was seized with a disorder of the bowels, which obliged him to retire, and, shocking to relate, his intestines were discharged from his body with a great effusion of blood, and he immediately expired. Who can help exclaiming, while they read this—"Doubtless, there is a God that judgeth the earth?"

The reign of Constantius, the son of Constantine, proved a severe blow to the professors of the orthodox creed, and greatly encouraged the hopes of the Arian faction. Instructed in Christianity by an Arian

* The creed which bears the name of St. Athanasius was not composed until several years after his death. It is ascribed to Vigilius, Bishop of Thapsus, who was banished by Heneric the Arian, King of the Goths, towards the close of the fifth century.

† Not the historian, who, however, was a contemporary of the above, but who was Bishop of Cæsarea.

priest, and married to a confirmed Arian, his weak mind was easily biassed in favour of the prevailing error. By him Athanasius was persecuted, together with others of the Nicene bishops and clergy, and the enemies of the truth patronised and advanced. The episcopal office was sold to all candidates professing Arianism, and councils were held in various places in support of that blasphemous system ; and the whole Christian world was infected with the deadly disease. Africa was sinking deeper and deeper in error and impiety ; and, notwithstanding the exertions of the renowned Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, to whom we shall presently advert, the African Church was preparing itself for the scourge of an Arian despot, and the relentless besom of Mahomedan conquest.

Constantius died in the year 362, and with him the triumphs of the Arian party, in the general church, with the exception of a few brief intervals, seem to have terminated. Their last imperial friend, Valens, who was associated with his brother Valentinian, in the empire, was killed in an engagement with the Huns, in A. D. 378 ; and Theodosius the Great drove them from every station of trust or influence in his dominions, and established every where the decrees of the Council of Nice. The discomfited Arians took refuge among the barbarian nations which were then beginning to render themselves formidable, such as the Huns, Goths, Vandals, Suevi, Heruli, and Burgundians, whom they soon infected with their unscriptural notions, and rendered them the most formidable instruments of their ambition and their vengeance.

To stem the tide of corruption, irreligion, and false doctrine, which was ready to overflow the Western Church ; the Lord of the Vineyard raised up such a champion of evangelical truth as Augustine. He was born in the year 354, at Tagosta or Tagiste, a small town in Numidia, of respectable parents. His father, Patricius, filled for some time the office of magistrate in his native town, and continued a pagan till near his death. His mother, Monica, was renowned for Christian piety, and early sowed the seeds of divine truth in the mind of her son, who has given a most interesting narrative of his early days—of his parent's feelings and conversion—in his work, entitled *Confessions*. As a boy he did not like the drudgery of study, and found it difficult to acquire the Greek language, although called a boy of promising genius. In early youth he confesses that he walked in the ways of sensuality and profaneness ; and, with a heart polluted by vicious pleasures, he visited Carthage, to enjoy the literary advantages of that celebrated city. Here he betook himself to the study of philosophy, not, however, entirely forgetting the lessons of his childhood, though esteeming the Scriptures dull and uninteresting in comparison with the spirit and grace of Cicero.

At Carthage he fell in with a silly sect of self-named philosophers, called Manichees, from Manes their founder, which had existed for a hundred years, and which was distinguished for some foolish notions derived from Persian mythology and attempted to be amalgamated with Christian truth, by which it was sought to explain whatever appeared abstruse in the Christian scheme regarding the Trinity, man, and the existence of evil. The imaginative mind of Augustine was charmed with the daring speculations and glittering fancies of those Orientalists; and for nine years he continued under the infatuation of a system the most remote from the simplicity of revealed truth. His mother, now his only surviving parent, wept, prayed, and reasoned, to detach him from a party, from which her pious mind shrunk with abhorrence; but all in vain. The reply of a certain bishop, whose interference with her son she intreated, with much perseverance, and with many tears, expresses one of the most beautiful sentiments to be found in all the writings of antiquity, and sounds like the language of heaven in the ears of every Christian parent—"Begone, good woman, it is not possible that a child of such tears should perish."

Augustine had become a teacher of rhetoric at Carthage, and in his native town. To pursue his profession more advantageously, he removed to Rome, and was soon appointed Professor of Rhetoric at Milan, where he waited on Ambrose, the distinguished bishop of that city. He attended his lectures, and was soon induced to renounce his Manichean fallacies, from the words of truth and soberness which issued from the mouth of that venerable bishop. For some time his mind was agitated, and disturbed with a sense of his guiltiness before God, and of the difficulty of coming to Him. His confessions exhibit a lively and faithful portraiture of the young Christian wrestling with self and with God, which cannot fail to prove valuable to all who are similarly situated, as this holy man then was; and who is there now at peace with God, through the blood of the cross, that has not passed through more or less of the same painful conflicts, which are, nevertheless, the credentials of their interest in Jesus? His testimony is, "that he sought the way of obtaining strength to enjoy God, and found it not, till he embraced the Mediator between God and man, the man, Christ Jesus," "who is above all, God blessed for ever;" calling and saying, "I am the way, the truth, and the life."*

* We have here quite satisfactory evidence that Augustine was neither an Arian nor a Romanist. His reading of the remarkable text, Rom. ix. 5, is very valuable. In another part of his confessions he employs the following language—"Whom shall I look to as my mediator? Shall I go to angels? Many have tried this, and have been fond of visions, and have deserved to be the sport of the illusions which they loved. A MEDIATOR BETWEEN GOD AND MAN MUST HAVE THE NATURE OF BOTH." *Mediator autem inter Deum et homines, oportebat ut haberet aliquid simile Deo, aliquid simile hominibus.*—Confes. Aug. l. x. c. xlii. s. 2. There is no reasoning away such a declaration of faith as this.

In his soul's distress he applied to Simplician, who had been a presbyter at Rome, but was brought to Milan by Ambrose, of whose conversion he was the honoured instrument. Simplician treated his case with judgment; led him, by the example of others similarly circumstanced, to the cross, and had soon the happiness to see his second illustrious pupil established in the faith, and fully enlisted in the service of the Captain of his salvation. His spiritual struggles, and the extraordinary appearance of God himself, on the field of conflict, remind us of the parallel cases of Paul and Luther. The latter scene is thus described by himself:—After relating that he and his friend Alypius had been sitting together engaged in conversation, which, from its application to himself, affected him with the deepest emotion, even to tears, he proceeds:—"To give it vent, I rose up hastily from Alypius. The sound of my voice appeared pregnant with weeping, and he remained motionless in the same place; I prostrated myself under a fig-tree,* and with tears bursting out, I spake, to this effect: 'How long, Lord, will thou be angry? For ever? Remember not my old iniquities,' for I perceived myself entangled by them. 'How long shall I say to-morrow? Why should not this hour have put an end to my slavery?' Thus I spake and wept in the bitterness of my soul; and I heard a voice, as from a neighbouring house, of one repeating frequently—'Take up and read—take up and read.' I paused and began to think whether I ever had heard boys use such a speech in any play, and could recollect nothing like it. I then concluded that I was ordered from heaven to take up the book and read the first sentence I cast my eyes upon. I returned hastily to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there I had placed the book of St. Paul's Epistles. I seized it—opened it—and read what first struck my eyes: 'Not in rioting and drunkenness—not in chambering and wantonness—not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.'"[†] These words entered with power into the heart of Augustine: his "mind was set free from the corroding cares of avarice, ambition, and sensuality, and he conversed in happy placidity with his God and Saviour."

He resigned his office as Professor of Rhetoric, and devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures. He was soon after baptized, and determined to return with his devoted mother, who had followed him to Milan, to his native country; but while they were preparing for the journey, the pious and now triumphant Monica was attacked by fever,

* Who can forbear imagining the kind and compassionate Redeemer addressing Augustine, in the realms of blessedness, in the words applied by himself to Nathaniel—"When thou wast under the fig-tree I saw thee?" John i. 48.

† Rom. xiii. 13, 14. An appeal "to the law and to the testimony" would not be the procedure recommended by the Romish admirers of Augustine in the case of a struggling conscience.

which carried her off on the ninth day, in the fifty-sixth year of her age. A friend having, a few days before her death, expressed to her their regret that she should leave her body so far from her own country, she replied : " Nothing is far to God ; and I do not fear that he should not know where to find me at the resurrection." Such a mother was worthy of such a son. Her example affords to us one of the numerous proofs which we possess of the blessing which peculiarly attaches to a sanctified exercise of the maternal affections.

Augustine now returned to Africa, and he resided in his native city for three years, imitating, with a few select friends, the first Christians, by "having all things common." After this period he visited the city of Hippo-Regius,* to oblige a friend of rank. Valerius, a man of piety, was then bishop of that city. Here he was soon ordained presbyter, and, not long after, coadjutor bishop with Valerius, who at his death left him in full possession of the see, which he rendered celebrated throughout the Christian world by his talents, learning, and piety. He there founded a monastery of much renown, which supplied the church with several bishops, and from this has arisen the society of Augustine friars, or eremites of St. Augustine.

Augustine has signalized himself by his controversies with the schismatics of his day—the Donatists, Manicheans, (to whom he himself formerly belonged,) and the Pelagians. Of these last we must give a brief account, as their pestilential doctrines now overran the church, and made way for the doctrinal errors of the Romish creed.

The authors of this heresy were two monks, Pelagius and Cælestius ; the former a Briton, and the latter an Irishman. They were highly esteemed at Rome, where they had for some time resided, for their exemplary piety and decorum ; and it was not until late in life that they began to publish their dangerous conceits. A few words will describe their notions. They rejected the doctrines of original sin—the natural corruption of the human heart—salvation by faith alone—the inheritance by all men of the curse pronounced upon Adam—the communication of life through Jesus Christ ; and, in fact, all the leading and distinguishing tenets of the Gospel. They declared that every man was born in the same state of innocence as Adam ; that he was capable by his own exertions of preserving or recovering purity of heart, and recommending himself to God ; that he has no need of the grace

* Hippo was a maritime colony bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, 200 miles to the west of Carthage. It acquired the title of Regius from being the residence of the Kings of Numidia. This city was destroyed by the Saracens, in the 7th century ; but a new town has since been built out of the old materials, about two miles from the original site. It is now called Bona by the British, who possess it, and who have a consular resident there. The Moors call it Blaid-el-aneb, (the town of jubels,) and the Turks, Baledema. Large quantities of wool, hides, wax, and corn, are shipped from this port.

of God, except to encourage his natural exertions; and that the internal operations of the Holy Spirit are unnecessary. Their object avowedly was to rescue human nature from the degrading position in which the Gospel exhibited it, and to prove that it possessed an inherent energy capable of conducting it to the highest degrees of virtue and holiness. The trail of the old serpent never was more plainly marked than in this daring schism, which at one blow laid level the whole superstruction of Revelation, trampled under foot the Son of God, and wrenched from perishing sinners the only anchor of hope on which they could lean, amid the boiling surges of guilt and damnation. The Father of Mercies had raised up a man, disciplined by himself, to unsheath the sword of the spirit against the demon of blasphemy and delusion—that man was Augustine. He laboured, preached, wrote, and prayed against these pestiferous errors, and the Lord honoured him as the instrument of snatching some, and protecting many, not only in Africa, where the poisonous seed took extensive root, but throughout Christendom, from this new snare of the devil.

The works of Augustine are voluminous. Had he written less, he had probably written more profitably, and there had been more unity of sentiment in the church on the subject of his opinions. As it is, opposite parties may appeal to the authority of Augustine, and suffer no disappointment in claiming his support for their antagonist views. He has either written loosely, or often inconsistently, and sometimes attempts to handle subjects which, it is evident, he does not thoroughly understand; nevertheless, his advocacy of evangelical truth has proved a valuable bequest to the church, and in the profundity of darkness which marked the middle ages, his writings shed a ray of light, which penetrated many a gloomy cell, and rescued some sincere inquirers from the utter bondage of superstition and error. When the city of Hippo was, some months after his death, burned by the Vandals, the library which contained his writings was providentially saved. They consisted of two hundred and thirteen separate books or treatises on theological subjects, besides a complete exposition of the Psalms and the Gospels, and a copious magazine of epistles and homilies.*

We have already related that Genseric, King of the Vandals, invaded Africa in the year 427 or 429. His barbarous subjects had embraced Arianism, with all its worst features of bigotry and intolerance; and on their arrival in Africa a most disgraceful persecution was commenced against the orthodox bishops and clergy. Many of them fled to the city of Hippo-Regius, which was soon besieged by the notorious Vandals; and amid the terror and confusion consequent on the military operations carried on within and without the city, the venerable

* Gibbon.

Augustine was graciously released from his earthly pilgrimage, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and in the third month of the siege of the city, over which he had presided for nearly forty years.

The Catholic bishops were now driven into banishment, and several of them reduced to a state of slavery. Genseric had resolved to render Arianism triumphant throughout the province, and every cruelty was perpetrated against the enemies of his creed: they were tortured, banished, and degraded, and their churches everywhere occupied by the Arian bishops and clergy. Hunneric, his eldest son, who succeeded him in 477, was a close imitator of his relentless parent. He forbade any but Arians to hold offices in the province, and by one edict banished nearly five thousand Catholics, lay and clerical. Their sufferings on their journey to the desert were most intense; and the whole country resounded with the tears and groans of their brethren in the faith, who flocked out to behold them, and sympathize with them in their sorrows. Nothing was wanting in the character or conduct of Hunneric, who called himself a Christian, to entitle his statue to a niche in the crumbling temple of paganism beside those of Nero, Decius, and Domitian; for to none of them did he yield in the spirit or the arts of Christian persecution. He restored all the terrors of the darkest period of the church's blood-stained history. Men, women, and children were put to death by every species of torture, shocking to the human mind to contemplate; racks, red hot-irons, and hooks for tearing the flesh, were in full employment, and the human instruments of the king's most infernal policy, to exterminate the truth and its supporters, were wearied in inventing and executing new engines to subdue the intrepidity of God's dear children—by whom, everywhere, his supporting grace was felt and exhibited through the severest trials.

Much controversy has been occasioned by the relation of a miracle, said to have been performed, in this reign, in support of the truth, which Hunneric sought to destroy. It is supported by the most respectable ocular testimony—that of Victor, Bishop of Utica, Æneas, a Platonic philosopher of Gaza, Procopius the historian, afterwards secretary to Belisarius, Marcellinus the count, author of a Chronicle of the Times, and the Emperor Justinian. At a place called Typasa,* an Arian bishop was appointed, and numbers of the orthodox party transported themselves, in consequence, into Spain; but a few, who could not remove, formed themselves into a separate community, and assembled for worship in a private house, notwithstanding every exertion of the new bishop to win them over. When Hunneric heard of this, he ordered their tongues to be cut out, and their right hands cut off, in the public market-place, and then permitted them to retire to Constan-

* A town of Mauritania, sixteen miles east of Cæsaria.

tinople, where it is attested they were, by the power of God, enabled to speak as intelligibly as if their organs of speech had never been removed. Let it suffice to say, concerning this miracle, that Gibbon is obliged to acknowledge that the evidence by which it is supported is so genuine and complete, as not to be accounted for on any supposition but that of its truth.*

The tyrant Hunneric, after a savage reign of seven years and ten months, was eaten of worms, and died in the most shocking manner, in the year 485; after having afflicted the church, within his reach, with a persecution, scarcely to be paralleled for atrocity, by the most merciless, under the iron sway of the heathen emperors.

Arianism continued to be the established religion of Africa during the reign of the Vandals, whose usurpation was terminated by the victories of Belisarius, in the year 533. In the interval between the death of Hunneric and the expulsion of the last Vandal king, the church suffered severely, with some intervals of repose; and a twilight of coldness, ignorance, and superstition, no where more ominously portended the coming night of antichristian apostacy. Here and there a star of evangelism twinkled through the gloomy atmosphere of asceticism and idolatry, and a few rays of divine truth seemed to penetrate the darkness around, but after one or two faint efforts for existence the light expired, and all was dark and cold again.

One of the few witnesses for God, who appeared in these last days of the African Church, was Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspæ. His father was a senator of Carthage, but retiring to avoid the Arian persecution, he settled at Constantinople, in the neighbourhood of which Fulgentius was born. His mother was a pious Christian,† and being early left a widow, devoted herself to the education of her son, who gave early proofs that her pious exertions were not in vain. Determined to devote himself to God, he entered, according to the religious notions of that age, on a course of monastic austerities, and, proceeding to Africa, entered a religious society, formed by Faustus, an exiled bishop. During a persecution carried on by Thrasamond, the Vandal king, he suffered severely, and with the most godly resignation and constancy. He was then chosen Bishop of Ruspæ, but was shortly afterwards banished to Sardinia, in company with several other soldiers of the cross. In the reign of Hilderic, successor of Thrasamond, however, A.D. 523, he was permitted to return to his flock, among whom he died universally esteemed and regretted. His writings were particularly directed against the Arians and Pelagians: they partake much of the spirit of Augustine, whose works he admired and recommended; but "his style and

* See *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxxvii.

† Another lovely example of maternal faithfulness, and its eternal effects.

manner," says Mosheim, "were harsh and uncouth, as was generally the case of the African writers."

The Emperor Justinian having recovered Africa from the Vandals, restored the orthodox clergy to their churches, and deprived the Arians and Donatists of the privileges and possessions which they had usurped. He assembled a council at Carthage, composed of two hundred and seventeen bishops, to arrange these and other matters, which had been neglected during the preceding reign of terror and disorder.

Very little remains to be said of the African Church. The Almighty had dealt with her as a faithful parent: much was required of her to whom he had given much, but she waxed fat and kicked. There was no section of the Christian Church which seems to have been so early and so deeply infected with the "philosophy and vain deceit after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ," against which the apostle warns his Colossian converts.* Alexandria gave birth to that pestilential system called Platonism, which, like briars and thorns, sprang up with the good seed of the Gospel, and quickly choked it. Alexandria was unhappily celebrated as a school of learning. Its teachers assumed the name of philosophers; and so attractive was the title, and agreeable the respect with which it was attended, that when any of them embraced the Gospel, the natural man, which was only evangelized, not eradicated or subdued, longed to retain and to merit a title so highly prized; and so, with a friendly suggestion from the arch enemy of the cross, they proceeded to amalgamate New Testament truths with heathen reveries, and thus to frame a system which satisfied their conscience with the name of Christianity, and their pride with that of philosophy. Theologians are much divided as to whether they should consider the inventor† of the doctrine of demons and demigods a Christian or not: a Sunday-school scholar would find no difficulty in the matter. The man who could maintain that all religions—Pagan, Jewish, and Christian—had one common inventor, and all meant the same thing, certainly knew nothing of Him who is *THE way, THE truth, and THE life*: and whatever interest antiquity may attach to the names of Pantæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and others of that school, we cannot doubt that, on account of the things which they taught, and which, in process of time, infected the church to its very core, the wrath of God came upon it at length to the uttermost.

If Christian doctrine was corrupted in Egypt, Christian discipline seems to have been no less abused in other parts of Africa. The pious

* Chap. ii. 8.

† Ammonius Saccas, teacher of the Alexandrian school, at the close of the second century.

Cyprian has been accused of stretching episcopal authority to too great lengths at Carthage; and certainly to allow any of the prerogatives of ecclesiastical power to fall into disuse was not a fault of the primitive church. The origin and progress of the Donatist schism also argues an assumption of superiority on the part of some prelates over their brethren, disallowed by the Shepherd and Bishop of Souls; and, however flagrant were the errors of the Donatists and Arians, there was no doubt that the orthodox clergy assumed and exercised a power of inflicting punishment, after a manner shamefully contrasted with the meekness and gentleness of Christ; and further, we have abundant evidence that many superstitious practices had very early crept into the worship of the African Church, and in time utterly perverted its religious offices from their original simplicity and spiritual use. The lives of professing Christians, too, it must be allowed, were in general far below the standard of Christian holiness; yet a spirit of arrogant self-righteousness had taken deep root even in the pastors of the church,* so as to obscure much of the glory of Christ in the work which he was carrying on. Out of this grew the whole system of penances and self-mortifications utterly at variance with the doctrines of grace; and, as men became self-confident, they declined in love to God, and love to the brethren. This is the true source of heresies and divisions. Let us not forget that the Christian converts, against whom it was alleged that, rejecting the universal headship of Christ, they separated into parties, under such inferior leaders as Paul, Apollos, Cephas, were disposed to be puffed up with a sense of their own wisdom and goodness, while there existed among them envying and strife, and carnal self-indulgence admitted even into their most sacred rites.†

It was not without reason, then, that the divine rod was often and rigorously employed against the African Church, nor that it was ultimately swept with the besom of destruction. The Donatist and Arian schemes were at once the types and effects of the prevailing disorders in discipline and doctrine; and they were, doubtless, at length the weapons by which Satan laid waste the African vineyard. The language

* We are reminded here of a name which has not yet been introduced—that of Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, “a man,” says Mosheim, “of a haughty, turbulent, and imperious temper.” He made himself conspicuous by his violence against Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who condemned the use of the phrase “Mother of God,” (*Θεοτοκος*) which, in the heat of the Arian controversy, was applied to the Virgin Mary, and asserted that she should rather be called the Mother of Christ (*Χριστοτοκος*); thus cavilling about nice distinctions, not very comprehensible in our day. Cyril assembled a council at Alexandria, A.D. 430, and hurled twelve anathemas at the head of Nestorius, who retorted by accusing Cyril of maintaining the Apollinarian heresy, which confounded the two natures in Christ. This unhappy contest between the two prelates was productive of the most disastrous consequences to the church. Cyril’s reprehensible violence has been, not without much reason, ascribed to jealousy of the rising power and authority of the Bishop of Constantinople.

† See 1 Cor. xi. 21.

of Jehovah to his chosen people appears very applicable to African Christians in the sixth and seventh centuries—"Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters! They have forsaken the Lord; they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger: they are gone away backward. Why should ye be stricken any more? Ye will revolt more and more. The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises, and putrifying sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up; neither mollified with ointment: your country is desolate; your cities are burnt with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers."*

The effects of Saracen conquest on the once flourishing Church of Africa, and the manner in which Christianity, in all but the name, has gradually disappeared from her northern shores, is well and fairly described by Gibbon, whose account we shall make use of:—

"The northern coast of Africa is the only land in which the light of the Gospel, after a long and perfect establishment, has been totally extinguished. The arts which had been taught by Carthage and Rome were involved in a cloud of ignorance; the doctrine of Cyprian and Augustine was no longer studied. Five hundred episcopal churches were overturned by the hostile fury of the Donatists, the Vandals, and the Moors. The zeal and numbers of the clergy declined, and the people, without discipline, or knowledge, or hope, submissively sunk under the yoke of the Arabian Prophet. Within fifty years after the expulsion of the Greeks, a lieutenant of Africa informed the caliph that the tribute of the infidels was abolished by their conversion; and though he sought to disguise his fraud and rebellion, his specious pretence was drawn from the rapid and extensive progress of the Mahomedan faith. In the next age, an extraordinary mission of five bishops was detached from Alexandria to Cairoan. They were ordained by the Jacobite patriarch to cherish and revive the dying embers of Christianity; but the interposition of a foreign prelate—a stranger to the Latins, an enemy to the Catholics—supposes the decay and dissolution of the African hierarchy. It was no longer the time when the successor of St. Cyprian, at the head of a numerous synod, could maintain an equal contest with the ambition of the Roman pontiff. In the eleventh century, the unfortunate priest, who was seated on the ruins of Carthage, implored the arms and protection of the Vatican; and he bitterly complains that his naked body had been scourged by the Saracens, and that his authority was disputed by the four suffragans—the tottering pillars of his throne. Two epistles of Gregory VII. are destined to soothe the distress of the Catholics, and the pride of a Moorish prince.

* Isaiah i. 4—7.

The pope assures the sultan that they both worship the same God, and may hope to meet in the bosom of Abraham; but the complaint that three bishops could no longer be found to consecrate a brother, announces the speedy and inevitable ruin of the episcopal order. The Christians of Africa and Spain had long since submitted to the practice of circumcision, and the legal abstinence from wine and pork; and the name of Mazarabes (adoptive Arabs) was applied to their civil or religious conformity. About the middle of the twelfth century the worship of Christ and the succession of pastors were abolished along the coast of Barbary, and in the kingdoms of Cordova and Seville, of Valentia and Granada. The throne of the Almohades, or Unitarians, was founded on the blindest fanaticism; and their extraordinary rigour might be provoked or justified by the recent victories and intolerant zeal of the princes of Sicily and Castile, of Arragon and Portugal. The faith of the Mazarabes was occasionally revived by the papal missionaries; and on the landing of Charles V., some families of Latin Christians were encouraged to rear their heads at Tunis and Algiers. But the seed of the Gospel was quickly eradicated, and the long province, from Tripoli to the Atlantic, has lost all memory of the language and religion of Rome.

“After the revolution of eleven centuries, the Jews and Christians of the Turkish empire enjoy the liberty of conscience which was granted by the Arabian caliphs. During the first age of the conquest they suspected the loyalty of the Catholics, whose name of Melchites* betrayed their secret attachment to the Greek emperor, while the Nestorians and Jacobites, his inveterate enemies, approved themselves the sincere and voluntary friends of the Mahomedan government. Yet, this partial jealousy was healed by time and submission; the churches of Egypt were shared with the Catholics, and all the Oriental sects were included in the common benefits of toleration. The rank, the immunities, the domestic jurisdiction of the patriarchs, the bishops, and the clergy, were protected by the civil magistrate: the learning of individuals recommended them to the employments of secretaries and physicians; they were enriched by the lucrative collection of the revenue, and their merit was sometimes raised to the command of cities and provinces. A caliph of the House of Abbas was heard to declare that the Christians were most worthy of trust in the administration of Persia. “The Moslems (said he) will abuse their present fortune; the Magians regret their fallen greatness; and the Jews are impatient for their approaching deliverance.” But the slaves of despotism are exposed to the alternatives of favour and disgrace. The captive churches of the

* *i.e.*, Royalists, by which name those who adhered to the orthodox creed in the Monophysite controversy were distinguished.

East have been afflicted, in every age, by the avarice or bigotry of their rulers; and the ordinary and legal restraints must be offensive to the pride or the zeal of the Christian. About two hundred years after Mahomet, they were separated from their fellow-subjects by a turban or girdle, of a less honourable colour: instead of horses or mules, they were condemned to ride on asses, in the attitude of women. Their public and private buildings were measured by a diminutive standard: in the streets or the baths it is their duty to give way or bow down before the meanest of the people; and their testimony is rejected, if it may tend to the prejudice of a true believer. The pomp of processions, the sound of bells or of psalmody, is interdicted in their worship. A decent reverence for the national faith is imposed on their sermons and conversations; and the sacrilegious attempt to enter a mosque, or to seduce a Mussulman, will not be suffered to escape with impunity. In a time, however, of tranquillity and justice, the Christians have never been compelled to renounce the Gospel, or to embrace the Koran; but the punishment of death is inflicted upon the apostates who have professed and deserted the law of Mahomet. The martyrs of Cordova provoked the sentence of the *cadi*, by the public confession of their inconstancy, or their passionate invectives against the person and religion of the Prophet.*

Of the piratical states of Northern Africa, perhaps Tripoli is most tolerant of Christianity, especially since the family of the Caramanli ascended the throne; and it is probable that respect for the English name has no little influence on the mind of the semi-barbarous ruler. There is a Greek convent here, to which the Romish College de Propaganda Fide has supplied three monks, mostly Franciscans, for the service of the consuls and their suites.

A toleration is also granted to Christians, in a more limited sense, at Tunis. All attempts at conversion are punishable with death, and Christians, like Jews, are the objects of general contempt. There are here a few monks of the Franciscan and Capuchin order, besides one Greek priest, who officiates in the church allotted to Protestant consuls and their families. There is also a Roman Catholic convent and church, and the Christians of this denomination are supposed to amount to about 800. The Protestant Christians are very few. They consist of the family of the English vice-consul, those of the Danish, Swedish, and American consuls, and two or three others; in all about thirty. The Greek Christians may be numbered at about 200, of which those who are subjects of the Ottoman Porte are much oppressed, and are not permitted to leave the city.

The number of Christian slaves at Morocco, and the other Barbary

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. li.

states, has been at all times very considerable ; but the powers of Europe have, of late years, considerably interfered with the source from which they were procured.

It is in Egypt and Abyssinia alone that traces are found of the once flourishing Church of Africa, which covered the northern coast, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean to the Great Desert, with churches and convents. In Egypt, the Copts are the descendants of the primitive Christians. Few of them inhabit the Delta, but they are chiefly found in Upper Egypt. As they excel the Turks in intellectual endowments, they usually occupy such offices in the state as require talent and industry ; but they are still the slaves of the ignorant and besotted Moslems, by whom they are treated with every indignity. When a Christian does not choose to walk through the streets of Cairo, an ass is the only animal he is permitted to ride ; and if he meets a grandee, he must dismount till the latter has passed ; and must pay the same mark of servile respect whenever he passes the house of the chief Cadi, or any other of the numerous courts of justice, and the principal mosques, or he would be sure to be ill-treated by the populace. " Like the forsaken hermitages, and the ruins of ancient convents, that crown the bare and rugged rock of the mountains of Dshebel Mokkattem, on the right bank of the Nile, the Christians still subsist in Egypt, a monument of what has been : just as irreconcilable in their rights and in their doctrines, concerning the natures and persons in Christ, and as full of inveterate enmity against each other, as they were a thousand years ago."*

The most numerous sect is that of the Jacobites, so called from a Syrian heresiarch of the sixth century, who maintained that there was but one nature in Christ. These sectaries believe, also, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only, and not from the Son. They are, evidently, of very ancient origin ; in fact, the representatives of the earliest African Christians. In disposition they are said to be like the ancient Egyptians, gloomy, obstinate, and superstitious. Their religious books are written in the Coptic language, which is now scarcely understood, even by the priests. The Copts possess, at Achmina, one of the most magnificent churches in the whole province. They extend as far as the Nile, on the frontiers of Nubia, where the town of Dshirdshe is still the seat of a Coptic bishop.

The Christianity of the Copts has greatly degenerated from its primitive character ; yet, though they have admitted many corruptions and superstitions into it, they have the greatest abhorrence of popery ; from which their system is said to differ in the following particulars :—

1. Circumcision.
2. The conferring of all sacred orders under the

priesthood, on infants immediately after baptism. 3. Holding the inefficacy of baptism, unless administered by the priest in the open church. 4. Not baptizing until the fortieth day after birth. 5. Administering the eucharist to infants immediately after baptism. 6. Sanctioning the contraction of marriage between parties in the second degree of consanguinity, without dispensation. 7. Not compelling the observance of the Lord's-day, or any other festival, except in cities. 8. Admitting to be read in the liturgies, a gospel reputed to be written by Nicodemus. 9. Administering the Lord's Supper in both kinds. 10. Permitting the use of leavened bread in the sacrament. 11. Employing neither extreme unction nor the eucharist in the case of the sick. 12. Denying the existence of purgatory, and the necessity of prayers for the dead. 13. Not practising the elevation of the host. 14. Maintaining that the Church of Rome is heretical and apostate.

Bochardus reckons that, before the invasion of the Saracens, there were in Egypt 300,000 Christians. Their bishops amounted to seventy; of the latter there are now only twelve. The patriarch, who is styled the Primate of the Churches of Nubia and Abyssinia, has his seat at Cairo, where there are twelve Coptic churches.

Besides the Copts, there are in Egypt Greek Christians and Roman Catholics. The former have two churches in Cairo, and several in Alexandria. These churches are under either the Bishop of Mount Sinai, or a bishop resident at Alexandria. The Roman Catholics are not numerous. There are here monks of the Jesuit, Capuchin, Franciscan, and other orders, who, as usual, never lose sight of the one great object—advancing the interests of their church. They labour assiduously to bring over the members of the other Christian communions to their faith; anxious, indeed, to detach the dupes of the false prophet from their impious system, but dreading the well-known consequences of interfering with the religion of the faithful.

Such is the sad sequel to the history of African Christianity—once so renowned, now so contemptible; once illuminating a continent from shore to shore, now scarcely permitted to flicker amid the ruins of its former greatness, and only distinguished by the vapour that yet hovers over the locality of its pristine fires. But all of ancient Christianity is not lost to Africa, or to the world. Tertullian, Cyprian, Athanasius, Augustine, being dead, yet speak. Africa has committed what they bequeathed to her as sacred deposits to us, until better days arise to her, when she will demand from us a surrender of her precious trust. May those days soon arise, and may all those who are capable of estimating what Africa has done for Christianity, be taught to feel how incumbent upon them it is to try now what Christianity can do for Africa.

A sketch of the ancient and still existing Church of Abyssinia properly belongs to another department of the Church Missionary work, viz., the Mediterranean Mission, or rather the East African Mission; but as it is an African church, and, therefore, enters into our present plan, we must not omit it. Should the privilege be allowed us of considering the mission with which it is more immediately connected, we may enter more at large into its interesting history; at present we propose no more than a cursory view, which, however, we trust will not fail to awaken Christian sympathy in favour of those whom we may fairly call our African brethren.

Whatever be the opinions of biblical expositors regarding the native country of the Queen of Sheba, the Abyssinians themselves find no difficulty in the matter. Their chronicles of the Kings of Abyssinia speak in high terms of Iber Hakim or Menilek, the son of Solomon, and they believe that the forty-fifth Psalm is a prophecy of the journey of their queen, whom they call Maqueda, and of the future glory of her and Solomon's son, who should one day occupy the throne of a Gentile country. It is also asserted that this Queen of Sheba, or the South, left her country a pagan, but that, in consequence of Solomon's replies to her hard questions, she returned a convert to Judaism, and that Menilek, after residing seven years with his mother, was sent by her to his father, Solomon, to be instructed; that he then took the name of David, and was anointed and crowned in the temple of Jerusalem as King of Ethiopia. After this ceremony he is said to have returned to Sheba, accompanied by a colony of Jews, and by a high priest, Azazias, who brought with him a Hebrew transcript of the law. The queen now proceeded to carry out her favourite project—the conversion of all her subjects to Judaism, in which, say the Abyssinian chronicles, she fully succeeded.

Before her death, she enacted that the throne should be hereditary in the family of Solomon for ever; that no woman should be capable of ascending the throne, and that the heirs male of the royal house should always be kept imprisoned on a high mountain, there to remain until their death, or until they should be called to the throne.* Maqueda died in the year 986, before Christ, and in the fortieth of her reign, leaving the throne to Menilek, whose posterity have occupied it ever since. It is curious that the heraldic device of the Abyssinian monarchs is a lion passant, with the motto—"Mo ansaba am Nizelet Solomon am Negade Juda." "The lion of the race of Solomon and tribe of Judah hath overcome." The Koran also makes mention of this journey of the Queen of Sheba, but as usual renders the occasion

* The reader will remember the beautiful allegorical tale by Doctor Johnson—"Rasselas, or the Prince of Abyssinia."

ridiculous, by involving it in a tissue of the most silly legends and other absurdities.

Passing over an interval of thirteen hundred years, we come to the visit of Frumentius before mentioned, and his appointment by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, as first Bishop of the Axumæ or Abyssinians, when Christianity first took root in the country. Eusebius tells us that the Ethiopian eunuch was the first fruits of believers throughout the (Gentile) world, and the first to preach the Gospel to his countrymen on his return. What his success was, we have no means of ascertaining ; but we know that Frumentius found Christians residing in Abyssinia, when he turned his attention to the matter, and that he then collected them together, and built for them a church.

On the return of Frumentius from Alexandria, he applied himself to the conversion of the young king, who had just ascended the throne, with such zeal and address, that he soon succeeded in establishing the mind of his royal pupil in the faith, which he now formally embraced ; and his example spread with astonishing rapidity over the whole country ; so that Christianity, without war to introduce it, sacerdotal intrigues to encumber it, or fanaticism or bloodshed to disgrace it, but with its truth only for argument, and adorned with its native simplicity alone, won its way to the hearts of this primitive race, and soon became the established religion of the country.

An attempt was made in the year 356, by the Emperor Constantius, to introduce Arianism into Abyssinia, which, owing to the constancy of the joint sovereigns, Aizana and Saizana, signally failed. The Abyssinian Church, however, embraced the Eutychian heresy, which refuses to acknowledge more than one nature in Christ, in opposition to Nestorianism, which holds that there are two. The followers of Eutychus are also called Monophysites, Monotholites, and Jacobites, from Jacob Baradæus, one of their most active and successful preachers. This being the creed of the Church of Alexandria, from whence the Abyssinians have, from the first, received their abuna, or patriarch, it has naturally been perpetuated among them, in spite of its condemnation by the Council of Chalcedon, called the Fourth General Council, in the year 451. The most lamentable dissensions divided the Eastern Church, in consequence of the opposite opinions maintained by the Eutychians and Nestorians, or Melchites, as they were called ; so that, in the natural decline of vital Christianity which ensued, Mahomedanism succeeded in spreading its baneful influence over Egypt, and cutting off all communication between the Eastern and Western churches : the consequence was, that for centuries the very existence of the Abyssinian Church was unknown in Europe.

It is said that some Portuguese pilgrims, in the fifteenth century, on

their return from Jerusalem, brought home with them an account of some Christians with whom they had associated in the Holy City, who represented themselves as natives of a Christian country in Africa, where the faith of the Gospel had been professed from the earliest times; and that they were ruled over by an extraordinary personage, whose name was Prete Janni, or Prester John, uniting in his person, like Melchizedek, the two offices of priest and king, and presenting other remarkable and mysterious features of character and condition. This intelligence stimulated Prince Henry of Portugal—not less than the desire to find a passage to India—to undertake the maritime expeditions which he fitted out for the coast of Africa in the fifteenth century; and in 1490, Pedro Cavillham, an emissary from the court of John II., succeeded, after several failures, in entering Abyssinia, where his appearance and the accounts which he gave of his country, created considerable interest.

An intercourse was now established between the two kingdoms, and diplomatic relations were entered into by the respective courts. This Portuguese alliance was peculiarly offensive to the Mahommedan neighbours of the Abyssinians, who had long expected to occupy this last stronghold of Christianity in Africa, and they determined to make one more grand attempt to accomplish their purpose. In the hostilities which ensued, the Abyssinian monarch was reduced to the necessity of craving assistance from his new allies, who, after considerable delay, sent into Abyssinia a small force of about 450 men, which does not appear to have been as successful as was anticipated: the commander, Christopher de Gama, was slain, together with a great part of his men. However, the Abyssinian emperor was soon able to drive out the Moslem invaders, and establish peace in his dominions.

The Portuguese had not promised their assistance without exacting immense concessions from the emperor, no less than a conformity of the whole nation to popery, and a surrender of a third part of the kingdom to the crown of Portugal. Previous to this they had succeeded in having one Bermudez, a Portuguese, consecrated abuna, or Patriarch of Ethiopia, who now exerted himself to the uttermost to carry out the designs of the Pope of Rome, to reduce the country beneath his spiritual sway. In this, however, owing to the firmness of the emperor, he was wofully disappointed: he was himself banished from the kingdom, and another abuna appointed in his stead.

Ignatius Loyola, founder of the order of Jesuits, was then in the zenith of his fame and influence, and his heart panted after the conversion of the Abyssinians. Having failed in obtaining permission from the pope to undertake the work himself, he succeeded in despatching thirteen members of his new society on this important mission, who, on arriving in Abyssinia, found the emperor and his subjects more

determined than ever against any submission to Rome, or interference with their religion. In vain Oviedo, one of the chiefs of the party, reasoned, flattered, and even threatened: "The more the emperor knew of popery and its ways, the worse he liked it." The Jesuits succeeded, however, in sustaining their character for intrigue and social disorder. They soon plunged the kingdom into civil war, with all its accompanying horrors, employing Portuguese troops to assist the rebels against the government, and inviting the Mahommedans to renew their incursions. As, however, the interests of the Romish Church did not appear to advance under Oviedo's management, he was recalled by the pope, in 1560. "Thus ended," in the language of Professor Lee, "a mission which, for the extent of the mischief that it did, and the villainy displayed by its abettors, can only be equalled by that which succeeded it, undertaken with similar views, supported by the same base machinations, and terminating in similar disgrace."

This brief, yet comprehensive description of the second attempt made by the Jesuits to rob the Abyssinians of their religion and their liberty, must stand in the place of a more circumstantial account of the proceedings of this infamous society, from the year 1603, when Peter Paez, at the head of the second mission, entered Abyssinia, until 1638, when a general massacre of Romish monks eradicated the last remains of popery from the country. During this memorable interval, blood flowed in torrents; repeated rebellions convulsed the kingdom; religious animosity and persecution raged with almost unprecedented fury; and the most unheard-of cruelties were inflicted on the wretched inhabitants who dared to prefer their own simple and scriptural creed to the blasphemous fables and superstitions of Rome.

One or two attempts to re-open the intercourse between Abyssinia and Rome were subsequently made, but they met with a signal failure: the missionaries were murdered, and the prejudice against Europeans rendered more inveterate. Very recently the Church of Rome has entered the field, instigated, it should seem, by a desire to frustrate the exertions of the Church Missionary Society in the same quarter. We regret that the efforts of this society, which have been persevered in since the year 1829, with a zeal and constancy truly Christian, have met with little but disappointment; however, we doubt not that the Lord will soon open an effectual door to the faith and prayers of His anxious people.

As might be supposed, the Christianity of Abyssinia has gathered considerable alloy in its descent from primitive times; but, as the Scriptures are free to all who can afford to purchase them entire, or in detached parts, the corruptions are by no means as great as in the Romish Church, or as writers of that communion would represent them. Circumcision is practised; and a ceremony resembling baptism, but denied

by Bruce and others to be identical with that ordinance, is repeated every year. The Lord's Supper is administered in both kinds; only dried grapes, bruised to the consistence of marmalade, are substituted for the wine, and are put into the mouth with a spoon, after which a draught of water is taken from a pitcher, which is handed about. Divine service is accompanied by the beating of a small drum suspended from the neck of each worshipper, and with leaping, dancing, clapping of hands, and screaming, in accommodation, as is alleged, with Psalm xlvii. 1—"Oh, clap your hands all ye people; shout unto God with the voice of triumph!"

The clergy are very numerous, and we fear, at the present day, very degenerate: the smallest churches are supplied with from fifteen to twenty, and the large, from fifty to a hundred. Upon the occasion of the first embassy from Portugal to Abyssinia, in 1520, among other sights to which the strangers were admitted, was the ceremony of ordination, when not fewer than 2356 young men were admitted to holy orders; "and the previous examination," says Alvarez, who wrote a history of the expedition, "consisted simply of an inquiry whether the candidates could read."

The Abyssinian Scriptures contain the same number of books as with us; but all the books are seldom found collected in one volume, as few persons, owing to their poverty, are able to purchase more than detached parts; but the possession of even a single extract is eagerly desired, and highly appreciated. All the sacred writings are considered canonical, except the books of Maccabees. The Revelation of St. John, and the Song of Solomon, are great favourites with the priests; but the latter is forbidden to deacons, laymen, and women. The Psalms of David are sung in the churches, as among us. The Abyssinians have also a liturgy, and a variety of manuals adapted to the different festivals. They also possess a few extracts from the Greek Fathers, together with some apocryphal writings, ascribed to the patriarchs, such as the Book of Enoch, referred to by St. Jude.

The history of Abyssinia, since the days of Bruce, presents scarcely anything but a series of intestine convulsions, subversive of all social order, and peculiarly adverse to the cultivation of religion. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Christianity should have sunk to the lowest ebb: indeed, at the present day, what with the assaults of Mahomedanism on the one hand, and the lately revived intrigues of popery on the other, the Abyssinian Church, which has for centuries defied the utmost exertions of both, appears, in her fearfully crippled state, ready to surrender up all that remains of her ancient faith and long-cherished independence. May British Christians discern the day of her necessity and of their opportunity.

As to the character of the Abyssinians, the testimony of enemies in

its favour may be admitted without suspicion. The Jesuits writing home, expressed themselves thus:—"Let it be particularly noted, that although the Abyssinians have fallen into many and great errors concerning the faith, (*i.e.*, the Romish faith); yet, excepting these, it is certain that they still preserve that excellent disposition and good natural inclination to all virtue and piety, which, from of old, they have possessed; and even now, according to what the Fathers have seen, much fewer sins are found among them than in many other Christian countries in Europe, where our holy faith remains as yet uncorrupted: they give with much willingness alms to the poor, and treat strangers with hospitality." The patriarch Alphonzo Mendez bears a similar testimony: he says—"They are wonderfully affected towards divine matters, and have, from the time of the apostles, amid the darkness of the Gentiles and Mahommedans, kept alive a spark of faith and of the Christian name. Above all things, they are inclined to reading and knowledge. As to what belongs to their disposition, I can generally say, that the more noble and cultivated among them do not yield to Europeans; and that those of the lower order far excel our common people; so that there is scarcely one among them who can be called stupid and foolish."

Bruce, the celebrated Abyssinian traveller, as is well known, brought home with him a number of valuable Ethiopic manuscripts from Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia. The Christian will be pleased to discover among them the following copies of the word of God:—

I. The Old Testament, in five large quarto volumes, each about a foot in length and breadth. These contain all the books in our canon, except the psalms, and several of the apocryphal books.

II. Two copies of the Gospels, in four volumes, two of which are in small quarto.

III. The Acts of the Apostles, and all the Epistles in our canon, with the Revelation of St. John, in two small quarto volumes, uniform with the Gospels. To which may be added,

IV. The Synodos, or Constitution of the Apostles, beautifully written, and containing 300 folio pages. This forms what is called a kanoun, or positive law of the church, beyond the letter of which the clergy have no judicial powers.

Among these, however, we lament to discover a book, which informs us that superstition and priestcraft, the two favourite weapons of satan, employed against the church in all ages, are not unknown in Abyssinia. This work is entitled,

The Synaxar, or Lives of the Ethiopic Saints, in four volumes quarto. Most of the idle legends contained in this book are translations from the Greek and Coptic, and are nothing inferior in absurdity and extravagance to those which the lying monks of Rome have invented

for their demigods. In asceticism, supernatural power, and endurance of suffering, the Eastern saints seem even to exceed their Latin brethren.*

It may be proper here to mention that that noble institution, the British and Foreign Bible Society, availing itself of all the means at its disposal, has translated the four gospels into Amharic, from the translation of Abu Rumi,† procured for the society by Mr. Jowett,‡ in Egypt, and circulated the translation in Abyssinia. The same society has also printed the Ethiopic Scriptures, from some valuable manuscripts presented to it by the Church Missionary Society, which were purchased by Mr. Jowett at Jerusalem. The Rev. C. W. Isenberg, one of the Church Missionary Society's missionaries to Abyssinia, besides other extensive works, completed a translation of the liturgy of our church into Amharic, which was carried through the press under his own superintendence, in the year 1842, at the expense of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

A very interesting circumstance has lately occurred in connexion with the Abyssinian church. In consequence of the disturbed state of Abyssinia, the Christians there had been for some time without an abuna; but, in the summer of the year 1841, a deputation, consisting of sixty-six persons, arrived at Cairo, the seat of the patriarch of Egypt, to obtain the appointment of an abuna. The patriarch selected a young

* As a specimen of the lying extravagances of this book of Abyssinian martyrology, one saint is said to have thrown the devil over a high mountain; another persuaded him to live as a monk for forty years; another longed for partridges, when, lo! a brace perched on his plate, ready roasted. Salmiel, the chief of the rebel angels, is described as being 100,700 cubits in height; his eyebrows are three days' journey asunder; and it takes him just a week to turn his eyes!

† This person had been the interpreter of Bruce in Abyssinia, and the teacher of Sir William Jones in India. For ten years he was employed on the Amharic version mentioned above, in connexion with M. Asselin de Cherville, French consul at Cairo, devoting to it two entire days in each week. "The printing of the four gospels in Amharic and Ethiopic, in two separate volumes, was commenced by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1822, under the editorial care of the Rev. Doctor Lee, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, and completed in 1824, under the superintendence of T. P. Platt, Esq. The Acts and Epistles were completed in 1828; the Book of Genesis in 1831; and the Psalms in 1832. During Mr. Jowett's residence in Egypt, in 1819, he employed the late Mr. Nathaniel Pearce, who had lived many years in Ethiopia, and who commenced a translation of the Gospels into the Tigré, the vernacular dialect of the extensive province of Tigré. The gospels of St. Mark and John have been completed, together with a version of the Gospel of Mark, in Amharic, which is now superseded by the more accurate entire Amharic version of M. Asselin. These three versions are now in the possession of the British and Foreign Bible Society.—*Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures*, vol. II. pp. 215, 216.

‡ Rev. Wm. Jowett, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. He settled in Malta, as representative of the Church Missionary Society. Towards the latter end of the year 1818, he set out on a visit to Egypt and Palestine, in order to investigate the state of those countries, with a view to the formation of missionary establishments, and the circulation of the Scriptures.

man, named Andr  us, who had been partly educated in a day-school belonging to the Church Missionary Society, and of which he had been also for a short time teacher. He took with him to the scene of his future labours 1,000 copies of various parts of the Holy Scriptures, for distribution, furnished to him by the society, besides copies of all the publications of the society's press, at Malta, for his own use. His appointment may, with God's blessing, be looked upon as most important at the present crisis.

Ethiopia is yet stretching out her hands unto God, but she appears to faint under the weight of her own corruptions, while her enemies behold with joy her strength relax, and her hands ready to fall down. Has she no Christian friends, like Aaron and Hur, to stay them up in the hour of her exhaustion, until in the strength of her God she obtains the victory over her enemies and His? While other nations slept in their chains, she was up and doing the work of the Lord; while they laid down their swords at the feet of the Beast, or of the false Prophet, she ceased not to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. God has roused them up from their dark slumbers, and put the sword of the spirit once again into their trembling hands, and nerved them for the victory. The battle has been fought, and won. The chains of ignorance and superstition are broken; they are free! A voice now comes to them from the land of bondage. It is the voice of a sister, who would take part in their triumph, but her "soul is bowed down to the dust, her belly cleaveth to the earth."* She lifts to them her tearful eye, and says, "I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem; as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon. Look not upon me because I am black; because the sun hath looked upon me. My mother's children were angry with me; they made me keeper of the vineyard, but my own vineyard have I not kept."†

We shall close our necessarily imperfect view of the African churches, by naming the most prominent Christian writers who were raised up for their edification from time to time.

Tertullian, presbyter of Carthage, born A.D. 160; died, 220. His most celebrated writings are, *An Apology for the Christians*, and *Prescriptions*.

Clemens Alexandrinus, preceptor of Origen; flourished in A.D. 206; died, 220. His works are various, eloquent, and full of erudition.

Origen, born at Alexandria, A.D. 185; suffered martyrdom, 254. His most famous work is the *Hexapla*. He also wrote an answer to Celsus, in defence of the Christians, besides short notes on select passages of Scripture, and Homilies on the entire of the Bible.

* Ps. xliv. 25.

† Sol. Song, i. 5. 6.

Julius Africanus flourished A.D. 222. He wrote a chronology, in which he calculated that 5,500 years had intervened between the creation of the world and the days of Julius Cæsar. Eusebius says, it was a most accurate and laboured performance; but it is now lost. He also wrote a dissertation on the apparent discrepancy between the genealogies of St. Matthew and St. Luke, "in which," says Eusebius, "he clearly establishes the consistency between the two evangelists." Also, in a letter to Origen, he proved the history of Susannah to be suppositious.

Ammonius Saccas, master of a Platonic school at Alexandria, A.D. 232, attended by Origen and Platinus. He composed a Harmony of the Gospels.

Dionysius Alexandrinus, Bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 247. He was a pupil of Origen, and wrote several epistles on Repentance, Martyrdom, &c., in which he makes large quotations from the Scriptures.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, flourished A.D. 248; suffered martyrdom, 258. His writings consist, for the most part, of nearly a hundred epistles, written on several occasions, in which almost every part of the Bible is quoted or referred to.

Arnobius, a rhetorician, and teacher of philosophy at Sicca; converted in A.D. 300; after which he wrote his celebrated treatise against the Gentiles, in seven books, a valuable testimony, but too rhetorical, and leaning rather much to heathen philosophy.

Lactantius, called the Christian Cicero, for the elegance of his writings, the pupil of Arnobius. He wrote treatises on Divine Wrath, the Works of God, and on Persecution; also, the Divine Institutions, in seven books, an elaborate defence of Christianity.

Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, flourished A.D. 326; died, 373; celebrated for his defence of the Trinity. He wrote an Abridgement of the Scriptures, the Life of St. Anthony, and numerous other works.

Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, born A.D. 354; died, 430. He wrote a variety of treatises on the Scriptures, and particular commentaries on the Psalms; and several controversial dissertations against the Manicheans, Pelagians, and Donatists. His "Confessions" is a work entitled to much esteem.

Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, flourished A.D. 412; died, 444. His writings consist of commentaries, and several controversial works.

To these may be added several others of inferior reputation, such as, in the fourth century, Peter, Bishop of Alexandria; Didymus, his successor; and Optatus, Bishop of Milvii, in Numidia. In the fifth, Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria; and Vigilius, Bishop of Thapsus, to whom the Athanasian creed is ascribed. In the sixth, Fulgentius,

Bishop of Ruspina ; Fulgentius Ferrandus, and several others, of whom we know scarcely more than their names, the titles of their works having perished with the writings themselves. Enough, however, remains of African literature to show what was the faith of the church at every period of its existence, and to recommend the Scriptures to us as the only source of all Divine knowledge, and the alone standard of every Christian doctrine.

CONDENSED SURVEY OF AFRICAN MISSIONS.

WE now proceed to take a glance at the exertions which have been made to rekindle the lamp of Christianity in Africa, previous to the formation of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, whose labours, on the western coast it is especially our province to record. We shall also cursorily refer to the contemporaneous exertions of other Christian bodies.

We have, in the first division of the introduction, briefly narrated the circumstances under which the western coast of Africa came to be explored. For centuries this immense continent seemed as if blotted from the map of the world; and probably had not the Moors, by their incursions into Europe, and their despotic occupation of some of the finest provinces of Spain and Portugal, provoked a spirit of retaliation, and at the same time pointed out the way of communication between the two continents, Africa would have remained a terra incognita for a much longer period, and then, perhaps, it would have devolved upon Britain to indulge her enterprising spirit, by occupying the place of Portugal in this momentous undertaking. How this arrangement would have modified the condition of the poor negro at the present day, we need not inquire. Protestant Britain can cast no stone at any Romish country, as an afflicter of newly-discovered lands: she has borne, perhaps, more than her share in the flagitious work of murder and spoliation. The case, however, of African discovery was decided by Him, "whose way is in the sea, and whose path is in the great waters."* Had the spirit of Christianity, in the fifteenth century, retained the least trace of its primitive purity, the Moors could scarcely have failed to carry back with them to Africa a few sparks to re-illuminate that once sunny region; but they saw nothing to tempt them to exchange the crescent for the cross, and it was rather owing to a competition on the part of Christians with Mahomedan vindictiveness and barbarity, that the

* Ps. lxxvii. 19.

first attempt was made to disturb the primeval darkness that rested on the vast unexplored regions, teeming with life, that lay south of the Sahara, or Great Desert. We proceed to give, by way of sample, a hasty sketch of the first missionary settlement formed by the Portuguese on the western coast of this great continent; and the first attempt made, since the days of Augustine, to fix the standard of the cross in the burning sands of Africa.

Diego Cam having been appointed by John, King of Portugal, to continue the exploring expeditions to the coast of Africa, arrived at the river Congo or Zair, in the year 1484, where he was favourably received by the natives, who informed him that their king was a very powerful monarch, residing a few days journey in the interior. Cam, interested in their account, determined, if possible, to conciliate this great prince, and for that purpose dispatched some of his men, conducted by an equal number of the natives, to convey to him a considerable present, and to court his alliance. The time allotted for their return having elapsed without their appearance, Cam determined to sail away without them, but, by way of precaution, he carried off four natives, who happened to be in the ship, and who proved to be persons of rank and considerable intelligence. During the voyage to Portugal he treated them with the greatest attention, and by the time of their arrival at the Portuguese coast, they had made such progress in the language of their captors, that they found no difficulty in conveying to King John every information which he required on the subject of their country and its inhabitants.

The Portuguese king loaded them with presents, and ordered that they should be conducted back; charging Cam, who was again intrusted with the African fleet, to exhort the African monarch to become a convert to the true God, and to permit Christianity to be preached in his dominions: which commission he accomplished with such effect, that the King of Congo, charmed with the description which the Portuguese commander gave of the laws, customs, and government of his country, but above all of the excellence and advantages of its religion, conceived the highest admiration of it, and earnestly requested that he might be admitted into the bosom of the Catholic Church. He, moreover, appointed Zachut, one of the young chiefs who had been carried to Portugal, to proceed thither again in the character of an ambassador to entreat King John to send some holy men into Africa, to instruct him and his subjects in the Christian religion; and he sent with him several young men to be educated therein on their arrival in Portugal. The embassy met with the most gracious reception at the Portuguese court, and, during a residence of three years in the country, the Africans were not only instructed in Christianity, but in all polite exercises suitable to their rank. At length they were baptized at Beja,

to which place the court had retired in consequence of the plague, which raged with great fury at Lisbon. The ceremony was conducted with great magnificence: King John himself standing sponsor for Zachut, the African ambassador, to whom he gave his own name. Shortly after the king had three ships prepared to convey them home, together with several priests, and a number of fonts, mitres, chalices, and other church vessels and ornaments of great value.

Soon after the arrival of the priests in Africa, with their new converts, they succeeded in gaining over to the church an uncle of the King of Congo, who resided near the coast, who was baptized by the name of Emmanuel, the name of the King of Portugal's brother, and on a subsequent visit of the Portuguese admiral to the African monarch, he obtained from his majesty full authority, for his uncle, to pull down and destroy all the heathen temples within his jurisdiction, and remove all the monuments of idolatry. On that occasion such a description was given the king of all the holy vessels and ornaments brought from Portugal, that he was quite delighted, and expressed a wish to see them, whereupon they were brought and exposed before the whole court, and great crowds of his majesty's subjects, who beheld them we are informed, with the deepest veneration, especially the cross, before which the Portuguese prostrated themselves, and the Congoese followed their example. The king paid the most marked attention to the explanations which the priests gave him of every vessel and vestment, and became animated with so fervent a zeal in behalf of the religion which was thus so attractively displayed before him, that he resolved on building a sumptuous church in his capital, for the reception of these holy men and utensils; and although the distance was great, from which he was obliged to convey many of the materials, yet his holy ardour, and the number of hands which he employed overcame every obstacle, and, as some authors assure us, the church was completed in the short space of three months—and soon after consecrated under the name of the Church of the Holy Cross.

This account of the introduction of Christianity into Western Africa, by the Portuguese, in the fifteenth century, which we have given much after the manner of the writers from whom we have taken it, affords a fair sample of the ordinary method adopted by the Church of Rome in her missionary exertions among the heathen. She addresses herself more to the eye than the ear; and taking no account of the heart or judgment of those whom she seeketh to convert, is satisfied with captivating the imagination, and securing a blind adhesion to her ecclesiastical system.

The consecration of the Church of the Holy Cross was followed by a still more imposing ceremony—the public baptism of the king and queen, and several of the nobility, which was performed with great

magnificence in the new church. The king took the name of John, and the queen that of Eleanora, in compliment to the King and Queen of Portugal, whose ambassador was present, and assisted at the solemn rite as their representative. Their Congoeze Majesties' baptism was the precursor of that of thousands of their subjects, to which they were instigated by the royal example and encouragement; and as the king was at that time proceeding on an expedition to chastise some of his rebellious subjects, who had risen in arms against his authority, and committed some serious acts of depredation, Souza, the Portuguese ambassador, presented him with a royal standard, on which a cross was embroidered, and in his master's name exhorted him to put his entire confidence in that divine Saviour, whose religion he had now embraced, and to commit the success of his present expedition entirely to his care. He informed him, also, that he would himself accompany him with a hundred Portuguese soldiers. The king gained a complete victory, his newly-converted troops behaving with a bravery which they had never before exhibited; and, at the mediation of Souza, the success was used with moderation becoming their character as Christian warriors.

Souza, on his departure for Portugal, left behind him a great number of Dominicans, to regulate and advance the affairs of the new religion. The king's eldest son, returning from an expedition, on which he had been absent when his father and mother were baptized, entreated and obtained for himself admittance to the holy ordinance, by the name of Alphonso, the name of the infanta of Portugal, and continued all his life after a steady friend and patron of Christianity;—not so his brother, Panzo Acquitima, who remained obstinately attached to heathenism, and an irreconcilable enemy to the religion of Christ, which he laboured, by every means, to extirpate from the kingdom. Unfortunately he exerted himself with such success, that his father, who appears to have been a weak prince, was induced to apostatize, and to become a persecutor of all his newly-converted subjects who refused to follow his example; among these his eldest son incurred a principal share in his resentment. Being accused by his brother of treasonable practices, and resisting all his father's entreaties and threats to return to idolatry, he was banished to a remote province, and superseded in his succession to the crown by the brother who had so foully traduced him. The treachery of the latter, however, did not long remain undetected; and his father, on discovering his designs, recalled Alphonzo from exile, and bestowed upon him the government of one of the chief provinces of the kingdom, where he soon set on foot the most vigorous measures to purge the land from idols, and to establish the religion of the true God.

Meanwhile the king, worn out with age, fatigue, and infirmities, drew near his end, and it was evident that a sanguinary contest

would be waged between the brothers, upon their father's death. That event soon took place, and Alphonzo, acting upon his mother's advice, entered the capital secretly, under cover of the night. Next morning he made his appearance in the open space in front of the royal palace, at the head of his Christian friends and retainers, by whom he was immediately proclaimed king amid the loudest acclamations of joy. Panzo, being at the head of a numerous army, was not slow in marching against him; while, to oppose such a large force, Alphonzo had but a handful of native Christian soldiers, and about thirty-seven Portuguese. However, the valour inspired by a righteous cause was here conspicuously displayed, for, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, Alphonzo gained a complete victory, and Panzo died of the wounds he had received, a few days after the battle. Many of the defeated prince's followers now submitted to the conqueror—some declaring their belief that their discomfiture was altogether miraculous, and entreating to be baptized into the religion of Him by whose power it was accomplished. Alphonzo compelled all who had submitted to him to be baptized, and such as had apostatized were formally re-admitted to the Church.

The relation of this victory is, as usual, disfigured by Romish historians, with an account of evident miraculous interposition in favour of the successful party. They declare that the Virgin Mary appeared, in a gigantic form, standing by Alphonzo's side, just before the engagement, which struck such consternation into the minds of the idolatrous troops, that they fled precipitantly at the first onset: but this is not the first stone taken from the ruins of paganism, to build up the Roman structure. The original of this clumsy fable will be found in Homer.*

The new king, it appears, was no less eloquent than brave. He did not disdain himself to ascend the pulpit, and proclaim to his subjects the great truths of the religion for which he had already contended in the field. He granted to the Portuguese who chose to settle in his dominions many valuable privileges; and upon the monks of the Dominican order, to whom he considered himself and his subjects so much indebted, he bestowed especial marks of his esteem and gratitude; building for them several new churches and monasteries, and enriching them with lands, houses, and slaves. At the request of the Portuguese monarch, he sent his eldest son to Lisbon, accompanied by a number of young noblemen, that he might be instructed in the Latin language, and the King of Portugal took upon himself the entire charge

* Father Jerom Merolla da Sorrento, in his "Voyage to Congo," gives the credit of the interposition and consequent victory to St. James, who henceforth became the patron saint of Congo and Angola, and some of the neighbouring countries. This worthy father calls Don Alphonzo's pagan brother by the name of Pansanquitima.

of his education, and that of his attendants, some of whom afterwards became distinguished among their countrymen for their Christian labours and success, in adding converts to the Church.

The gratitude of the King of Congo to his Portuguese brother is represented as unbounded. He longed to go and cast himself at his feet, and there express his sense of the obligations which had been conferred upon him; but the growing difficulties of his kingdom would not admit of his absence. Christianity, that is, after the model of the sixteenth century, before the knife of the Reformation was applied to its excrescences, was now being generally adopted; while the Portuguese missionaries had become much reduced in number, by the fatal effects of the climate and their excessive labours. Apprehensive of any decline in the work of conversion, Alphonzo applied to the King of Portugal for a fresh supply of teachers, and immediately he was provided with a new cargo, consisting of five Dominicans, five Augustins, and a great number of secular priests, who were at once dispersed through the provinces. In five years after their arrival, the good king Alphonzo died, having, on his death-bed, solemnly charged his son, Don Pedro, to protect and encourage the new religion with all his ability, and to use every exertion for the extirpation of idolatry from his dominions. The Romish historians are loud in their praises of the departed monarch, whom they represent as deeply read in the Scriptures, and most remarkable for attention to his spiritual advisers. On the latter point there will, probably, be no difference of opinion; but we should feel disposed to say that, while either representation may be false, both can scarcely be true.

Alphonzo was succeeded by his son Don Pedro, who, emulating his father's zeal for the church, considerably augmented the revenues of the ecclesiastics, and laboured to promote the arts of civilization among his subjects. In his reign the pope conferred upon the bishop of St. Thomas, an island on the West Coast of the Gulph of Guinea, the spiritual jurisdiction of the whole kingdom of Congo, and he, accordingly, took the title of Bishop of Congo. Nothing, say the Romish historians, could exceed the enthusiasm with which he was welcomed to his new dignity. The king especially manifested his gratitude and joy by causing a new road to be made from the sea-side, where he was to land, to the cathedral, a distance of 150 miles; and this was all laid down with mats, and the trees on either side were trimmed for the occasion of his journey; when he arrived, the people prostrated themselves before him, and rent the air, as he passed, with acclamations of holy joy uttered by myriads of tongues; nor did they omit the more substantial offerings of lambs, kids, pigs, partridges, and other wild-fowl, besides various sorts of venison. In return for which the good bishop came loaded with water, salt, and other holy

ingredients used by his church in baptism, as there was no other way of satisfying the importunate demands of the thousands who crowded around him, clamorous for admission into the bosom of the Church.*

As he approached the city of St. Salvador,† he was met by the king and court, and the whole body of the clergy, and conducted by them to the Church of the Holy Cross, which he appointed to be from henceforth his cathedral. There mass was solemnly performed; and he was then conducted, with the same pomp and tokens of respect, to a splendid apartment prepared for his reception. In a word, neither trouble nor expense was spared by the pious monarch to mark his sense of the favour conferred on him and his people by the successor of St. Peter, in appointing this worthy prelate to rule over them, and to propitiate the regard of their spiritual head, and induce him to fix his residence among them. On the other hand, the bishop determined to prove himself not unworthy of these distinctions. He ordered the new cathedral to be magnificently adorned. He nominated twenty-eight prebendaries, and several chaplains, singers, and other inferior officers, to serve in it. He presented to it a magnificent organ, an altar-piece, and other costly ornaments; also a fine peal of bells, and, in fact, every thing requisite for the solemn and imposing celebration of divine worship. He likewise divided the city into parishes, and appointed a pastor to each of them, and regulated the distribution of missionaries throughout the kingdom. Death, however, soon interfered with his pious arrangements, to the inexpressible grief of the king and his court. Previous to his death he expressed an earnest desire that he might be succeeded in the see of Congo by a prince of the blood royal, who had been educated in Portugal. Accordingly the king sent his son to Rome where the pope found him, on examination, fully qualified for the high office to which he aspired, and sent him back as bishop of Congo, laden with presents, blessings, and indulgences. He, however, never reached his diocese, having died on the passage home of a violent attack, which carried him off suddenly.

The see of Congo continued vacant for several years—meanwhile the good king, Don Pedro, having also departed this life, and left his crown to his brother, Don Francisco, who also died shortly after, and was succeeded by his first-cousin, Don Diego; this last monarch

* We are told that the sacrament of baptism owed no little of its attraction in the eyes of the Congoese to the mouthful of salt which was administered to them on that occasion; this commodity, so abundant in Europe, being highly prized among them, from its great scarcity. In fact, when offering themselves for baptism, they expressed their object, to the great mortification of the priests, by saying they wanted to "eat salt."

† The capital of the Portuguese settlements in Congo.

applied to Don John III., of Portugal, for more missionaries, and was soon gratified by the arrival of a large number of Jesuits, an order instituted about forty years previously, who volunteered, on this occasion, to take the place of the Dominicans, Capuchins, and other monks, who had hitherto laboured in the African mission. Whether we are to ascribe it to the introduction of this mysterious society, or to any other cause, certain it is, that from this time the hitherto peaceful kingdom of Congo was filled with tumult and disorder. Upon the appointment of a new bishop, a Portuguese by birth, and on his arrival in his diocese, the troubles began. The new prelate was violently opposed by the prebendaries and priests who, it is said, hated him for the strictness of his morals, which was a reproach to the licentiousness of their own lives, and they accordingly made no scruple of contemning his authority, and resisting it on every occasion. The king of Congo, felt himself called on to interpose his authority, and he banished some of the most immoral and refractory of the priests, sending some home to Portugal, and others to the Island of St. Thomas, while several others voluntarily retired from the kingdom. The Portuguese that remained, bloated with wealth and luxury, and grown arrogant on account of the many privileges and immunities with which the piety of the several sovereigns of Congo had invested them, proceeded to such a height of ambitious daring, that they elected a person of their own choosing, who was not of the blood royal, to fill the throne, and considered themselves powerful enough to maintain him there. The Congoese princes and nobility, however, soon took the alarm, and justly conceiving that it was the object of these rebellious ecclesiastics, and their followers, to reduce the kingdom beneath their sway, politically as well as spiritually, they rose up in arms against the usurpers, who, on their part, were not slow in adopting an attitude of defiance; and having gained an easy victory over them, they put them, to a man, to the sword, without mercy or distinction. They spared, however, the priests and missionaries, although they were the prime movers of this insurrection, and justly deserved to be involved in the punishment of their lay dupes and victims.

When intelligence of the massacre of his subjects reached the King of Portugal, he determined to fit out a powerful armament against the African king; but he was happily diverted from his purpose by the prudence and candour of his ambassador at the court of Congo, who entirely exonerated the Congoese monarch from all blame in the transaction, by an honest exposure of the flagrant conduct of the Portuguese—their intolerable pride and avarice—and the shameless profligacy by which they had rendered themselves odious to the people whose hospitality they were enjoying.

From this time, with a few occasional intervals of revival, Chris-

tianity began to decline, and lost by degrees its hold on the affections of the people. The Kings of Portugal became more concerned to discover certain mines of gold and silver which they learned the country possessed, than to advance the cause of Christ, or rather of the Church. The priests and monks, to whom the care of religion was entrusted, became immersed in luxury and licentiousness, or in schemes of ambition, inconsistent with their sacred character. The true genius of Jesuitry seems to have been at length discovered by the simple Africans; for when Alvarez III., the ninth Christian king, sent an embassy to Paul V., at that time pope, to entreat a fresh supply of missionaries, and the latter had replied to his request by despatching to him a number of Jesuits, he renewed his application to the Roman pontiff, soliciting that the missionaries sent out should be of the Capuchin order, as he had, by that time, very probably, quite sufficiently tested the character of the disciples of Loyola.

Continual dissensions, also, among the clergy themselves, composed, as they were, of the different orders of Dominicans, Augustines, Jesuits, and Capuchins, were the occasion of much of the declension in religious zeal which soon appeared among the African converts. Feuds and animosities, which had long scandalized the church at home, were transplanted in all their native virulence to Congo; and though, probably, restrained at first amidst the dangers and difficulties of the missionaries' infant struggles, no sooner did the sun of prosperity shine upon the corruptions of unrenewed hearts, than they sent forth the foul exhalations of pride, hatred, and vindictiveness, to infect the Christian atmosphere of the rising church, and destroy the spiritual health of the young converts. Happy would it be if such blighting influences were confined to a system, all whose functions are tainted with unsoundness and decay, and that the candid Christian historian had not to sully his records of more enlightened efforts with accounts of petty jealousies and misunderstandings between preachers of the cross, which have inflicted such wounds on the health, vigour, and growth of the church, as the last day alone will reveal to the weeping eyes of God's saints, who will then behold them in all their hideous deformity.

The reader may be curious to know how the missionary work was conducted by these monks, who, certainly, in the age of which we write, understood the command of our Lord to preach the Gospel somewhat differently from those who determine to know nothing among the heathen to whom they are sent but "Jesus Christ, and him crucified." We shall extract a short account of the matter, given by a Capuchin missionary,* sent out to Congo in the year 1682, by the Sacred College

* Father Jerom Merolla da Sorrento.

de propaganda Fide. The missionary is on his way to the kingdom of Cacondo, and has stopped at Capindar, in the kingdom of Angoi. Of his proceedings there he says :—

“I continued ashore all the day, to say mass; at which assisted not only the Roman Catholics but the pagans, especially the women. Of these last were many who were so well pleased with the picture of the Virgin Mary, that they clapped their hands after their manner of devotion, and cried out in their language—‘Equandi ziambiabungù Magotti benchi, benchi;’ that is, ‘this is the mother of God; O! how beautiful she is!’ which said, they all fell on their knees, and worshipped her. This act of tenderness so wrought upon me, that it quickly brought tears of joy into my eyes, to see so much devotion and acknowledgement in so ignorant a people.”

The following extract is from the pen of Father Denis de Carli, of Piacenza, Capuchin, and apostolic missionary to Congo, in the years 1666 and 1667 :—

“One evening, an hour after sunset, I heard abundance of people singing, but in such a doleful tone as caused horror. I enquired of my domestics what that meant; they answered, it was the people of some libatte, (town) that came with their macolorite, (governor of a town) to discipline themselves in the church, because it was a Friday in March. This surprised me, and I presently sent to open the church-door, light two candles, and ring the bell. Before they came in, they continued a quarter of an hour on their knees before the church, singing the *Salve Regina*, in their language, with a very doleful harmony: then being come into the church, I gave them all holy water. They were about two hundred men, carrying great logs of wood, of a vast weight, for the greater penance. I spoke a few words to them of the benefit of penance, which, if we will not undergo in this world, we shall be forced to endure in the next. They were all on their knees, and beat their breasts. I caused the candles to be put out, and they disciplined themselves a whole hour with leather thongs, and cords, made of the barks of trees. After that we said the Litanies of our Lady of Loretto; and having dismissed them, they returned home, leaving the branches of the trees they brought without the church, which served us in the garden. This action, so much to be admired in those poor people, comforted and encouraged me, considering how it had pleased God, that those miserable Ethiopians, almost destitute of all spiritual assistance, should one day upbraid the Europeans for their negligence, since they are so far from doing any thing, though they have full liberty and convenience, that they even despise those that do, and in a contemptible manner call them hermits, executioners of Christ, and wrynecks. Be this said without offence to those who do not approve

of such injurious words, and whose thoughts are more agreeable to the character of Catholics.”*

The reader will probably dispense with any further account of such missions, which introduced a system scarcely inferior in superstition and absurdity, not to speak of its idolatry, to the one it sought to supplant; but they were not even successful in their object. “It is acknowledged,” says Mosheim, “by the more ingenuous historians, even among the Roman Catholics, who have given accounts of the African colonies, that of the proselytes made there to the Gospel, a very small number deserve the name of Christians, since the greatest part of them retain the abominable superstitions of their ancestors; and the very best among them dishonour their profession, by various practices of a most vicious and corrupt nature.”

In the year 1816, Captain Tuckey was employed by government to trace the course of the Zain, or Congo river; and he did not find on its banks the least vestige of the religion so successfully and extensively disseminated by the Portuguese missionaries. It is now certain that the narratives of these holy fathers are little better than gross impostures. No doubt they made some attempts to captivate the senses of the poor savages, and induce them to “eat salt.”† A mixture of popish relics, and *Agnus Dei*s, with their fetishes, among the natives of Lower Congo, proves the fact; but their pompous descriptions of churches, baptisms, processions, &c., are simply ludicrous, as compared with the capabilities of the country, so exuberant in the fruits of Christian husbandry.

About the year 1652, the Capuchins succeeded in persuading the Kings of Benin and Awerri, and the Queen of Metemba, on the western coast, to embrace Christianity; but the conversions made by these monks are acknowledged to have been very imperfect. They were chiefly confined to the Portuguese settlements on the coast; nevertheless, the missionaries considered that several thousand negroes had become Christians, together with not a few of the chiefs. They still, however, adhere to their ancient pagan customs—their adoration of a black goat, and other idolatrous usages.

In 1766, the French clergy founded missions in Caongo and

* From these two extracts it will evidently appear, that the Virgin Mary was represented by the Romish missionaries, as she was by themselves considered, in the language of the late Encyclical Letter of the present Pope Gregory XIV., as “the sole foundation of their hope,” which, indeed, is only the language of the Roman Breviary, in which we find the following prayer addressed to her:—“Tu es spes *unica* peccatorum, per te speramus veniam delictorum, et in te beatissima, nostrorum est expectatio premiorum”—Thou art the *only* hope of sinners; through thee we hope for pardon of our offences, and in thee, O most blessed, is the expectation of our rewards.”

† See page 149, note.

Loengo, in Lower Guinea. In their reports they speak highly of the joyful welcome which, as the messengers of God, they received from the several congregations of Christian negroes in this favoured scene of Portuguese labour. Those, however, who are acquainted with the nature of missionary work in Africa, receive such glowing statements with reserve.

The southern extremity of the African continent first engaged the attention of Protestant missionaries. The United Brethren, or Moravians,* that small but truly Christian community, led the way in this noble work of preaching peace to the outcast children of Ham. The first missionary, George Schmidt, proceeded from Holland, in the year 1735, to the Cape of Good Hope,† having first obtained the consent of the Dutch East India Company. He laboured there with some success until 1743, when he had occasion to return to Europe, where he found difficulties raised by the Dutch Company to a further prosecution of his undertaking; and, consequently, the mission remained suspended until the year 1792, when the directors at Amsterdam returned a favourable reply to an application which had been made to them; and in the month of July of that year, three brethren, Messrs. Marsveld, Schwinn, and Kuahnel, sailed from Holland, to re-commence the work. On their arrival at the colony they were kindly received by the governor, who promised them his protection. They found the spark of Christianity which had been kindled by George Schmidt not quite extinguished. One old woman, named Helena, had preserved with much care a New Testament, in the Dutch language, which she kept in a leather bag, enclosed between two sheepskins, from which she took it with much joy, to exhibit it to the missionaries.‡

* It is worthy of remark, that when the United Brethren first undertook missions to the heathen, their own community did not exceed six hundred persons. Of these, the greater part were exiles from their native land, who, after enduring the most cruel persecutions on account of their religion, found a tranquil and hospitable asylum on the estate of Count Zinzendorf, at Barthelsdorf, in Upper Lusatia, Germany. Within ten years their missionaries had erected the standard of the cross in various distant regions of the earth. Their settlement in Lusatia was named *Herrnhuts*, a word which shall be heard in the songs of eternity.

† The Cape of Good Hope was taken possession of in 1650, by Jan Van Rieck, a Dutch surgeon, in the name of the King of Holland. In 1774, the aborigines were nearly exterminated by the cruelties of the new colonists. In 1797, the British, under General Clarke and Admiral Keith Elphinstone, took possession of it without resistance; but it was restored to Holland at the peace of Amiens. The Dutch, however, having joined France against Britain shortly after, an expedition was fitted out against this important place, under General Baird and Commodore Sir Home Popham. The British forces landed in Table Bay, on January 6th, 1806, and defeated the Dutch in a sharp action on the 8th; after which, Cape Town capitulated, and the entire colony surrendered to the British crown, to which it was ceded at the peace of 1814.

‡ A great pear-tree, planted by their venerable predecessor, fifty years before, served the brethren at first both for a church and a school, the people sitting under the shade of its wide-spread branches. It was still flourishing in 1816. *Antonie's Journal of a Visit to South Africa*.

Their first station was at Bavian's Kloof (Baboon's Pass or Glen), about 120 miles east of Cape Town; where, after a short season of tranquillity, troubles from various quarters arose to try their faith. An anticipated invasion of the French, forced all persons belonging to the settlement, capable of bearing arms, to remove to Cape Town. After this the Boers, or farmers, conceived an apprehension of danger to their temporal interests, and commenced a violent opposition to the work of the missionaries. In 1795, a numerous body of the colonists rose in arms to redress some alleged grievances, among which was the attempt to evangelize the Hottentots,* and so serious were the disturbances which ensued, that the brethren were obliged to remove once more to Cape Town. Attempts were subsequently made to starve out the missionaries, and, by other vexatious proceedings, to compel their removal. Amid all these trials, the Lord protected and strengthened them; six labourers were employed in this interesting field, and six hundred Hottentots were elected into their Christian society. "The deportment of the Hottentot congregation," says Mr. Barrow, who visited Bavian's Kloof during his travels in South Africa, "during divine service was truly devout. The discourse delivered by one of the fathers was short, but full of good sense, pathetic, and well suited to the occasion; and tears flowed abundantly from the eyes of those to whom it was particularly addressed. The females sang in a style that was plaintive and affecting, and their voices were in general sweet and harmonious."

On the restoration of the Cape to the Dutch, in 1802, the new governor, General Jansen, proved a sincere friend to the brethren; at his suggestion the name of the settlement was changed from Bavian's Kloof to the more becoming one of Guadenthal, or Gracevale; nor did the missionaries enjoy less favour and encouragement at the hands of the British authorities, when the colony was occupied by them in 1806. Sir David Baird acted in the most friendly manner, and the English

* A system of extermination has been from the first adopted by the Boers, or farmers, the original colonists, against the wretched Hottentots, sanctioned by the Dutch government, and, we fear, not unconnived at by the British. Commandoes, or military parties were regularly formed for undertaking expeditions against this unhappy race, who are called Bushmen. In these the men were shot, and the women and children divided as slaves among the captors. The orders of the Dutch government for their complete extermination was frequent and imperative. On one occasion, in 1787, the landdrost and military court of Graaf Reinet sent out a very strong commando, divided into five parties, with orders to march to different parts of the country, "and destroy at once that pernicious nation." "A farmer," says Barrow, in 1797, "thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action than the murder of one of these people." A Boer being asked one day if the savages were troublesome on the road, replied—"I have only shot four." I myself have heard one of the colonists boast of having destroyed, with his own hands, near three hundred of these unfortunate wretches. See "Philips' Researches, in South Africa," where this awful system is fully exposed. No wonder that the Boers were exasperated at the Christian sympathy entertained by the missionaries for their wretched victims.

governor, Lord Caledon, extended his patronage to the brethren, and encouraged them to form a second settlement at Gruene Kloof, or Greenglen, on the high-road between Cape Town and Saldanha Bay, to which place Messrs. Schmidt and Kohrhammer proceeded in March, 1808, and immediately commenced to assemble the natives, and announce to them their divine message of peace and love. Their work has been crowned with the most remarkable evidences of Almighty favour. In 1813, forty-four Christian families dwelt there together, in neat habitations, where originally there were only sixty or seventy Hottentots, occupying twelve huts; and, in 1830, the number of inhabitants had increased to five hundred and sixty. The Guadenthal settlement contained, in 1830, 1,319 persons; of these 605 were communicants; baptized children, 391. The day-scholars were 300, and there were 120 children in the infant school.

The United Brethren also established settlements at Hemel-en-Aarde, near Caledon, so called in honour of the British governor; at Elim, near Cape Aiguillas, 180 miles from the Cape; at Euon, on the White River, near Algoa Bay, nine days' journey from Guadenthal; and among the Tambookkies, in a healthy region on the Klippaats river, which mission was undertaken in the year 1828, at the request of government. The first of these, Hemel-en-Aarde, is an hospital for lepers. In every station the battle of the Lord, though not unattended with disasters, is fought with the certain prospect of ultimate victory, nor does the event disappoint the faith or fortitude of those who "come to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

In 1842-3, the stations and numbers under Christian instruction were as follows: *Groene Kloof*—Communicants, 288; baptized adults, 111; children, 339; candidates, 70; new people, 288; total, 1,096. *Genadendal*, with an out-station at Kopjes-Kasteel—Communicants, 693; total under instruction, 2,187. *Elim*—Communicants, 183; baptized adults, 116; children, 147; candidates, 131; new people, 284; total, 861. *Euon*—Communicants, 75; total, 327. *Shiloh*—Communicants, 51; total under instruction, 548. *Clarkson* (commenced in 1839)—Communicants, 4; total, 138.

South Africa is likewise the scene of the London Missionary Society's labours. In December, 1798, the celebrated Dr. Vanderkemp, a native of Holland, and for sixteen years an officer in the Dutch service, sailed in a convict ship for the Cape, accompanied by the Rev. Messrs. Kicherer, Edmonds, and Edwards. After arriving at their destination, it was arranged that Kicherer and Edwards should endeavour to introduce the Gospel among the Boschemen, or Bushmen, while Dr. Vanderkemp and Edmonds should direct their attention to the inhabitants of Caffraria, the principal objects of their Christian interest.

Dr. Vanderkemp and his colleague set out from Cape Town, the 29th

of May, 1799, and on the 20th of September arrived at the residence of T'Geika, the King of Caffraria, who received them coldly, and, in consequence of hostile insinuations against them, seemed for some time disposed to treat them with unkindness; but he discovered his error, and by way of reparation assigned them a spot for a settlement, "a beautiful field of grass, in the middle of an amphitheatre of high mountains, inhabited by numbers of Caffres, divided into different kraals." The king, however, continued to regard the missionaries with jealousy and distrust, and more than once formed a plan to destroy them, but the Lord suffered him not to hurt them.

In December, 1800, several of the colonists, considering themselves no longer safe at Caffraria, resolved to escape from the country; and, after some deliberation, Dr. Vanderkemp was induced to accompany them. After encountering various disasters, they arrived in safety, on the 14th of May, 1801, at Graaf Reinet, where two new missionaries sent out to the assistance of Dr. Vanderkemp, Messrs. Vander Lingen and James Read, were anxiously waiting his arrival. At this place the doctor attempted to establish himself as a missionary among the Hottentots, but the colonists, taking umbrage at the admissions of these poor savages into the church, rose up against the missionaries: and, notwithstanding every concession that could be made, proceeded to such acts of violence, that a collision took place between them and the military, and much blood was shed on both sides. Dr. Vanderkemp thought it prudent to retire; and, accordingly, he and Mr. Read, accompanied by a hundred and nine Hottentots, removed to Botsa Place, in the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay, where General Dundas, the governor, had granted an extensive farm for the use of the mission. Several objections, however, having been made to the location of their Hottentot converts in this place, and the savage natives showing a disposition to plunder the settlement of the cattle, and commit various acts of violence against its inmates, the doctor, acting on the advice of General Dundas, removed to Fort Frederick, a station seven miles from Botsa Place, where, for some time, owing to the ferocity of the Boers, their circumstances were not much improved; until, in April, 1803, Major Von Gelten, on the part of the Dutch government, arrived to take the command of the fort.

General Jansen, the Dutch governor, gave the missionaries a tract of land for a settlement, about seven miles northward of Fort Frederick, in the vicinity of the Kooboo river, to which Dr. Vanderkemp gave the name of Bethelsdort, or the Village of Bethel. Here they soon raised wooden habitations, and a temporary church, of the same materials, which they also used for a school-house. They now began to sow the heavenly seed, which sprang up they knew not how; and ere long their labours were crowned with an encouraging harvest: one poor

sinner after another acknowledged the power of the Word, and Bethelsdorf soon presented the appearance of a field which the Lord had blessed.

Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Read soon incurred the hatred of the Boers, who, by false representations, brought them under the suspicion of the governor, who sent for them both to Cape Town, in April, 1805. The grief of their little flock was extreme; and, had not two fresh missionaries, Messrs. Umbricht and Troup, providentially arrived, they would have been left destitute of instruction. The day before their departure, the doctor preached from the reply of David to Zadok, (2 Sam. xv. 25, 26,) on the occasion of his fleeing from Absalom: "If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me back again, and shew me both it and his habitation; and if he thus say to me, I have no delight in thee, behold here I am, let him do to me as seemeth good unto him." In the evening Mr. Read spoke from Rev. xxi. 6: "It is done: I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." The effect produced by these discourses was overwhelming.

The missionaries departed, and on their arrival at Cape Town, it seemed evidently the intention of the local government to detain them there. Every effort made by them to obtain permission to return to their flock was in vain, and they were beginning to apprehend a permanent separation from them, when, providentially, the British fleet appeared, the English troops were landed, and the Dutch, after a brief resistance, surrendered the colony. Sir David Baird treated Dr. Vanderkemp with every attention, and provided him with the wagons, which he had just taken from Governor Jausen, to carry him back to Betheldorp, where this faithful servant of Christ continued his assiduous and triumphant labours until December 15, 1811, when he sank to rest in the arms of his Redeemer, having been enabled to achieve a complete victory over the enemies of the cross in Southern Africa. Several eminent ministers have succeeded this holy man at Bethelsdorf, under whom the settlement grew into a town, with regular streets; a substantial church was built, and a public store or shop was opened for the sale of European and other commodities. In 1830, the residents amounted to twelve hundred.

Besides Bethelsdorf, the London Missionary Society has several stations within the colony; Bosjesveld, forty miles north of Cape Town; Paarl, thirty-five miles north-east; Tulbagh, seventy-five miles north-east; Caledon, one hundred and twenty miles east; Pacalsdorp, one hundred and forty-five miles east; Hankey, named after the treasurer of the society, between Bethelsdorf and Paarlisdorp; and Theopolis, five hundred and fifty miles east. The Society has also several stations beyond the boundaries of the colony, such as Gqequa Town seven hun-

dred miles north-east of the Cape ; New Lattakoo, nine hundred miles north-east ; Bethesda, halfway between Grequa Town and Pellaiein-kopff ; Bethany ; Jerusalem, &c.

The stations of the London Missionary Society, in 1842-3, and the numbers under instruction in each, may be thus enumerated :—*Cape Town*—native communicants, 85—scholars, 475—adult congregation, 400. **HOTTENTOTS** : *Paart*—communicants, 41—scholars, 260 ; *Tulbagh*—communicants, 20—scholars, 180 ; *Klaasvooks River* (no return) ; *Caledon*—communicants, 123—schools, 2—scholars, 325 ; *Pacalsdorp*—communicants, 75—scholars, 235 ; *Dysalsdorp*—communicants, 30—scholars, 111 ; *Hankey*—communicants, 188—scholars, 255 ; *Bethesda*—communicants, 150—scholars, 115 ; *Port Elizabeth*—communicants, 162—scholars, 211 ; *Uitenhage*—communicants, 298 ; *Theopolis*—communicants, 52—scholars, 143 ; *Grahamstown*—communicants, 110—scholars, 105 ; *Graaf Reinet*—congregation, 300 to 400—communicants, 95 ; *Kat River*—communicants, 700—scholars, 1012—schools, 17 ; *Cradock*—communicants, 19—scholars, 120 ; *Longkloof*, commenced in 1840 ; *Colesberg*, commenced in 1840. **CAFRES** ; *Buffalo River*—communicants, 6—scholars, 60 ; *Knapp's Hope*—communicants, 11—scholars, 70 ; *Blinkwater*—communicants, 26—scholars 270 ; *Umælo*, formerly called *Botman's Kraal*, commenced 1838. **GRIQUAS, CORANNAS, BECUANAS** ; *Griquatown*, and seven out-stations—communicants, 753—schools, 10—scholars, 800 ; *Lekatlong*, commenced 1841. **BOSJESMANS** ; *Philippolis*—communicants, 107—scholars 542. **BECUAANAS** ; *Lattakoo*—communicants, 200—scholars, 80—printing 15,000 tracts, and elementary books. **NAMAQUAS** ; *Komaggas* (no return) ; *Stankopff*, mission suspended, on death of missionary.

The same ground has been occupied by that indefatigable body, the Wesleyan Methodists. In the year 1816, the Rev. Barnabas Shaw was induced to accompany Mr. Schmelen, of the London Missionary Society, on his way back to the scene of his labours, the country of the Great Namaqualand, eighteen days' journey north of Orange River, which is nearly six hundred miles north of Cape Town. On the journey they encountered some Hottentots, from Little Namaqualand, between the north-west part of the colony and the Orange River, who had undertaken a journey of between three and four hundred miles to Cape Town, for the express purpose of seeking some individual who might make them acquainted with the way of salvation. As this seemed a most providential opening, Mr. and Mrs. Shaw determined to settle among the people of the Little Namaqua kraal or village, from which these Hottentots had come, and which was about nine days journey from the place where they had met with them. On arriving there, Mr. Schmelen preached on the subject of Christ's coming into

the world to save sinners. He was listened to with the most profound attention, and some of his hearers wept audibly. Prayer was then offered, and afterwards the circumstances of the mission, in that place, arranged. Next evening Mr. Schmelen took his departure, leaving Mr. and Mrs Shaw alone in the midst of the Hottentots, scarcely one word of whose language they understood, but both were possessed of a truly missionary spirit, and set about their work with cheerful reliance on the promises of their omnipotent Protector and Guide.

Early in the year 1818, they were joined by the Rev. Edward Edwards, who, on writing home said, "I was surprised to find so comfortable a place. Brother Shaw must have laboured early and late. Here we have a neat little house and a fine garden." A chapel was soon erected, and besides the way of salvation, the people were instructed in agriculture and the useful arts. A forge which was sent out from England filled them with astonishment and delight. This place was called Khamies-berg; and the missionaries gave the name of Lily Fountain to their new settlement, which, in a few years, presented a most agreeable contrast with the Hottentot kraal, which it had superseded. Buildings, fields, and gardens, covered the ground. The chapel and school-house were filled with their respective attendants, and real conversions from darkness to light were almost of daily occurrence. One converted family alone has furnished three native teachers, of decided piety and competent information, and many others are enabled to assist in the mission.

The governor having granted permission for a new station among the Bastard Hottentots, at a place called Reed Fountain, about two days' journey from Khamies-berg, Mr. Shaw accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Archbell, who had just arrived from England, thither, in August, 1819, and a new settlement was soon formed, which, under the faithful ministry of Mr. Archbell and Mr. Edwards, has acquired an established and interesting character, abolishing paganism among the people, and greatly promoting their temporal welfare.

In March, 1820, Mr. Shaw having heard of some tribes, a few weeks' journey from him, as yet unknown to Europeans, set out in quest of them. Calling on his way at Steinkopff and Bethany, stations of the London Missionary Society, he was joined by Mr. Kitchingman and Mr. Schmelen, missionaries at those stations. They left Bethany on the 11th of May, travelling to the north-east, mounted, after the country fashion, on their horned cattle. After preaching to different hordes on their way, they reached, on the 20th, the village of Gammapp, the head chief of Great Namaqualand, by whom, as well as several other chiefs, they were kindly received, and in whose place they preached the Word with great acceptance. A mission was subsequently established here, which was confided to the care of

Mr. Archibull, who, after enduring great trials, was obliged to relinquish it in 1823.

In 1821 the Wesleyan Methodists were, after several unsuccessful applications, allowed to introduce the Word of Life to the slave-population of Cape Town, where Mr. Edwards, during a visit from the interior, had already commenced a Sunday and evening-school for the children of the slaves, and such of the wretched adults as could be prevailed on to attend. The Rev. Thomas L. Hodgson and his wife, were sent from England to occupy this station. At Cape Town there were already found a Bible Society, the South African Missionary Society, and an Africa Tract Society; and missionaries from the London Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, were also labouring there.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society exhibits the following summary of its labours, in Africa, for the year 1842-3.

CAPE TOWN AND NAMAQUAS—*Cape Town*, with an out-station at *Wynberg* and *Diep River*—members, 241—scholars, 890; *Stellenbosch* and *Somerset*—members, 120—scholars, 250; *Lily Fountain*—members, 87—scholars, 85; *Nisbet Bath*—members, 256—scholars, 740; ALBANY—*Grahamstown*—members, 828—scholars, 1449; *Caffres*—under this head are included *Amakosæ*, and six subordinate stations; *Amatembu*, and two ditto; *Amapondo*, and two ditto; *Amazulu*, and one ditto—members, 2241—scholars, 247. Teachers, salaried and gratuitous, 59; *Bechuana Country*—*Muntatee Country*, ten stations—members, 443—scholars, 735.

The committee of the Glasgow Missionary Society had also their attention directed to the southern point of the African continent, in the year 1821, and Caffraria became the object of their Christian concern.

In 1813, they occupied four stations, viz., *Lovedale*, *Burrus-hill*, *Pirrie*, and *Kweleha*; in these the population is considerable. The small-pox makes great ravages among the inhabitants; and great devastation to the fields and gardens of the settlers is occasioned by locusts, which “march through the land as a host of armed men.” Their visitations, though afflicting, are not without valuable fruits; a spirit of prayer has been induced, and the Christian benevolence of the missionaries is tried and exemplified.

In company with the Glasgow Missionary Society, we may refer to the labours of the Glasgow African Missionary Society, which occupied, in the year 1843, three stations in South Africa—*Chornie*, in Caffraria; *Iggibigha*, and *Kirkwood*, in Lamhoo-Kieland. In Chornie, there were 6 schools, 140 scholars, 34 communicants, and 26 candidates for baptism; in Iggibigha, 2 schools, 60 scholars, and 3 communicants; Kirkwood is a new station, where the missionary, the Rev. J. F.

Cumming, had found an encouraging readiness for Christian instruction.

It is especially gratifying to be able to introduce, among the Christian communities which are exhibiting a practical sympathy in favour of the benighted Caffers and Hottentots, one composed of Frenchmen, and which has originated in the city of Paris. The French Protestant Missionary Society commenced its operations in the year 1822, and assumed for its title "The Society for Evangelical Missions among People not Christians, established at Paris." The officers were elected on the 4th of November, 1822, and Vice-Admiral Count Ver-Hucll, peer of France, was chosen president. The receipts of the first year were about 13,000 francs; and, in the sixth year, (1829) they had risen to 31,382 francs, at which period the society had eighty-six auxiliary, and twenty-one female associations.

It was in this last-mentioned year, that three young men were selected as this society's first missionaries to the heathen—Prosper Lemuc, Isaac Bisseaux, and Samuel Rolland. Their ordination took place in the church of "Filles-Saint-Marie," on Saturday, the 2nd of May, and they shortly after left Paris for London. There were twenty-nine ministers present at the ordination, eighteen of whom took part in the ordinance. The destination of these young men was declared by the president to be South Africa, "where," said he, "there is a number of families, descended from former French refugees, who quitted their country and home for the preservation of their faith.* The Dutch East India Company granted them a considerable portion of land, where they formed for themselves a new country. Our young brethren will be received by them with kindred affection."

On the 16th of April, 1831, Mr. Pellissier, another student, was set apart, by ordination, to join the little band at La Parle, the French settlement in Lattakoo, nine hundred miles north-east of Cape Town, among the Matchappees, one of the principal tribes of the Bootsuanas.

In September, 1832, Isaac Bisseux baptized ten slaves at Wagenmaker Valley, as the first-fruits of his mission. Prosper Lemuc, J. Rolland, and G. P. Pellissier settled among the Bechuanas; the last arrived on the 22nd of January, 1832. To these were added, in the beginning of the year 1833, T. Arbousset, Eugene Casalis, missionaries, and Constant Gosselin, assistant; together with Miss Colany, affianced to Mr. Lemuc, and married to him on the 1st of March, 1833. In the same year, M. Pellissier married an Irish lady, whom he met at Graaf Reinet; and, on the 2nd of January, 1834, M. Rolland was united to a young Englishwoman, Miss Eliza Tyndall, at Algoa

* After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV. in 1685.

Bay. The Rev. Francis Daumas, missionary, and M. John Lauga, joined the brethren from France, on the 12th of January, 1836. Six additional labourers sailed from London in May, 1837. Three missionaries—Loyer, Møder, and Hagenbach, and three unmarried females—Miss Eliza Colany, affianced to M. Daumas, Miss Touza, engaged to M. Lauga, and Miss Dalette. The mission was reinforced in May, 1840, by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Pfrimmer, with Mr. Bouchand and Miss Benner. In the year 1841, the Rev. Frederick Monod, at the annual meeting of the Church Missionary Society, declared, that “all the new stations of the French Society, in South Africa, were in a more or less flourishing condition; there were,” he said, “twenty-five persons employed in Africa by the Paris Missionary Society, viz., fourteen missionaries and assistant-missionaries, eleven of whom were married, occupying eight central stations.” The following is the summary for the year 1843:—

Stations, 8, viz.:—*Wagenmaker Valley*, among the Hottentots; *Bethulia*, in the BASSOUTO BECHUANA country; *Beersheba*, *Kousberg*, *Monga*, *Thaba Bossiou*, ditto; *Mekuatling*, among the TIGHOYAS; and *Motito*, among the BECHUANAS: communicants, 230; baptized infants, 250; adults, 230; inquirers, 160; children in the schools, 1000.

The Berlin Missionary Society, formed in the year 1823, sent out six ordained missionaries to Southern Africa, in 1833; and, in 1835, these were followed by two more ordained, and four lay missionaries. To these were added, in 1837, a superintendent and another ordained missionary. In 1840, the society occupied four stations in Southern Africa—*Cape Town*, *Zoar*, *Bethlehem*, and *Caffraria*: and a fifth, in *Caffraria*, was in contemplation.

The Rhenish Missionary Society has also turned its attention to Southern Africa; and in the year 1829 four missionaries, John Gottlieb Leipold, Gustavus Adolphus Zahan, Paul Daniel Luckhoff, and Theobald Pon Wurmb, were devoted to the work of the Lord there. G. A. Zahan was located at Talbagh, 75 miles from Cape Town; and the three others at New Wupperthal, 100 miles from the same.

The Netherlands Missionary Society also occupied this field, by placing a missionary, the Rev. T. Marguard at Clan William, 250 miles north of Cape Town, where he preached to both colonists and natives.

Before we come to speak of the modern attempts which have been made to propagate the Gospel on the western coast, we shall just show that Northern Africa has not been neglected in the general sympathy which this long-injured continent has at length awakened. In the year 1825, the Rev. Mr. Macpherson was sent out to Alexandria, by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. For some time, owing to the prevalence of the plague, he could do but little: however, he afterwards continued

to hold conversation with various persons. Among those who listened to him was a respectable Abyssinian lady, whom he found quite ignorant of all religion, but whom he at length conceived to be a fit subject for baptism. He soon began to preach regularly to the seamen in the port, at the Consular Hall, and at his own house.

Several years previous to this, the United Brethren had made an attempt to penetrate into Abyssinia. Doctor Hocker, who had laboured in Persia, and had endured many hardships there, sailed for Grand Cairo in the year 1752, where he practised as a physician, and studied the Arabic language. He here introduced himself to the Patriarch of the Copts, by whom, it will be recollected, the Abuma of the Abyssinians is consecrated, and presented to him a letter from Count Zinzendorf,* to which the patriarch returned a reply, from which we make the following extract:—

“In the name of the merciful and gracious God, in whom is salvation. From Mark, the servant of the servants of the Lord. The peace of our Lord God and the Captain of our Salvation, Jesus Christ, which he, in an upper room at Zion, poured forth upon the assembly of excellent disciples and apostles. May he pour out this peace upon the beloved, excellent, and experienced brother, the venerable bishop, our father Aloysius, and liturgist of the Unity of the Brethren. This is to testify, beloved brother, that the blessed son and venerable deacon, Irenæus Hocker, has delivered unto us your letter, which was full of affectionate, cordial love. We have read it, and it became unto us a taste of your love to all Christians. We, in like manner, pray God for you and for all his people, that he may exalt the glory of all the Christians in the habitable world, through the nutrition of his life-giving cross.”†

Meeting with unforeseen difficulties in the promotion of his object, Dr. Hocker returned to Europe; but, in 1756, he again visited Cairo, accompanied by George Pilder, a student of divinity, where he remained until the autumn of 1758, and then, crossing the country to Suez, he embarked in a Turkish vessel on the Red Sea, and narrowly escaped shipwreck. He and his companions landed at the port of Judda, in Arabia. Here they learned that the prime minister of

* Nicholas Louis, Count Zinzendorf, who received the United Brethren under his protection when exiled from their native land, became afterwards their head, and was, subsequently, the instrument of the introduction of the Herrnhutters, as they were called, or sect of the Moravians, into England. He was born at Dresden, in 1700, and died in London, in 1760.

† The patriarchs of the Copts are also styled patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Abyssinia, Nubia, and all assume the name of Mark, after the Evangelist. The writer of the above letter was Mark the Hundred and Sixth. Aloysius means Louis, (Count Zinzendorf) and Irenæus expresses the doctor's name.—Friederick or, in German, Friederich, which signifies *God is peace*.

Abyssinia was dangerously ill, and now a most providential opportunity seemed to offer itself for the doctor's admittance into the country, in the character of a physician; but the travellers had, unfortunately, lost their medicine chest on the voyage, and were compelled to return to Egypt for medicines. At Cairo, Pilder was seized with a dangerous illness, and obliged to return to Europe, whither Hoeker, having been again disappointed, followed him in two years; but, in 1769, he returned once more to Egypt, accompanied by John Dauke, another divinity student, and, shortly after, John Antes was added to the mission, and, after various disasters, joined his brethren at Cairo, where, in 1773, they encountered Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, who assured them that the natives of Abyssinia were so bigotted to the faith of their own church, and so inveterate against Europeans, that the moment a missionary dared to open his lips on the subject of religion, he would fall a sacrifice to their resentment.

Frustrated in their Christian views regarding Abyssinia, the brethren determined to employ themselves among the Copts in Egypt, in an endeavour to turn them from their dependence on fasts, relics, and superstitious observances, as a ground of hope for eternity. In this discouraging work, Mr. Dauke ended his days, in October, 1773. Two other labourers were added to the surviving brethren, in 1774; and for some years the missionaries continued their efforts among the nominal Christians of Egypt. In the year 1779, Mr. Antes was seized by a party of Mamelukes, stripped naked, and dragged by a rope to prison, where he was thrown into a dark dungeon, and fastened by a heavy chain, passed round his neck. Shortly afterwards, he was brought before the bey, whose only object was to extort money; and who, because he could not pay a sum of a thousand dollars, ordered him to be bastinadoed on the soles of the feet. He was thrown down; his feet were fastened to a pole, and he underwent the most excruciating agony from the strokes of a leather strap, three feet long, and about as thick as a man's finger, every stroke being like the application of a red hot poker. When the bey found there was nothing to be extracted from him, he remanded him to prison, but found a pretence for liberating him immediately after, making him, however, pay fees to the amount of twenty pounds sterling. He was, for six weeks, confined to bed, unable to walk even with crutches, but felt thankful to God that his life was preserved, and that he had been preserved from the tyrant bey, who had been known to inflict the bastinado for two and three days successively, to the number of two or three thousand strokes, although frequently blood had gushed from the mouth and nostrils of the sufferer, after enduring only five or six hundred strokes, and death had ensued.

The exertions of the missionaries were attended with so little success,

and the political state of Egypt became so alarming, that this mission was relinquished, and the brethren returned to Egypt in 1782 and 1783.

Count Zinzendorf having been requested by the Dutch admiral, Schryver to send a minister to the Christian slaves at Algiers, the request was communicated to the congregation at Herrnhut, and A. C. Richter at once offered himself for that important station. He arrived at Algiers in 1739, and found the plague raging in the city; undeterred from his Christian work, he visited the slaves in the barracks, relieved their temporal wants, preached to them Jesus the opener of the prisons to them that are bound, and a sure refuge from the wrath to come. For some time he escaped the plague, but having at last been seized, and recovered, he was again attacked, and summoned to his rest, not without hopes of permanent fruit from his labours. He was succeeded, in 1749, by Charles Nottbek, who continued, for three years, to cultivate the ground, when the mission was suspended, and he returned home.

We cannot entirely omit some mention of the African islands, but our notice must be brief.

Madagascar was discovered by the Portuguese in 1492. It lies 40 leagues east of the continent of Africa. It extends 800 to 900 miles in length, and from 200 to 300 in breadth. Individual missionaries, especially French, have laboured there from the period of its discovery, but without apparent benefit. In the year 1818, the London Missionary Society sent thither the Rev. Messrs Jones and Bevan, in whose families death soon made fearful havoc. In the short space of seven weeks Mr. Jones's wife and child, and Mr. and Mrs. Bevan and their child were summoned into eternity. Mr. Jones retired to the Mauritius for the recovery of his own health, but in September, 1820, he returned to Madagascar in company with Mr. Hastie, who was sent by his Excellency, R. T. Farquhar, Governor of the Mauritius, to negotiate a treaty with King Radama, for the abolition of slavery in that island. According to the terms of the treaty, ten Madagascar youths were sent to the Mauritius, and ten to England, to be instructed in the useful arts. Radama likewise placed under Mr. Jones's care, sixteen native children, three of whom were sons of his own sister, and one heir-apparent to the crown. The Rev. Mr. Griffith arrived, in 1821, and the Rev. Mr. Jeffreys, with his wife and four artisans, in 1822. The king gave the missionaries and artizans ground for schools, dwellings, and for the carrying on of different trades, at Tananarivou, the capital of his kingdom. Fifty English Bibles, and two hundred Testaments, were presented to the mission by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The kingdom of Radama, now called Imerina, is divided into four

provinces, in each of which, in 1824, schools were established. The king himself became much enlightened, and enacted many salutary laws. Some of the youths, educated in England, returned to communicate to others the knowledge they had acquired. The three schools first opened at Tananarivou were united into one, which the king denominated the Royal College. It contained, in 1828, nearly 300 boys; fifty youths, educated here, afterwards superintended the country schools. In 1824, Messrs Jones and Griffiths commenced to preach in Madagasse to congregations of from 1,000 to 5,000. The following year, however, Mr. Jeffreys died. At that time a translation of the Bible had been completed; and a printing press was in full operation. A society was formed in Tananarivou, denominated the Madagascar Missionary School Society, the object of which was to aid the schools, established in the capital and elsewhere. On the 27th of July, 1828, King Radama died, when the number of schools opened, under his auspices, was ninety-three, containing four thousand scholars. One of the queens of Radama's father, Ranavaloua Manjaka, succeeded, by a series of intrigues, to the crown. At first she showed herself friendly to the Christian cause: by an order of May 22, 1831, she gave the missionaries liberty to preach, and her subjects to act according to their consciences; but, shortly after, the natives were prohibited from receiving baptism and the Lord's Supper, at the hands of the missionaries. This was the beginning of sorrows; on the 1st of March, 1835, a public kabary (national assembly) was held, in which the sovereign proclaimed her determination, by the employment of every means at her disposal, to suppress Christianity, and restore the ancient religion. Every thing of a Christian character was immediately forbidden. The people were required, on pain of death, to come forward as self-accusers, and confess their participation in the proscribed doctrines and practices. The invocation of the name of Jesus was totally interdicted, and the people were forbidden to retain even a recollection of the instructions which they had received from the missionaries. Offenders were to suffer death—their property to be confiscated, and their families sold as slaves. The ferocious character of the queen exhibited itself in acts of the most appalling cruelty; ten thousand captives, taken in war, were butchered, by her orders, in one afternoon; no wonder, therefore, that the followers of Jesus anticipated the worst treatment as the reward of their consistency. Public worship being forbidden, a few of them were in the habit of returning to a distant mountain, on the Lord's day, for devotion, and the reading of God's Word; one of them, a woman named Rafaravavy, being discovered by a box of Christian books found near her dwelling, was imprisoned, scourged, and, upon resisting every inducement to recant, put to death. This truly godly native woman is the proto-martyr of the Madagasse

Church. Her execution was followed by that of many others ; the queen having given an order that Christians should be strictly searched out and instantly put to death, by having a hole dug in the earth, and they thrown alive into it. A great multitude were reduced to slavery—a few took refuge in the Mauritius and in England. Under these trying circumstances, the devoted spirit manifested by the native convicts was a matter of praise to their faithful pastor, and of astonishment to their countrymen. One of the former wrote, in 1839—"The noble bearing of the native Christians, under persecution, and their cheerful readiness to suffer unto death, furnish an unequivocal evidence that the work is of God, and must, therefore, continue, and ultimately prosper." The London Missionary Society's report for 1843, represents the persecution as still raging, but all who had been esteemed followers of Jesus as still faithful unto death.

When the persecution commenced in 1835, about 500 natives maintained a faithful profession of Christianity. The scholars amounted to 2,351. Books and tracts had been printed, to the number of 21,200 ; of these, and of the New Testament and Psalms, in Madagasse, 12,270 copies were put into circulation.*

Mauritius, or Isle of France, is situated in the Indian Ocean, six hundred miles north of Madagascar. It was discovered by the Portuguese ; but the Dutch were the first settlers, in 1598. They called it Mauritius, in honour of their stadtholder, Prince Maurice ; but they having deserted it, the French took possession of it in 1720, and called it the Isle of France. The population consists of 10,000 white inhabitants, 25,000 people of colour, and 60,000 liberated Africans. The capital of the island is Port Louis, situated on the east coast. Mauritius was taken from France by the British, in 1810, and ceded to the latter power in 1814.

The missionary work was commenced here on the part of the London Missionary Society, by the Rev. Mr. Le Brun, who arrived here in the year 1814, and immediately entered on his Christian labours.

In 1817, he had a Christian society of twenty-five persons ; in 1821, it had increased to forty-three, and the congregation was considerable.

* There are three distinct races of people in Madagascar, one of the few spots open to Europeans, which remains in the possession of its original inhabitants. The first race are the whites of Antossi and Matatime ; they call themselves Zafe Rahimni, or descendants of Imna, the mother of Mahomet : the second, the Zafe Hibraini, or descendants of Abraham, who are also white, and inhabitants of the western part of the island ; and the third, the aboriginal blacks or olives. It is curious that the second race here mentioned, which claims kindred with Abraham, has many Jewish customs among its members—as circumcision, the Sabbath, the use of tephaphim, and others. They also worship but one God, with prayers and sacrifices. They have likewise indistinct notions of the creation, the fall, the flood, &c. but they were guilty of the shocking barbarity of exposing their children, a practice which the good king Rabeah, on becoming acquainted with Christianity, abolished.

He had, besides, one hundred and twelve boys, and eighty girls under instruction. Since that time the mission has gone prosperously on, Governor Farquar giving it every encouragement, and contributing to the support of the schools, in which Christian conduct he was imitated by his successor, Sir L. G. Cole, who afforded every facility for the dissemination of scriptural instruction. In April, 1826, Mr. Forgette took charge of the religious instruction of the slave population, at Riviere da Rempart, where a small chapel had been built, and likewise opened a Sabbath school. Several of the native Christians, who fled from the persecution at Madagascar, took refuge here, and have anxiously offered themselves for employment as native teachers. Altogether, this mission has been attended with every success, in spite of the exertions of the Roman Catholics, who, of course, give it every opposition. The Scriptures circulate freely.

The Isle of Bourbon, 400 miles east of Madagascar, is in the possession of the French; and as it contains a population of 17,000 whites, as well as 6,000 free negroes, and 60,000 slaves, some form of Christianity is maintained there; but there seems to be no missionary work going on in the island.

In the West African islands, the Portuguese and Spaniards exhibited their Catholic zeal, by exterminating, with the aid of the inquisition, all heathens, Jews, Mahommedans, and Protestant Christians. They raised a superfluity of churches, chapels, and convents; but their friars and secular clergy, who, in several islands, are partly negroes, partly mulattoes, are notoriously ignorant and degraded. Religion enters largely into the mercantile transactions of the Portuguese islands—the Azores, for example, the produce of which is paid for by Portugal with indulgences, dispensations, relics, images of saints, and such like trumpery.

We come now to Western Africa, with which, at present, we are more immediately concerned; and here we find that truly apostolic body, the United Brethren, again occupying the foreground of Christian enterprise. This, as we have already observed, is peculiarly the scene of Romish zeal. Granted as a fief of the church, by the papal autocrat, to the crown of Portugal, all the resources of heaven and earth were at the disposal of the holy fathers, on whom the conversion of the new Portuguese subjects devolved; but all the agencies of Rome, natural and supernatural, have failed, it may boldly be asserted, to lead one benighted African into the living fold of Jesus, washed in his blood, and regenerated by his Spirit. The work was not of God, and it has come to nought.

The United Brethren sent out a converted mulatto named Christian Protten, at his own request, from Copenhagen, to the coast of Guinea, in the year 1737, to preach the Gospel to the natives. He was accom-

panied by one of the brethren, named Huckuff, who was, very shortly after landing, summoned to his rest. Protten continued to labour for several years without any apparent success, having in the course of them paid two visits to Europe. He died in 1769; but the year previous to his death, the Guinea Company at Copenhagen had invited the Brethren to form a settlement near one of their factories. Accordingly, on obtaining the royal sanction, the Rev. Jacob Meder and four assistants proceeded to Guinea, in 1768; but before any thing could be done, Meder and two of the assistants were removed from their labours. Four other brethren immediately pressed forward to fill up the gap, and they all fell before the end of the year 1770, the two successors of the former party having followed their companions. In consequence of these disasters the mission was abandoned.

This formidable coast continued forbidden ground to all but the agents of cupidity, or the emissaries of mischief, until the year 1797, when three societies combined their energies to make an effectual aggression on the prince of darkness, his victims, and satellites, in this, their favourite domain. These societies were the Scottish Missionary Society, established in Edinburgh, in 1796; the Glasgow Missionary Society, and the London Missionary Society, which two latter societies commenced operations about the same time—that is, in the year 1795. In September, 1797, Messrs. Henry Brunton and Peter Greig, the two missionaries from Edinburgh, set off from that city, together with Messrs. Peter Ferguson and Robert Graham, from Glasgow; and on their arrival in London, they were joined by Messrs. Alexander Russell and George Cappe; thus each society was represented by two missionaries, who immediately set sail on board the *Calypso*, for Sierra Leone, where they arrived in about seven weeks.

The Foulah Country was the original destination of all these missionaries; but in consequence of some unhappy differences between Mr. Brunton and some of the other missionaries,* and it being discovered that the Foulah people were engaged in war, it was agreed that the London missionaries should proceed to the Bullom shore, Messrs. Ferguson and Graham, from Glasgow, to the island of Bananas, and the gentlemen from Edinburgh to the Rio Pongas, in the Soosoo country.

* It is truly distressing, and not a little humbling, to contemplate the infirmities of such men—men hazarding their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and yet unable to observe, among themselves, that line of conduct which He declared should be perfectly characteristic of membership with Him. “By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye love one another.” It must be said for Brunton, that he seems to have been the victim of some extraordinary prejudice, occupying the minds of all his companions except Greig. Of one fault he was guilty, that he allowed himself to be provoked to the use of unbecoming language, for which, however, he offered the most humble apology, but unhappily not with the effect that might have been expected. But the subject is one too painful to dwell on.

We shall be more familiar with these places and their names as we proceed in this volume.

Messrs. Brunton and Greig, accordingly, left Freetown early in 1798, and proceeded to Freeport, a factory belonging to the Sierra Leone Company, near the town of Tugekiring, where they remained for ten weeks, learning the Soosoo language, conversing, as well as they were able, with the natives of Tugekiring, and ingratiating themselves into their good opinion, in which they seem to have succeeded. They likewise made excursions to the neighbouring villages, where they were well received. As, however, the headman, or chief of Tugekiring, could not be prevailed upon to sanction their residence there, they were obliged to remove to Kondaia, thirty or forty miles higher up the river, where they placed themselves under the protection of Fantimania, the only chief in the whole district who would receive them or countenance their proceedings. They, however, here called a meeting of all the neighbouring chiefs, and succeeded in removing many of their suspicions.

The missionaries having at length acquired a sufficient acquaintance with Soosoo, began to preach the Gospel; but they found that religion was a very distasteful subject to the natives: they could not be brought to confess their sinfulness, nor see the necessity for pardon and reformation. The Mahomedans who visited Kondaia were more easily convinced on this point. The Soosoos, however, were content to send their children for instruction, on condition that the missionaries would maintain them.

When the rainy season commenced, both missionaries fell ill. Mr. Brunton was first attacked with fever; and through the fatigue of attending him night and day, Mr. Greig's health failed, and he was one night found lying on the bank of a river, in a most helpless state of exhaustion. Fever now set in, and continued with great violence for three weeks, rendering him for the greater part of that time delirious, and, at intervals, quite speechless. During this time poor Brunton's fever assumed an intermittent character, and it was only between the paroxysms that he was able to crawl to his companion's bed from his own; but he was unable to sit up with him, and through dread of his dying under her care, no negro woman could be prevailed on, for any remuneration, to attend him. Their house was almost roofless, and admitted a deluge of rain above and below. Once Brunton found his fellow-sufferer lying apparently lifeless on the floor in a large pool of water, and it was with the utmost difficulty he could lift him into bed. He constantly flung himself out, and wanted to leave the house, when Brunton prevailed on the natives to convey him back. During all this season of anguish the weather was fearfully severe: the rain descended in torrents; trees were torn up by the roots; the lightning blazed through the atmosphere, and the thunder shook heaven and earth. At

one time Greig lay, to all appearance, dead, and Brunton began to think how he should get his corpse interred. "Few circumstances in my life," says he, in relating these miseries, "have left a stronger impression on my mind than those now related. A bird which ushered in the day with its melodious notes is fresh in my memory. Indeed, it fixed itself in such a happy situation every morning, that I was sometimes led to think it was a kind of messenger from heaven, sent to cheer me in my dreary residence."

In three weeks Greig's illness took a favourable turn, and Brunton had him removed to a place about forty miles down the river, and from thence to Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, where in two months he visited him, and arriving very early one morning, he was terrified, as he approached the house of one of the European residents, to hear a loud groaning. It occurred to him at once that his poor companion drew near his end; but, on gaining admittance, he found Greig, not dying indeed, but far from well, and Mr. Russell, one of the London missionaries, in the agonies of death—he died at midday, and was buried the same evening. The other London missionary, Mr. Cappe, was ill in the same house. The Glasgow missionaries had both been some time dead! The sceptic will scarcely sneer at these accounts of missions in Western Africa.

Mr. Greig having considerably recovered, returned to the Rio Pongas, leaving Mr. Brunton at Freetown, to supply the place of chaplain to the colony. He now spoke Soosoo like a native, and was able to translate, and explain passages of Scripture to a little congregation of natives, consisting of eighteen persons. He likewise, examined them twice a-day in the principles of the Christian religion, so as to mark their proficiency in divine truth. On the Sabbath day he sent his schoolboys to summon the people round to come to public worship, which he began by catechising the children. He afterwards prayed in the Soosoo language, after which he preached, and concluded with prayer. When service was over, he offered a pipe and tobacco to every one who chose to stay, and such conversation was introduced as seemed of a profitable nature; several were likewise invited to dinner. Besides his regular little family of eighteen, about thirty of the natives attended the meetings, and Greig considered that their ordinary conduct was, at least, as good as that of professing Christians in general.

He did not omit preaching in the villages around, but frequently made excursions in the neighbourhood, with some tobacco in his pocket, to conciliate the regard of his hearers; as he was very faithful in his language, and might otherwise have provoked the rejection of his message. On these occasions he was sometimes accompanied by Brunton, who occasionally visited the Rio Pangas. The people sometimes asked them why they did not baptize like the Portuguese, and expressed

themselves ready to receive that sacred rite, but as the missionaries had no reason to be satisfied of the real conversion of any of those who professed their belief in the Gospel, they deferred complying with their wishes in this respect.

While the mission was in this prosperous state, a truly tragical end was put to the life of the valued servant of God who conducted it. In January, 1800, a few days after Brunton had left him to return to Freetown, seven men, of the Foulah nation, who were travelling through the country, came to pay Greig a visit, and by way of gaining their attention to the value of Christian civilization, he exhibited to them a number of European articles which he happened to possess. In this manner they spent the evening cheerfully together, and as a further expression of kindness and confidence, he invited them to sleep in his house. This friendly act proved fatal to himself. The savages, instigated by a desire to possess themselves of the articles he had shown them, arose in the night, and cut his throat with a razor, of which he himself had made them a present. Poor Greig struggled violently, and one of the relentless wretches seized an axe and struck him with it on the head, by which he was knocked down, and after stabbing him with a cutlass, they completed their fiendish purpose by cutting his throat from ear to ear. All this was witnessed by one of the boys who had been placed under Greig's care, but who was so terrified during the bloody scene, that he did not attempt to move. Fantimania was much affected at Greig's death, as he had taken him under his protection, and he, together with some other of the Soosoo chiefs, endeavoured to apprehend the murderers, and it was reported that two of them were taken in the Foulah country as several persons of that nation were detected, about the time of the murder, carrying away the stolen property. These were put in irons, and carried to Freeport; and it is said, the Soosoos were so enraged with them, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from shedding their blood.

Previous to the death of Greig, the Scottish Missionary Society had sent out Mr. Robert Alexander, to be associated with him in his labours, but before his arrival at Sierra Leone that faithful man was no more. Mr. Alexander, therefore, resolved to remain for the present at Freetown, and render himself useful there, but finding that his health suffered from the climate, and thinking that there was but little prospect of success, he soon returned to Europe.

Mr. Brunton's constitution also began to fail, and he, too, was constrained to abandon the colony. On his arrival in Scotland, his health became much improved, and his knowledge of the Soosoo language was taken advantage of by the Church Missionary Society, in the prosecution of its objects, as we shall presently see.

We have already alluded to the mortality among the other mission-

aries. Messrs. Russell and Cappe, on arriving at the Bullom shore, disagreed among themselves, and separated. Russell, as we have seen, proceeded to Freetown, where he died ; and Cappe, in whom we fear the true spirit of a missionary was wanting, abandoned his work in disgust, and returned home.

Messrs. Graham and Ferguson, the Glasgow missionaries, finding, on their arrival at the island of Bananas, that great danger would be incurred by settling there, on account of the disturbances which had broken out, retired to the Sherbro, where they were cordially welcomed by an old chief, named Adoo, who built them a house, and showed them other proofs of kindness : but as the situation of their new dwelling was low and swampy, and, therefore, very unhealthy, they were soon attacked with fever, accompanied with a disorder of the bowels, which assumed a putrid character, and they both terminated their mortal existence almost before their labours had commenced.

In America, the claims of Africa and her sons have been allowed, and their demand on Christian benevolence responded to. In the year 1821, the American Colonization Society purchased a small tract of land, about forty miles square, on the western extremity of the Gold Coast, called Cape Mesurado, on the river of that name, where they founded a colony of Africo-Americans and liberated Africans. Monrovia, the capital, is situated half a mile from the mouth of the Mesurado river : it contains upwards of 1,000 inhabitants, and in six schools, nearly 300 children are educated on the British system. Previous to the colony being formed, the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions sent thither two missionaries, Messrs. Colin Teague and Lot Carey, who commenced their labours on the island of Yoncee, in the vicinity of Sierra Leone, but they afterwards transferred their services to Liberia, where they laboured with much success. In January, 1826, the Board sent out another missionary, the Rev. Calvin Holton, who, however, lived but a few months after his arrival. In a letter from Mr. C. N. Waring, one of the ministers of the Baptist Church in Monrovia, dated 1832, the progress of the Lord's work there is thus described :— " Monrovia may be said to be a Christian community : there is scarcely a family in it where some one, or the whole, do not possess religion." All the principal citizens of this town are Baptists.

In the year 1833, the Rev. Melville B. Cox, of the Virginia Conference of the American Episcopal Methodists, and the Rev. Messrs. Spalding and Wright, of the New England Conference, landed in Liberia, to take part in the Christian work going on there. On the first of May, Mr. Cox wrote :—" I have succeeded, through divine aid, in regularly organizing a Methodist Episcopal Church here ; and there is now a fair prospect that a good superstructure will ultimately be

reared, where, but a few years since, was heard only the shout of the pagan, or the orisons of the Mahometan priest."

Another gentleman, Mr. Ashmun, writes:—"It deserves record that religion has been the principal agent employed in laying and confirming the foundation of the settlement. To this sentiment, ruling, restraining, and actuating the minds of the colonists, must be referred the whole strength of the civil government." Examples of intemperance, profaneness, or licentiousness, are extremely rare. The Sabbath is universally respected; Sunday-schools, both for the children of the colony, and for the natives, are established; all classes attend regularly on the worship of God; and some charitable associations have been formed for the benefit of the heathen.

A society formed in the city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States, in the year 1831, named the Western Foreign Missionary Society, has also directed its attention to Western Africa. Two missionaries belonging to it, the Rev. Messrs. J. B. Pinney, and Joseph W. Barr, were set apart for this station. Mr. Barr died suddenly, just as he was about to embark for Africa, but his surviving associate, Mr. Pinney, set sail on the first of January, 1833. In consequence of the exertions of the several American Missionary Societies, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and Baptist, there were in Liberia, in 1841, eighteen churches, supplied by forty clergymen, who preached every Sabbath, and held weekly meetings in the native villages. Eight hundred colonists, or one-fifth of the whole population, were professing Christians, and the general tone of society was said to be religious; the Sabbath being observed in the most exemplary manner, and the churches most regularly attended. Sunday-schools and Bible Societies were established generally in the churches. There were twelve day-schools, of which the teachers were generally coloured persons; and literary societies and public libraries were beginning to be formed. Liberia now includes four separate colonies, in which there are nine villages, which contain a population of 5,000, of which 3,500 are American emigrants, and the remainder natives of Africa. The commerce of the colony is considerable, and on the increase.

We must not omit the self-denying services of Mrs. Hannah Kilham, of the Society of Friends, whose pamphlet on the "Claims of Western Africa to Christian Instruction through the Native Language," has rendered her name familiar to the friends of the long-injured negro. She made several voyages to Western Africa, and brought to England with her, some African youths, to whose instruction she devoted herself with characteristic ardour. She also made herself thoroughly acquainted with the Jaloof language, and prepared elementary lessons in it for the assistance of missionaries and teachers.

An English Methodist Mission has been, for several years, in full opera-

tion at Sierra Leone, and at St. Mary's, on the river Gambia. The first Methodist Society, at the former place, was founded by the few blacks who removed thither from Nova Scotia, under the sanction, and at the expense of the British Government, in 1792. In the year 1796, several mechanics, of the Methodist connexion, sailed from England for the same place, with the view of forming a colony in the Foulah country, and instructing the natives, both in useful arts and in the Gospel of Christ. During the voyage, however, the most unhappy dissensions sprang up among them, and their conduct became so disgraceful, that on their arrival at the colony, they excited the derision and contempt of all who beheld them. It was fortunate that their divisions among themselves prevented their intended journey to the Foulah country, where they could only have injured the cause which they professed a desire to serve. They soon after returned to England to prefer mutual accusations against each other. It is but fair to add, that they had not been sent out by the Methodist Conference, but by a committee of gentlemen of all parties indifferently.

In 1811, Mr. Warren, a regular itinerant preacher, sailed for Sierra Leone, accompanied by three young men, designed to act as schoolmasters. They embarked in the *Traveller*, commanded by Paul Cuffie, a Quaker of colour, and manned by American sailors of the same religion and colour as the captain. They reached Sierra Leone, November 12th, and were kindly received by the Rev. G. Nylander, the chaplain of the colony, and also by Mr. Maxwell, the governor. Mr. Warren, died in a year after landing, and was succeeded by the Rev. Wm. Davis. In 1831, there were two missionaries in the colony, Messrs. Knightly and Ritchie, and the number of members was nearly three hundred. In the year 1843, the number of members in communion had increased to 2,371, and the number of children under instruction to 1,462.

The Methodist mission at St. Mary's commenced in 1821. One of the assistants here had been a slave at Goree, and having been converted, he was found to be a zealous and useful preacher, and was ransomed from slavery chiefly by the contributions of pious friends in Ireland. His name is Pierre Salah. Several of the natives of this place are now preaching to their countrymen the unsearchable riches of Christ. Besides Bathurst, on St. Mary's Island, at the mouth of the Gambia, this society has a station at Macarthy Island, 300 miles further up that river—commenced in 1832. In 1843, the members in communion at Bathurst amounted to 286, and the scholars, male and female, to 190: at Macarthy Island, the members were 236, and the scholars 62. In the year 1834, this faithful body commenced a mission at Cape Coast Town, on the Gold Coast, which has been so successful, that in 1843, the members here and at the three out-stations of Annamaboe, British Accra, and Ashantee, amounted to 690, and the

scholars to 316. In December, 1841, two missionaries paid a visit to the King of Ashantee, at Kumassie, his capital : they were most courteously received by him and his people, and every encouragement was given for the commencement of the Christian work in that city. The two missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Freeman and Brooking, established themselves there accordingly.

The Baptist Missionary Society sent out two missionaries, Messrs. Grigg and Rodney, to Sierra Leone, in 1795. The former decided on settling at Porto Logo, a town about forty miles up the Sierra Leone river, in the Timmanee country ; and the latter at the island of Bananas, off the coast. Mr. Grigg, however, soon involved himself in a quarrel with some of the colonists, by imprudently interfering in their disputes, and was requested by the governor, Mr. Macauley, to retire from Freetown ; and Mr. Rodney, after only eight months' residence, finding the climate prejudicial to his health, returned to England.

We have thus traced the progress of missionary effort in Africa, from the era of Portuguese discovery down to our own times, and we trust, as far as our limits permitted, have done justice to the exertions of every Christian community by which a missionary spirit has been manifested in favour of this interesting continent, our own beloved church excepted, whose efforts it will be our privilege to record at greater length than our plan would permit in the case of others. We now proceed to review the operations of the Church Missionary Society in Western Africa.

CHAPTER I.

THE Church Missionary Society for Africa, and the East naturally turned its first attention to the former of these great fields of Christian enterprise, where but little had, as yet, been done for immortal souls, and in behalf of which, the most resistless arguments abounded to awaken the conscientious sympathies of the Christian world. Centuries of wrongs, dark and deep, had swollen the black cloud of Almighty vengeance, which was now ready to burst into a mighty torrent of judgment upon the nations which had crimsoned the earth and the ocean with the blood of Africa's sons ; and woe be to those which awoke not now to a sense of their impiety, and hastened not to offer some reparation for the cruelties inflicted—some atonement for their numberless crimes. Through the good hand of her God upon her, England heard the mutterings of the yet distant tempest, and prostrated herself before the majesty of Him whose wrath she had assisted in provoking. To Africa and the East she owed a vast debt of Christian benevolence and example. The Church Missionary Society stood forward to liquidate, at least, a portion of the demand, and to offer to Britons, of every class, an opportunity to “repent and turn to God and do works meet for repentance.”*

Africa having been selected by the society as the first object of practical interest ; the next subject of consideration was, what particular portion of that vast continent, all equally worthy of Christian solicitude, should occupy their immediate attention, and they were not long in deciding on the western coast, as affording, for many reasons, the most promising field of missionary labour. In their instructions to their first missionaries, on their departure for their sphere of duty, they referred to some of the motives which actuated them in making this selection. “The temporal misery,” they said, “of the whole heathen world has

* Acts, xxvi. 20.

been dreadfully aggravated by its intercourse with men who bear the name of Christians, but the western coast of Africa, between the tropics, and more especially that part of it between the line and the Tropic of Cancer, has not only, in common with other heathen countries, received from us our diseases and our vices, but it has ever been the chief theatre of the inhuman slave trade ; and tens of thousands of its children have been annually torn from their dearest connexions, to minister to the luxuries of men bearing the Christian name, and who had no more right to exercise this violence than the Africans had to depopulate our coast with a similar view. The wickedness and wretchedness consequent upon this trade of blood, have deeply and extensively infected these shores ; and though Western Africa may justly charge her sufferings, from this trade, upon all Europe, directly or remotely, yet, the British nation is now, and has long been, most deeply criminal. We desire, therefore, while we pray and labour for the removal of this evil, to make Western Africa the best remuneration in our power for its manifold wrongs."

The establishment of Sierra Leone, too, as a British colony, on the western coast, and the object contemplated by it, the civilization of the surrounding nations, had a considerable influence on the decision of the committee. We have reason," they said, in the address, from which we have already quoted, "to believe that the company* is friendly to the design of evangelizing the heathen nations ; and that it will extend its kindness and protection to every man who goes out for this purpose. We cannot but consider, therefore, the establishment of this colony, and its good will towards our undertaking, as a loud call upon us to second its own efforts ; and to repeat our attempts with such a point of support as it affords to us, even though our first endeavours should be unsuccessful.

"In these and some other respects," the committee proceed to say, "no part of Africa offers so many inducements to the establishment of Christian missions as the interior of this coast. The intercourse between the colony and Europe is frequent and easy ; and that between the colony and the inland parts of the coast, to some distance up the country, is very extensive, by means of several rivers which discharge themselves upon this coast, after flowing through the back country, by innumerable branches and windings, many of which communicate with one another. The natives who are somewhat removed from the coast are hospitable and kind to strangers : they have acquired a considerable degree of civilization, and do not present the obstacles to missions which are found among vagrant and thinly-scattered savages, as they live in towns containing from one, two, or three hundred, to several

* The Sierra Leone Company, formed in 1720, for the purpose of trading with, and assisting the infant colony then just formed.

thousand inhabitants, and are under regular governments : their languages are not difficult to be acquired, and several of them are spoken through extensive districts. The interior is free, in proportion as it recedes from the coast, from the vices, machinations, and dangers consequent upon the slave trade, and is both more populous, and, as it appears, more healthy, from its greater elevation."

The failure of similar attempts in the very quarter of this continent to which the society was now turning its attention, might have been expected to discourage them from treading in the footsteps of their predecessors ; and, consequently, they felt themselves called upon to show that they enjoyed advantages in their undertaking, which gave them better prospects of success than belonged to former occupants of the same field. "Most of the missionaries," they said, addressing their missionaries, "who died in this part of Africa, were settled much nearer the coast than it is probable you will be ; and we have reason to believe that the country is more healthy as it approaches the interior. The diseases, too, of this climate, and the method of treating them are now much better understood than they were a few years since. In proof of this, we might point you to the improving health of the colonists at Sierra Leone, which is not to be attributed merely to the increased salubrity of the neighbourhood, in consequence of the advanced state of cultivation, but to the improved knowledge of the right methods of guarding against the diseases of the climate, and of curing them when contracted."

Among the numerous tribes inhabiting the western coast of Africa, the society was induced to select a people called Soosoos for their first attempt. The Soosoo nation stretches along a line of coast extending from the river Kisse, beyond the Rio Pongas, as far as the Rio Nunez, and from its locality in the neighbourhood of the colony, and other circumstances, it seemed to present favourable ground for unfurling the Christian standard in this part of Africa. At first the committee proposed to themselves to commence in the colony itself, that being, they conceived, the most direct avenue into the interior ; but they subsequently abandoned that locality in favour of the Soosoo country.

They were principally decided in their selection by an opportunity presented to the society of translating and printing several tracts in the Soosoo language, in consequence of Mr. Brunton, the late missionary under the Scottish society to that nation, having undertaken to give to the Church Missionary Society the advantage of his knowledge of the Soosoo language, in any manner that could promote its objects in reference to Africa. He was, accordingly, employed to prepare a grammar and vocabulary of Soosoo ; also, to compile "a Summary of the History and Doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, together with Various Familiar Dialogues, in which the principal Doctrines of Christianity and other

Important Articles of Knowledge" were to be "familiarily inculcated and explained."

The committee had soon the happiness of reporting, that "through the diligent labours of the Rev. Mr. Brunton, the following works were already printed :—

"1. Two hundred copies of a grammar and vocabulary of the Soosoo language, with a preface.

"2. One thousand copies of a spelling-book, for the instruction of the Soosoos, with a translation of the church catechism.

"3. Five hundred copies of an easy first catechism, in Soosoo and English.

"4. Five hundred copies of a second catechism.

"5. Five hundred copies of a third catechism, being an historical catechism.

"6. Five hundred copies of three dialogues ; the first intended to point out the advantage of letters ; the second, to expose the absurdities of the religious notions of the Soosoos ; and the third, to draw a comparison between the religion of Mohammed and that of Christ ; to which is added an appendix containing information concerning the countries near Sierra Leone, which would be useful to missionaries.

"7. One thousand copies of Christian Instructions for the Soosoos, being an abridgment of the Scripture History and Doctrine."

The committee had an opportunity of testing the faithfulness of these translations, by having a portion of one of them read to some of the Soosoo boys, under education, at the African Academy, Clapham ; when they were observed to smile, and on being asked the reason, they said, "Because he," meaning the reader of the tract, "was speaking Soosoo ;" and, notwithstanding the defects of pronunciation, the portion read was easily understood. This was the first attempt ever made to reduce the languages of Western Africa to writing, much less to compose a printed book in them.

Another reason which the committee had for commencing their missionary labours among the Soosoos was the general use of the Soosoo language by other nations of Africa, besides the one where it is vernacular. Park found it spoken over the extensive region, which he called Jallonkadoo,* which is watered by branches of the Niger, Senegal, and Gambia rivers.† "It is also," says Winterbottom, "understood

* Whoever will take the trouble of comparing the specimen of the language spoken throughout Jallonkadoo, given by Park in the 25th chapter of his Travels, with Winterbottom's vocabulary of the Soosoo language at the end of his first volume, will be satisfied that Soosoo is the language of Jallonkadoo, which, Park says, has, in some of its words, a great affinity to the Mandingo.

† Upwards of a thousand miles from Sierra Leone.

by great numbers of Foulahs, Mandingoes, Bulloms, and Timmanees." The last named writer says the Soosoo excels all the languages of the western coast, and, in softness, approaches the Italian. On this subject, the committee of the African Institution, in their second report, made the following statement, doubtless, on good authority:—"The Soosoo language is spoken, very generally, on the coast, to about one hundred and fifty miles to the northward of Sierra Leone. It is also understood by a great part of the Foulah, and Mandingo nations; and is the vernacular tongue of the country of Jallonkadoo—a large kingdom, in the mountains of which the Niger is represented to take its rise. It would not, therefore, be too large a calculation to suppose that it is spoken over a space of eight hundred, or a thousand miles square, a space considerably larger than Great Britain. This language, which is remarkably simple, and easy of acquisition, has been reduced to writing, by the zeal of Mr. Brunton, who resided, for some time, as a missionary among the Soosoos, and who was assisted in the task by some Soosoo youths, who had been brought over to England for education, and have since returned to Africa. The fruit of Mr. Brunton's labours is a Soosoo grammar and vocabulary, and several Soosoo tracts, all of which have been printed."

But, besides selecting a field of labour, the committee engaged themselves in securing other necessary steps to the successful accomplishment of the great work they had undertaken. They collected together such publications as related to the history of missions, that each member, by their perusal, might prepare himself for an enlightened, as well as faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him; and that knowing the difficulties to be encountered, and the means by which success, in previous efforts, had been achieved; understanding, also, something of the countries in which missions had been established, and the religion, prejudices, and customs of the inhabitants, the society might "hope to escape the rocks and shoals upon which missions had often made shipwreck."

Their next object was to engage the attention, prayers, and co-operation of a number of fellow-labourers in their important work. For this purpose they opened a correspondence with a very considerable number of pious clergymen, in almost every part of the kingdom, from whom they expected to receive advice and assistance, and who, they trusted, would be able to recommend proper persons to be employed as missionaries—such as had been trained under the eye of their pastors, and had approved themselves in all Christian sobriety of demeanour as faithful disciples of Jesus Christ.

The solicitude of the society was next employed to discover the most likely method of successfully propagating the Gospel in heathen countries, especially those not yet emerged from a state of barbarism.

With this view they consulted different missionaries, who, having been themselves engaged in the work, were experimentally acquainted with the difficulties to be encountered. From the information thus received, they learned "the extreme difficulty of attempting to communicate Gospel truths where no foundation of knowledge had yet been laid; where no precious truths are acknowledged, from which others may be proved; where conscience has scarcely been enlightened to discern between good and evil; and where, perhaps, the language possesses no terms adapted to express the principal ideas of the Christian faith." Convinced, then, of the disadvantages under which a faithful missionary must labour, while endeavouring, through the dubious medium of an interpreter, or the uncertain accents of a language ill understood and imperfectly spoken, to convey truths of the most sublime and spiritual nature, and expecting no such miraculous co-operation as the apostles enjoyed, they conceived it to be their duty to facilitate by all means their missionaries' attainment of the languages of the countries to which they might be sent, and this by every agency which the press afforded—an auxiliary to their undertaking which they considered they could scarcely overrate in importance, as "nations ignorant of letters are in general sensible of their deficiency in this respect, and might be expected to welcome as benefactors the men who came to diffuse information in their own language." They also contemplated an opportunity of communicating instruction in various useful branches of European arts and learning; and thus, while they promoted civilization, rendering an intercourse with Britain a real blessing to the nations who enjoyed it, they considered that "such instruction would serve as a lure to attach them to knowledge of a higher kind; and that, with the rudiments of learning, the rudiments of Christian doctrines might be taught." "Books," they observe, "can teach where missionaries are not admitted; they can penetrate the remotest recesses, and are always at hand, ready to instil wisdom in the calm hour of solitude and reflection. Books may supply, in a measure, the place of missionaries; and, where nothing more is practicable, may often answer the grand purpose, and thus spare the expenses of equipments, the fatigue of long journeys, the perils of an inhospitable country, the hardships of a precarious subsistence, and the risk of an unhealthy climate." On this subject they quote the learned Sir William Jones,* with, however, a note of

* This eminent scholar was born in 1745, and after a brilliant career at Oxford was called to the bar in 1774, and for some years practised in England, with much and increasing success. In 1783, he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William, in Bengal, and there married Miss Anna Maria Shipley, daughter of the Bishop of St. Asaph. In India he devoted himself, with great assiduity, to Hindoo literature. He then became founder, president, and one of the brightest ornaments of the Asiatic Society, formed on the model of the Royal Society in London. He also procured a digest of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and applied himself with as long to the study of the Sanscrit. His translation of the celebrated

dissent from the general conclusion he would draw. "We may assure ourselves," he says, "that neither Mussulmans nor Hindoos will ever be converted by any mission from the Church of Rome, or from any other church; and the only human mode, perhaps, of causing so great a revolution will be, to translate into Sanscrit and Persian such chapters of the Prophets, particularly Isaiah, as are indisputably evangelical, together with one of the Gospels, and a plain prefatory discourse, containing full evidence of the very distant ages in which the predictions themselves, and the history of the divine person predicted, were severally made public, and then quietly to disperse the work among the well-educated natives."

It is melancholy to see so great and respectable a name attached to such sentiments as these. In them the commission of our Lord to the Apostles is entirely overlooked, and an identity established between the efforts of the Church of Rome and those of purely Scriptural Churches, determining "to know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified," which is wholly unworthy of such a man, not to speak of that daring procedure, alas! so fashionable in our day, of modifying the proportions of God's Book, so as to accommodate them to the bulk which man's presumptuous heart conceives they ought to exhibit, and such as, in his rebellion against his Almighty Legislator, he consents to adopt. The exclusion of all, too, but the "well-educated native," from the communication of God's message to sinners, is certainly as contrary to the system of Gospel preaching enjoined by our compassionate Redeemer as it is cruel and unjust.

The success with which the Arabic language had been disseminated throughout Africa, for the purpose of inculcating the absurd tenets of the Koran, and the anxiety which Park* and others observed among the negroes for the education of their children, induced the committee

"Ordinances of Menu," appeared early in 1794, after which he was seized with inflammation of the liver, which terminated his valuable life on the 27th of April, in the 48th year of his age. As a judge he was faithful and indefatigable—as a poet, translator, and essayist, he had few competitors; but as a linguist he was unrivalled. A beautiful monument has been erected to him in St. Paul's Cathedral, and a statue at Bengal, at the expense of the East India Company.

* Park says that the vessel in which he returned contained 127 slaves, most of them from the neighbourhood of the coast, but some from the interior of the country, and that out of this number there were seventeen or eighteen who could read and write Arabic perfectly; but the master of the ship, he adds, threw the books belonging to the slaves into the sea, for fear a perusal of them would "make them sick at heart." He calculates that one-seventh part of the slaves, in the West Indies, were, in his day, able to read the Arabic Bible were it put into their hands. In another place he says, "The poor Africans, whom we affect to consider as barbarians, look upon us, I fear, as little better than a race of formidable but ignorant heathens. When I produced Richardson's Arabic Grammar to some slatees (free black merchants or slave-dealers) on the Gambia, they were astonished to think that any European should understand and write the sacred language of their religion. One of them offered to give me an ass, and sixteen bars of goods, if I would part with the book."

to turn their attention to a translation of the Scriptures into Arabic, to be circulated wherever the Koran and its language were taught, calculating on the interest which would be taken in a book printed in the sacred language of the country, and containing the fullest information on subjects with which the natives were not wholly unacquainted, owing to the faint glimmer of light already conveyed through the distorted medium of the Koran.

Having made these preliminary arrangements, the committee now turned their attention to the important object of procuring messengers of glad tidings to the people, on whose behalf, primarily, the machinery of a Missionary Society had been constructed, and they entertained sanguine expectations, that from the numerous and earnest applications which they had made to a large body of pious clergymen throughout the land, their want, in this respect, would be abundantly supplied. In this, however, they were disappointed. They had some offers, indeed, but none such as they considered they could conscientiously accept, and they ascribed their failure partly to the "nature of the country to which it might be expected missionaries would be sent by the society—partly to the circumstances of the favoured island in which they dwell." The reputed fatality of the African climate to European constitutions, and the savage character of the natives of Africa; the insecure and unhealthy condition of the colony of Sierra Leone itself, the chief point of civilization in an immense continent, and the yet untried nature of this field of missionary enterprise, together with the general ignorance of the languages spoken in the country, and the absence of all helps to acquire them; all these causes operated to discourage Englishmen from enlisting under the colours of the society, to encounter the enemy of souls on the sterile plains of Africa. Strange, that at the very time when thousands were risking, we may say sacrificing their lives, on this very continent,* in the service of an earthly sovereign, not one true soldier of the cross could be found to step forth from the ease and security of home, to vindicate the insulted majesty of the King of Kings, and employ the invincible weapons of truth and love against the dark usurper of Emmanuel's throne and dignity! Yet so it was. Our beloved church slept. Blessed be God the reproach has been long since rolled away: her voice is now heard on every gale; and there are few soils uncrimsoned with the blood, or unwhitened with the bones of her gallant sons, who fell nobly contending for the faith once delivered to the saints.

Having failed to obtain missionaries in their own country, the committee extended their inquiries to Germany, from whence faithful labourers had already been procured, by the Society for Promoting

* The expedition to Egypt in 1801, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, is here alluded to.

Christian Knowledge.* A correspondence] was accordingly opened with some foreign clergymen, who readily undertook the task of instituting inquiries after such persons as the committee were in search of, but who, at the same time, informed them that the number of pious and able ministers in Germany, who had studied regularly at a university, but had not yet been preferred to livings, was very small. Such characters, being much respected, were soon preferred.

But the committee received from the same source the important information that there existed, at Berlin, an institution for the education of young persons, who devoted themselves to the missionary work, and who there acquired a knowledge of those languages and sciences which they would require in their future course. This institution originated in the benevolence of Baron Von Scirnding, of Dobrilugk, in Saxony, who had been much distinguished for the zeal with which he sought to diffuse the knowledge of Christianity among the heathen; and was then depending for support on voluntary contributions. It was placed under the superintendence of the Rev. John Jœnicke, of Berlin, and was, besides, visited and inspected by several ministers of acknowledged piety and worth. At the time that the committee received intelligence of it, there were only six students within its walls, although several more pressed for a participation in its advantages, which its slender finances would not admit of.

The committee, entertaining strong hopes that they could be supplied from this institution, which seemed, most providentially, to offer itself in reply to their prayers, had some inquiries forwarded to the Rev. John Jœnicke, upon whose zeal and faithfulness they learned they could entirely rely. We feel assured the reader will be gratified by a perusal of the interesting letter which this man of God addressed in reply to the clergyman, the Rev. William Steinkoff,† who had forwarded the inquiries:—

“Berlin, May, 8, 1802,

“IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, DEAR AND VALUABLE
BROTHER—

“I did not receive your honoured favour of March 9th, till the second of this month, by Doctor Martens. Having deeply weighed its

* This society was formed in the year 1698, after the example, says Bishop Burnet, of the dissenters, whose evangelical labours in North America had been regarded by several pious clergymen with warm admiration. Its original object was the circulation of the Bible, and other religious books, in the British colonies, but in 1700, it divided itself into two branches—one retaining the original object, and the other engaging in missions to the colonies, especially to India, where its labours have been very extensive.

† One of the Secretaries of the London Tract Society—afterwards one of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

contents which, in many respects, were very important, I resolved to send it to our beloved brother, Stracke, at Halshusen, in East Frisia, which I did, on the 4th, by the post. Though I do not repent of having sent it, yet I could not, on due consideration, resist any wish to answer your questions briefly, but in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and before his presence, in strict truth.

"The venerable society belonging to the Episcopal Church, who have covenanted with each other in London to contribute as much as they can towards the salvation of one or more heathen nations, desire to be informed,

"1. Of the origin and regulations of the Berlin Missionary Seminary.

"I answer, with humility and child-like simplicity—

"I. The first origin we ascribe to Mr. Von Scirnding, of Dobrilugk in Saxony, ranger of the electoral forests. This gentleman, on my recommendation, undertook the education of seven youths, who had been excited by the news of the formation of the new missionary societies in England, to devote themselves to this service, in case the Lord might send them to any heathen nations to preach the Gospel, and by divine grace they might, through the Holy Spirit, become instruments in the hands of Jesus to promote his work on earth. But, after spending about eight hundred rix-dollars in eight months upon this institution, Mr. Von Scirnding met with circumstances in his family which made him withdraw his assistance. But we shall always respect him, as having been willing to be used by the Lord for laying the foundation of this seminary.

"As to the regulations in the same place, the principal object we have in view is to acquire a complete knowledge of the Scriptures. Therefore, our young men have been exercised according to the directions given, in learning the sacred words of our Lord by heart, as also in speaking upon them. By the grace of our Saviour I have been able to employ them now for some months past in delivering public discourses in our hall; and he owns them so graciously, that the Lord's people here approve of their testimony. Besides these exercises, they are instructed in the Latin; and, ever since last November, in the English, Dutch, and French languages. As for their exercises in oratory, I give them a text of Scripture, make them attentive to the ideas and truths contained in it; after which they write an essay upon it, which they bring to me for revision, and then declaim it in my presence, with the doors locked, quite privately. As the Rev. Mr. Brumley's instructions to the Mission Seminary's youth did not answer the desired end, he has ceased to be their tutor since March 31.

"II. The directors are some venerable clergymen in East Frisia, of whom Mr. Stracke, at Halshusen, is the chief. Here, in Berlin, the

following have been chosen—The Rev. Dr. Hermes, chief counsellor of the consistory; and the Rev. Brother-Christian, Frederic Cunow, minister of the congregation of the *Unitas Fratrum* here,* who support me by their counsel, that I may be able to act in particular cases, as I should otherwise be obliged to wait three or four weeks before I could receive instructions from East Frisia. The inspection over the youths was committed to me first by Mr. Von Scirnding, and afterwards by my reverend brethren in East Frisia; and, though I am so unworthy, I have accepted of this call as from my gracious Lord and Saviour, and as a great favour, in deep humility.

“ III. The only fund the Mission Seminary possesses is Jesus Christ, and his grace and divine favour. When the seminary was about to be given up, in 1800, he raised up our venerable brother, Stracke, and by his means other excellent Gospel ministers in East Frisia and Westphalia, to continue it. Indeed, we have at present an arrear of two hundred rix-dollars, but the Lord helps us from time to time. Within these six months he has inclined the hearts of several friends here in Berlin towards this institution. The contributions we received from Switzerland have ceased in a great measure since your departure, but the Lord had opened one here: his name be praised for it!

“ IV. The respected Missionary Society may, according to the favour bestowed on us by the Lord, entertain hopes to be provided in future with candidates for missionary labours from our seminary. O my most respected and beloved brother, we adore our Saviour that he has dealt with us so graciously. We have often thought, how shall we, poor impotent children, contrive to send our brethren to Africa or Asia? If we had three or four fit to be sent from the seminary, their outfit and passage might, perhaps, cost us two thousand rix-dollars, and more; and where should that money come from? But now, O merciful Saviour, thou givest us an opening, and answerest our doubts about the expenses. Thou appointest us to be thy poor day-labourers, assistants to others of thy chosen ones. We are to deliver up to them the youths whom thou wilt send into thy vineyard, and they will, according to thy direction, provide the rest. Oh, how unsearchable are thy ways!

“ V. If the venerated Mission Society find themselves disposed, out of love to the heathen, and in consequence of our poverty, to do something towards the support of this seminary, I might then, in the names of the friends of our institution here, give a determined answer that they would feel a particular pleasure to furnish them with young men. I would also promise, in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ,

* United Brethren or Moravians.

that I would devote all my labours I can spare from my official duties to the Missions Seminary, with the greatest willingness and delight. At present they receive, from a proper master, two hours' instruction every week in the English language. He teaches them in my room, where they are also taught Latin and German grammar by another master. And as formerly, even twenty-six years ago, at Leipzig, I made some small proficiency in English, without knowing for what purpose, I have now, through the mercy of my Saviour, improved so much as to be able to prepare the young men in our seminary for their English school. We translate now the Gospel according to Saint Matthew. In a particular school I have assisted them in translating the First Epistle of St. John out of English into German : and may our Lord Jesus Christ never suffer our souls to be separated from him. I beg my best respects to the society ; may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with them and you, and also with me,

“ Your unworthy brother,

“ JOHN JÆNICKE.”

There still appearing towards the close of the year 1802, to be no prospect of procuring suitable missionaries in England, although the committee continued to receive offers from persons to whom one objection or another appeared to exist, the committee of correspondence were empowered, in October, to communicate with the directors of the Berlin seminary, in consequence of which two young men were obtained for the society, who arrived in England the following month, and received their appointment in December, as missionary catechists under the society. The elder of these, whose name was Melchior Remer, was a German, a native of the Duchy of Wirtemberg, and about thirty years of age : the younger, Peter Hartwig, was a Prussian, twenty-four years of age.

Of these men the committee received the highest commendations from those best acquainted with their character and disposition at Berlin ; and after embracing every convenient opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with them, they felt satisfied that the representations of their Berlin friends were in every respect just. These two young men entertained a warm attachment for each other, though dissimilar in disposition ; and this circumstance, it was hoped, would prove a providential arrangement for securing an affectionate co-operation while they laboured in concert, and harmonizing their views and efforts in the noble field of conflict for which they were destined.

During their sojourn in London, they were permitted, by the African Education Society, to attend on Mr. Greaves, the master of their seminary, at the school, where they had free intercourse with the African youths, chiefly natives of the Soosoo nation, who were being edu-

cated there ; and they also received instruction in the English language, in which they soon made considerable progress. The opportunity for acquiring the language of the particular nation to which they were first to address the message of salvation was highly propitious : and, as a further advantage to be derived from their intercourse with the Soosoo boys, it was anticipated that, as some of these latter might hereafter exercise considerable influence over their countrymen, the friendly intimacy now established between them and the missionaries would turn out to the furtherance of the Gospel in time to come.

It was expected that means would be afforded before the end of the year 1803, of forwarding the missionaries to the scene of their future labours ; but various impediments presented themselves to the accomplishment of that object, until March of the following year. Meanwhile, the delay was not unproductive of advantage either to the society or the missionaries. The latter were enabled to advance themselves in the knowledge both of English and Soosoo ; and the society brought to maturity some arrangements for the prosperity and usefulness of their institution. But the most important benefit secured was the ordination of the missionaries, who had hitherto been intended to act only as catechists ; but now, in consequence of an offer of ordination from the Lutheran Church, to which they belonged, they would be able to occupy the more useful, as well as respectable station of clergymen, in which character they were far more acceptable to the society, who had been unwillingly compelled to employ unordained labourers, only because they despaired of engaging clergymen for the work, and did not conceive it to be their duty to abandon it on that account.

In the latter end of the year 1803, Renner and Hartwig returned to Germany, where they received ordination, and on their return, were accepted as missionaries of the society, to be employed as ministers of a sister communion to the Church of England, after the example of the venerable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. A few weeks after their arrival in England, Hartwig was married to an Englishwoman, with the approbation of the committee.

On the 31st of January, 1804, an address was delivered to the missionaries, previous to their departure, at an open committee convened for that purpose. It was read by the secretary, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, and was calculated to make a deep and lasting impression on the minds of those to whom it was directed, as well as all others who had the privilege of hearing it. We have already made some extracts from this admirable composition, and regret that the fear of swelling this volume beyond a reasonable size prevents its insertion here at full length—an exclusion which we shall feel ourselves obliged to adopt in the case of similar documents, which occur in considerable numbers throughout the successive reports of the society. We should rejoice, however, if conve-

nience would admit of their being added as an appendix to the volume.

To this address the missionaries returned a reply in writing, which was presented by the Rev. Melchior Renner, who was appointed senior of the mission. The following extract will reflect the mind and heart which these devoted men brought to their work:—

“Our aim and desire, we trust, are still the same as when we first became subject to the direction of this honourable committee, and our wishes are to conform to the rules which they have laid down, or may hereafter lay down for us, respecting the method of proceeding in our great and important work. We are conscious of our utter insufficiency for the great work before us; but we desire to look to our divine Master for continual support.

“We would acquiesce in all things with the wishes of the society, so far as may be consistent with our consciences. Should it please God, in his wisdom, to thwart, in any degree, our sanguine hopes and expectations, yet still, we trust, we shall not be discouraged, but rely upon the unchangeable promises of him who cannot lie, and believe that bread cast upon the waters shall be found after many days.

“We earnestly commend ourselves to the fervent prayers of the society, that God may grant us health, may open to us a suitable station among the heathen, and enable us to speak boldly the truths of his Gospel to perishing sinners, and to persevere even unto the end.

“MELCHIOR RENNER,

“PETER HARTWIG,

“SARAH HARTWIG.”

The missionaries sailed from Portsmouth after a detention there of some days, on the 8th of March, 1804. They were accompanied to the ship by the assistant secretary, and they were commended, by the committee, to the earnest prayers of the society at large, “that the Great Head of the Church might direct their way, deliver them from every danger, obviate every difficulty, and prosper their undertakings, to his own glory, in the conversion of many souls.”

The directors of the seminary at Berlin, were again applied to for the selection of four more students, to be employed by the society; and, on the recommendation of the Rev. J. Jœnicke, that number was accepted by the committee, at their meeting, on the 4th of July, 1803. They were to be wholly supported and educated at the expense of the society, and were diligently to employ themselves in the study of the English, Arabic, and Soosoo languages, and in such other pursuits as might qualify them for their future career. Their destination was likewise to be the Soosoo country, as the committee were determined

to make a combined and vigorous effort in that district, should such a door of entrance be opened to them as they hoped and expected.

The vessel in which Renner and Hartwig were embarked had a narrow escape from being captured by a French privateer. They regularly performed divine service on board during the voyage, being therein providentially countenanced by the captain; and after a pleasant voyage of thirty-seven days, they landed at Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, on the 14th of April, where they were most kindly received by the residents in the colony.

It had been at first intended that the missionaries should reside in a place called Dalla Modu's Town, from the name of the chief to whom it belonged, which was in the immediate vicinity of Freetown, yet wholly inhabited by natives who all spoke Soosoo—with the object of their cultivating a more familiar acquaintance with that language, as well as with the habits and manners of the inhabitants, besides making excursions into the adjacent districts, whereby they would have the opportunity of viewing and pointing out the most eligible situation for the more extensive exercise of their ministry. However, on their arrival at the colony, circumstances induced the governor, Mr. Dawes, to advise them to reside, for the present, in Freetown, rather than in Dalla Modu's Town; and, as the colony had been long destitute of a regular chaplain, they undertook the charge of its spiritual concerns, during their continuance there, with the additional view of becoming inured to the climate, and of acquiring a knowledge of the native language and manners.

The reader will be glad to hear these good men speaking for themselves, after their arrival at the land of their Christian adoption. The following extract is from a letter addressed by the Rev. Melchior Renner, to the secretary, dated, Freetown, Sierra Leone, May 22, 1804:—

“ You will, no doubt, praise the Lord our God, that he was so very gracious as to bring us safely to Sierra Leone, and this into a circle of such respectable friends. Hitherto the Lord hath done more than we can ask, think, or conceive. And so we trust he will continue, because he is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. His mercy, his grace, his love, and his peace, do all pass our understanding. The most pleasing thing to me is, that the Lord hath put me already in the field of labour. The love to immortal souls has since greatly increased in my heart. My wish is, therefore, that many might be saved, and turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, to receive forgiveness of sins, and the inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith. It was pitiful to me to find a flock without a shepherd—to see a large colony without a minister. The field is large. Pagans and

unconverted Christians are here in plenty. May our God himself reveal to them the unsearchable riches of Christ, his Son, and bless the preaching of the Gospel to many. If the Lord spareth me, I shall not be silent, but unite sinners with a loud voice; yea, the chief of sinners shall be embraced by the Gospel sound. This letter, sir, is accompanied with my journal, which is but little; yet, I think, I mentioned every thing necessary in it. You know that I am not skilful in making many words about one thing, nor do I wish to add occurrences which I think cannot be of much use to others."

The following extract, from the journal above alluded to, will be acceptable:—

"April 18, 1804, Mr. Dawes introduced us to Dalla Modu, the chief of the next native town, who showed us his new palaver-house, and two others, wherein eight or ten of his wives were placed. We shook hands with his head wife only.

"May 5. Having had several visits from a Mandingo man, whose friendship I bought with a small present; now, as often as he comes, I have the honour to be called his friend. Perceiving that he was not quite an ignorant fellow, I made inquiry after those learned men which Mr. Brunton mentioned in his Soosoo grammar. By reading to him their names he knew most of them, and was astonished that the names of those learned men were written in a white man's book: this he would tell in his country. At another visit he desired some shot from me. On asking him for what purpose, he said, to shoot Soosoo men; on asking him the reason for doing so, he said, because they do not pray to God. I told him that he should not shoot the Soosoo, whom I love; adding, if they become Christians, they will worship God in spirit and in truth; and he, professing himself to be a worshipper of God, should rather pray for them. Several persons signified their names to us wishing to be partakers of the Lord's Supper. I endeavoured to show them the love of their Saviour, and what blessings may be derived from being partakers of that Communion; prayed with them, and a heartfelt wish followed them.

"Sunday, May 6. Early in the morning I was called up by a person who showed a strong desire to be a partaker of the Lord's Supper—accepted her; but, about nine o'clock, came a man who would signify his name as a communicant. On inquiring after his motives, he said that he had formerly joined the custom; this he would renew. I could not allow him then to be a partaker; his heart seemed fit not at all to approach that holy table. Read prayers, preached, and administered the Lord's Supper to about sixteen people. In the afternoon, read prayers again, and attended the Sunday school. In the evening, Dalla Modu visited us with his head wife.

7th. Was chiefly engaged in writing. Towards evening I took

a walk along the water-side. Felt myself so well as I never did here before.

"16th. Now has been a pause for some days, by paying the duty to this country as a stranger. The fever kept me in bed for six days ; it seized me violently, but, by filling up the stomach with sufficient bark it must cease.

"20th. Visited an European who has the fever very violently. Conversed with him about the state of his soul. He confessed that he was not ready to enter into a happy eternity. He wept bitterly, like Peter. Prayed with him, and assured him that he may obtain mercy in Christ Jesus, and find rest in him as a compassionate Saviour. This man was formerly a follower of Christ ; but became a backslider. O Lord enable me and all thy servants to run the race set before us, without weariness!"

A second communication from Renner brought his journal, carried forward to the latter end of September. It is dated, Freetown, Sierra Leone, September 24, 1804.

"I send you a short diary by which you may see what we are doing, and what God is doing. Now I am sure he does always right, which cannot be said of us, at least of me. You see also, sir, that I have been well all the rainy season, and that I was able to perform those duties which are holy and honourable to me. But whether I have been useful to any one, God knows it ; yet I am determined to continue to labour on immortal souls, to speak the word of God in season and out of season. Yet, I must confess, I want, as a missionary, more courage, more boldness, more zeal, more love to perishing sinners, more to be influenced by the Holy Spirit ; in short, I want more apostolic spirit. Now, you may say, if you stand so much in want of these things, then you are a poor missionary indeed. Yes, sir, I don't deny it ; what is known to God may also be known to men ; and if God should search my heart, surely he should find more poverty than I know of. But, however, if men pity me in such a state, I hope God will do it the more, and bring me under that promise—'Blessed are the poor in heart, and out of his fulness may I, according to his infinite mercy, receive grace for grace.'

"June 2, 1804. Visited the sick soldiers and those who are well. One of the sick told me that he had been converted himself already for twenty years, and yet that he was on the same spot at present, that is—he knew that drinking spirits too much is not right, but he cannot overcome it. I had some conversation with the others, and inquired whether none were inclined to go to the Lord's Supper, but they all refused, saying this business would not suit with the line in which they are.

"June 3rd. Read prayers, preached, and administered the Lord's Supper. The governor and several gentlemen attended—white and

black, about thirty. In the afternoon baptized an infant, whose father is a Maroon. Attended Sunday schools. Much rain to-day—probably the rainy season commenceth. Three slave-ships are now lying here for anchor. The A——, in which Mr. Dawes returned to England, has 274 such poor wretches on board. When will this inhuman trade cease? Probably not till their employers are in that place where Dives to-day in the Gospel crieth, ‘I am tormented in this flame.’

“5th. A person came to see me, but she did not speak. On asking her what her desire was, she replied, ‘My great desire is to flee from the wrath to come, and everlasting condemnation.’ Happy souls, who say with the jailor, ‘What shall I do to be saved?’ At present she enjoys the peace of God, which passeth knowledge.

“July 15th. I have, since my last fever, enjoyed good health; although I must sometimes expose myself to the rain, but it had even no effect upon me. The doctor and others inform me, that those who suffer little in the first year after their arrival, have to expect more in the second; but, however, this doth not discourage me, for I trust I am in the hands of the Lord, and he can do more than we can ask, perceive, or think.

“8th. I was surprised, on visiting a sick person, who was able to argue the Bible from the beginning to the end, and who could almost be called a trader of Scripture knowledge; but lying now on the sick-bed, he has neither hope of mercy, nor is able to lay hold upon the meanest promise, or find comfort in the atonement of Christ. How awful is it to know much, and to practice little! Oh, may I but perfectly learn the grand truth, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners!

“September 16th. Our church is now filled up every Lord’s-Day. The soldiers take up much room, and more settlers and Maroons attend than usual; but I hear not much of conversion; but I must wait till the sown seed spring up.

“21st. Dined with the governor, in company with all those young folks who have married since he has been governor. They were twelve couple—five did he marry, and I seven. This was not an unpleasant sight. They gave all a toast to the king, as the oldest married man. This encourages young people to marry in a regular way.

“23rd. ———’s conduct has much troubled my mind, and I abhor his behaviour to the uttermost. This has put me in mind of what once a friend wrote to me. ‘I know you have long ago calculated upon disappointments, and even opposition in your undertaking.’ The same mind, I thought, is, no doubt, in such a society as ours, and disappointment is one of the chief articles in their plan. But, however, if those worthy members but continue in their endeavours and zeal, there is no doubt they will be made instrumental in the hand of God, and add, at

least, some souls of the heathen world to the multitude of those redeemed, who are singing praises to God and the Lamb; and then, at last, all disappointments, troubles, cares, and expenses, will be rewarded abundantly. It will be a pleasing sight at the last day, when Jesus shall meet His true followers, and remind them of His own promise—‘Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily, I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.’ ‘I reward you for every thing which you did for my glory, though you have nothing to boast of, and are saved but by grace; yet I am not unjust, neither an ungrateful master. I remember well the guinea which thou gavest to the purpose, that my kingdom might be extended: I reward thee for it: thou didst, as a faithful servant, what thou couldest.’ To another Christ shall say, ‘I reward thee also for thine, though thou *couldest* have given *two*, yet I overlooked in this thine infirmities. Thou hadst some pleasure in that dust; but behold here the streets of gold! Thou shalt soon confess that the gold of the former world has been but dross.’ I hope to be excused, while speaking thus in simplicity.”

As neither letter nor journal had been received from Hartwig up to this date, the secretary was instructed to remind him of the injunction of the committee, that each missionary should keep a journal, and transmit it to them twice at least in each year. Renner’s letter, however, supplied the cause of his silence; both he and Mrs. Hartwig had suffered from severe indisposition, in the interval between May 25th and September 25th. They caught the fever of the country, and were brought at one time to the very brink of eternity. The following extract from a letter of his, bearing the last-mentioned date, exhibits something of his condition, physical and mental:—

“DEAR SIR—You expect, probably, a long letter from me by the first conveyance; but I am sorry to say that I must be short indeed, for I am hardly able to hold the pen with my exhausted hand. I told you, dear sir, in the letter by Mr. Dawes, that I would go among the Soosos in the dry season, but God was pleased to visit me, in his great mercy, with sickness. I was taken ill with a severe fever in the beginning of June, which has weakened me so much that I can hardly walk. Forty-eight hours the fever sometimes continued, which was trying indeed; but I desire to bless God, my salvation, for it; for, when the fever was over, and I had presence of mind enough, I spent many a blessed hour with Him, in conversing upon my sinful heart, circumstances, and poor mortal frame; and thus the Holy Spirit taught me some useful lessons, which, I humbly trust, will not only be profitable to my own soul, but to others too, if I live and put them into practice by divine mercy.”

On the return of Mr. Dawes, late governor of Sierra Leone, to England, the committee had an opportunity of conferring with him on the subject of the mission. It appeared to be his view, and that of the society's corresponding committee at the colony, that Wankapong, on the river Quiaport, was the most eligible station for the first missionary settlement. The headman of the town was Fenda Modu, father of Dalla Modu, a man of great influence, and favourably disposed towards the colony. Many encouragements were expected from him to the objects of the society; and it appeared to all parties desirable that one chief missionary settlement should first be formed, where all the missionaries should for a time live together, until fully acquainted with the native language and customs, and from which they should make excursions, and occasionally reside among the natives in the neighbourhood, as circumstances might open the way; but that, in all cases of difficulty or danger, they should still have the settlement to retire to. It appeared likewise desirable that such a settlement should be contiguous to the colony, so as to afford every access to it, besides admitting of intercourse with the interior, and being in a populous part of the Soosoo nation. All these advantages seemed to meet in Wankapong, which was within a few days' sail north of Sierra Leone, contained 3,000 inhabitants, and had easy intercourse with the interior by means of the Quiaport and various neighbouring creeks.

At Sierra Leone the missionaries continued anxiously looking out for an opportunity of commencing their work among the Soosoos. Renner's health was providentially sustained; although he had occasional threatenings of fever, he was not prevented performing divine service on Sunday. Hartwig and his wife, on the other hand, did not recover from their illness until the close of the year. Early in the year 1805, Hartwig was enabled to set out for the Rio Pongas, a river lying about one hundred miles north of the colony, both for the re-establishment of his health, and to look out for a suitable place for a missionary settlement among the Soosoos inhabiting the banks of that river. We are enabled to give some extracts from his journal on that occasion, which will be read with interest, when it is recollected that in the locality now described the first missionary settlement was ultimately erected by the society:—

“The many slave factories in the Soosoo country, on the coast, form the chief obstacle to a mission. The influence which the traders have over the Soosoos is greater than can be well imagined, and very great is the gain which that nation obtains in mere indolence from the traders. Any one that is acquainted with the character of an African will be able to draw his own conclusion from this. If the morals of the Soosoos are naturally corrupt, an aggravation is added, from which

they would have been free if no such pitiful habitations were erected in their country. Swearing and cursing is an unknown thing to a Soosoo man, so far as I could learn. Whenever I heard the Soosoo man curse or swear, it was in English.

"A Soosoo man is a very simple creature, and on this ground it is that the traders are able to make him believe and do whatever they please. I do not doubt that they would be with more ease persuaded over to the profession of Christianity than any nation with whose character I am acquainted. With one Mongè Coondo, I had several times a long talk about my being in the country. I told him that I was not coming to deal in slaves, but that my errand was quite against it. My friends, I said, in King George's country, sent me to teach the Soosoos God's book.

"I had several tracts of Mr. Brunton's with me, out of which I read to the Soosoos; some they understood, and some not. The old people would frequently say, 'We are too old to learn books.' Asking them if they were willing to suffer their young people to be instructed; they always readily replied, 'Yes; ' but their attention was very soon worn out, and then they would introduce King George, being a big man, having many ships; and rum was, in general, not forgotten, of which they are exceedingly fond. I conversed with Mongè Coondo, at Mary Hill. He invited me to come and see him at his town, which I promised to do, and assured him that his inviting me to come and see him at his town, on his own accord, gave me much pleasure. I went, accordingly, to see him. The old man seemed to be pleased; the first thing he did was—he cut down a plantain tree, and gave me some of the fruit; in return I made him a present of some heads of tobacco, some rum, razors, &c., and I gave him a fathom of cloth, but he was too modest to take it for nothing, but begged me to accept of a country cloth, manufactured in his town. I inquired about the towns that were in his neighbourhood, and I understood that there were about six near together, which might be visited in a couple of days, and about twelve in a week. These towns lay about five and six miles from the head of the river, and equally far from any slave factory, which I look on as a thing of great consequence, for I feel, on this point, more than I am able to express. If I should recommend any place in this part of the Soosoo country, it would be this; and two or three missionaries would have plenty of work. The towns are not numerously inhabited. I was informed Mongè Coondo's was the largest, and this I fancied had about one hundred inhabitants. Say the others have eighty, sixty, &c. Yet this is a field large enough to begin in. If a trial were to be made, then it would show how far the old man had been sincere in expressing his wish to have a person in his town to instruct his people. From the old man's town around the head of Bassia, on foot

is, for a European, two days' journey; from Spring Hill a native Foulah man walks it in one day. If missionaries should be placed in Mongè Coondo's town, and at Bassia, where Mr. Greig was killed,* these could occasionally meet together according to the wish of our honourable society. I had intended to walk this distance in order to visit the town in the way, but was told that I was too weak to walk all day in the hot sun, and in the evening in the dew; I thought it advisable to abandon it, as I had nothing in my hand that would keep me in sickness, nor a house to go to.

"I understood that about five or six miles from the head of the river were no more Soosos. The country begins then to be mountainous, and the first inhabitants that one meets are a set of people, neither heathens nor Mahomedans, but such as the Foulahs daily convert on their journey down to the factories. Any one that is to settle in the Soosoo country, where the Foulahs wander about, ought to be very careful indeed to keep them at a proper distance; for their eagerness to get something will lead them to do things at which human nature shudders.

"The branch of the Rio Pongas, in which Freeport† was, is very marshy, low ground; and along the banks of the river the Mangrove overruns a considerable distance of the land, and hides the view of the country. The Soosos are extremely fond of bushes. They will seldom cut any bush down, and, in consequence, their country looks as if it were one wood. The towns are never to be seen before one is quite near. For a traveller, the Soosoo country is very difficult. The branches of the river are so numerous, that one stands in need of a canoe. Besides, the leopard is numerous in several quarters; and the wandering parties of Foulahs that go to and fro in this country are, if I may say so, venomous. I do not doubt but any one of those wandering people would not make the least hesitation to kill a person for even a little property, if he would get it in no other way.

"The second day of my coming into the country I visited Mongè B. Kallipha—I found him sick. I would not speak to him of things of any consequence; he only wanted to hear about ruin, slaves, &c. The old man had the decline. Unacquainted, perhaps, with the disease, he said there were two witches in the town who had eaten out his inside. I calculated the inhabitants to be rather over than under a hundred. The people crowded around me: one gave me a piece of Cassada, and another, a draught of Yenjenbery, a liquor made by the Soosos out of a root,‡ very artfully indeed.

* See page 173.

† The station occupied in 1798 by Messrs. Brunton and Greig. See page 171

‡ It is from this root that tapoea is obtained. There are two kinds, the sweet

"I conversed with Mongè Sangary several times; he is a thoughtful and steady man, his town is but very small, and some miles inland: I should have visited him; but he, selling one slave, and hunting about for two others that were run away, could pay no attention to things wherein he saw not his immediate interest.

"Several other Mongèè I was in company with, I shall omit to mention; for, they in general, turned every thing upon rum, and what is to be gained. One Mongè, an old man, asked me if I was just come from white man's country, and how many punchcons of rum I had brought with me; for, if I wanted to live in the country, I must have lugar, (a house), and though King George is a big man, yet he can compel no Soosoo man to make lugar for me, except I give him rum.

"From the Rio Pongas I went to Bassia. In this branch of the river are also plenty of slave factories, but scarcely any of consequence, for they are chiefly occupied by servants. On my way round I had the pleasure to see Mongè Barikah. He came on board the schooner, and breakfasted there. I had intended to go into his town, but as he came himself I was afraid of losing the opportunity of speaking to him. I had no particular conversation with him; for as the chiefs in that branch of the river had been at variance with the traders, he seemed out of communication, and his whole mind and conversation ran upon nothing but guns, gunpowder, rum, tobacco, &c. The town of this chief is situated near the banks of the river, and is as large as that of Kallipha. It is an elegant, airy, and open situation.

"Going up to the head of the river I saw several Soosoo towns, but very small, at the head of Bassia. I inquired after Mongè Fantamany, but no such man could be found; but was informed that his town was burned down, and where he was himself nobody could tell. I found out one of the natives that showed me where Mr. Greig was buried. I found cassada growing upon his grave.

"We tarried there for about six days. The first day I was sick, for I got, the night before, quite wet, and my bones were as broken, on account of sleeping some nights on stones. I was glad when this period was at an end.

"I visited a native town—the Mongè was called Banna. He was an old, agreeable man, and spoke good English. He had been with English people for about fifty years, and was well acquainted with their modes and manner of living; but he was altogether ignorant of the Christian religion; and all I said to him on this point seemed to be very strange, and made no impression on his mind. I continued,

and the bitter; the former is perfectly innocent in every form, while the latter is said, by Dr. Clarke, of Dominica, to be, when raw, "the most powerful narcotic vegetable poison that we are acquainted with at present." When boiled, however, with Cayenne pepper and salt, it loses its deleterious properties.

however, to visit him occasionally every day during my stay. When I left the place, he bid me an affectionate farewell. I conversed with several of the natives ; but I shall mention but one, for the rest wanted only rum, "jantabully," broken tobacco, gunpowder, &c. This native or Soosoo man was about thirty-nine years of age : his mind and temper were such, that in them divine grace would shine in its full brightness. He lives in a very thick bush, and as if it were by himself ; has a wife and a couple of children. His house was cleaner than the native houses in general are. I talked to him about things that are good and right, and make us not only happy while we live, but when we are dead and forgotten too. With attentive silence did he listen to what I said ; but as the things were all new to him upon which I dwelt, he made no reply ; but gave me, in English, to understand that what I said was very good. I was sorry I had no other opportunity of returning besides the one I came with, which shortened my stay so greatly.

"In the several places of the Soosoo Country, where I have been, there is no spot in my opinion so fertile as the ground at Bassia river. It abounds in every thing the country will produce—wild beasts, honey, vegetables, as cassada, yam, &c.

"To say how far the country of the Soosoos is healthy, I am not able to determine, though I had my health very well when I was there ; I recovered from a long sickness. I had no fever there, except when I had exposed myself either too much to the sun or the dews, as I travelled several times all day and all night. True it is the river smells dreadfully at ebb time ; perhaps owing to the dead fish and creatures the tide brings up, and the unebbed mud."

Hartwig's first visit having been to the Soosoos, on the Rio Pongas, from whence he returned in May, 1805, and there being yet several tribes of the same people, whose character and habits were to be inquired into, he set out again, in April, 1806, to collect information for the committee. The following is the result of his observation and inquiries among a tribe called the Sumbea Soosoos :—

"The territory of Sumbea is, according to the best authorities, two hundred British miles in circuit. Its western, northern, and eastern boundaries are inhabited by numerous tribes of Soosoos. The country is hilly, and interspersed with several swamps, in which the natives raise considerable quantities of rice. Its western and eastern limits are fixed by a long chain of mountains.

"Sumbea is blessed with a fertile soil, and its natural productions are by no means less than those on any part of the inhabitable coast of Guinea.

"This part of the Soosoo Country being most conveniently situated on the shores of the sea they boil every day a quantity of salt, which

they exchange with the negro and Moorish merchants that resort thither with ivory, gold, bees'-wax, stock. These articles they exchange again for European merchandize, and with this they purchase slaves in the interior.

"Hence it is they are possessed of more domestics than in general other nations, except the Mandingoes. The slaves employed as domestics rise gradually from 100, 200, 300. If a person receive of his father or mother, by inheritance, perhaps ten slaves, the number will in a few years be increased, by exertion and birth, to fifty, and so on, which are the chief means whereby the Mandingoes and Soosoos multiply their household. Kidnapping and wars are not frequent among the Mandingoes and Sumbeas, and, of course, little or no gain is obtained in that way; but the exacting of goods from Europeans, whenever they can, is much practised, and most property is obtained in that manner. Fenda Modu is generally acknowledged to possess 1000 domestics, which has rendered him formidable and much respected.

"Sumbea contains, as I have been told, about fifty principal towns—that is to say, such as are inhabited by men of free condition, each containing from 500 to 1000 inhabitants; as, for instance, Mania, Guia, Mangatta, Kansita, Kardenia, Yelleongia. How many inhabitants there may be in Wonkapong, I do not know; but it is a considerable number. Those towns which are situated nearer to the sea shore are generally but small, and this is the case with those erected near to the foot of the mountains.

"The Mandingoes sometimes call that part of the Soosoo Country, in which Wonkapong lies, the Land of the Soosoos, and sometimes Sumbea. I understand that it received the name of Sumbea from a Soosoo verb, sumbo, to mix, it being early inhabited by a mixed people.

"The people are well made, vigorous, hospitable, cheerful and uncealed in their conversation. They follow hunting and fishing, and are many an hour usefully employed in procuring their subsistence, when the Mahommedans, their neighbours, are idle, and inventing mischief. A plurality of wives is prevalent amongst them: they are, I believe, addicted to the vices prevalent among other nations. They abhor murder, however, and missionaries have nothing to apprehend from this quarter, except from the roving parties, or, to speak plainly, banditti.

"The disposition of a Soosoo is widely different from that of a Mandingo and Foulah. Indeed, I found what Mr. Park says of the Moors to be true, and his account of the negroes is so exactly descriptive of the Sumbea Soosoos in their temper and moral and national character, that whenever I read his narration, I believed them to be realised to my mind.

"A Soosoo man will listen to what is said to him, and acknowledge that he stands in need of a religion, which teaches him the mind of the

Deity, or the Eternal, and what will become of his spirit after dissolution. He feels his deficiency of mind in things pertaining to God.

"Ingenuity is not so prevalent among the Soosos as the Mahomedans, which, I believe, is owing much to their inclination to rum, and their pursuit of agriculture. Indeed, a Soosoo man applies himself more to the obtaining of the necessities of life by bodily exertion than a Mahomedan, who is contented with hunger if he can but show that he is a gentleman; whereas the Soosoo will fish, hunt, and ascend trees, to supply his returning wants. The Soosos discover no inferiority of natural abilities. They are affectionate towards strangers, and are warm in debating and when aggravated, but cold and indifferent in general concerns and conversation.

"Among the Sumbea nation various kinds of religious tenets are prevailing, but none that intimate a discovery of the attributes of the Supreme Being.

"The Sumbeas consider the Supreme Ruler of the Skies as good, and not as having decreed to do harm to the work of his hand; but they are altogether ignorant of his loving equity and judgment, and of his being a rewarder of good and evil. They believe that there exists an evil spirit, inhabiting desolate regions and thickets, meditating to do mischief to mankind. This being they call Berri, the opposite of Njaengi, understood by the Soosos to be that which departs from men when dying. This Berri, they believe, must be occasionally reconciled; hence they dedicate the blood of a fowl, &c., to it, and will build here and there a little hut for it, in which they lay some rice, &c.

"Among the Mandingoes there are many schools, in which they instruct the youth. Boys only are admitted to receive information, and if a female is allowed that privilege, it is only so far that she may be enabled to get hold of a prayer, which she, peradventure, will have occasion to repeat at a future period. Boys generally complete their education at fourteen years, and when they are able to repeat some prayers and passages out of the Koran, the appellation, Mari, is bestowed upon them. Their school hours are evening and morning, and at the voice of the cock they are lighting up their fire in the open air in the dries, and leave off about eight o'clock. Among the Soosos are no schools, and thus it comes that they frequently give their children to a Mahomedan in order to be instructed. The Soosos seemed to me to be as willing to give their children to an European as to a Mahomedan, and no particular preference to Arabic literature could I discover.

"They, like all other nations and tribes in Africa, pretend to supernatural powers. I am happy to say that no person is sold from among them, on pretence of being a witch, as is in use among the Timmanees and Bulloms, &c. according to report; but they sell a person when he has

been kidnapping or selling a free man, and so on ; which, however, is not in frequent practice among the Sumbeas.

“The best missionary settlements might be made in Dumbea Guia, and in or near Wonkapong ; in fact, the whole of this extent seems to me in many places favourable for a missionary station. Mangatta, I recommend, also, for a fit town, in which a suitable settlement might be made. It has had war with the Mandingoes, but it kept to its proper boundaries. But what are wars to a missionary ? They will not hurt him ; he will suffer but a day or two in leaving the town. Those people must not be considered as barbarians, but as more enlightened than any on the whole coast of Guinea. Mangatta is one of the finest, longest, and cleanest towns in Sumbea ; and, if I am not mistaken, inhabited by the most opulent Soosoos in that quarter.

“I cannot but confess that Sumbea seems to be a fit place for missionary exertion, though on one side surrounded with uncharitable Mahomedans. In humble submission to the Lord of Man’s Salvation, I commit to him, in my prayers, a work which he has begun, and which he will finish to the honour and glory of his holy name.”

The above particulars were sent to the committee, in reply to a number of queries proposed by them. As there is some further information regarding these people conveyed in Hartwig’s journal, we shall subjoin a few extracts from that document :—

“April 19.—With the rising of the sun I proceeded for Furicaria, a large Mandingo town. Within the space of half an hour’s walk we met with a small river, where we had to wait for a canoe for about a quarter of an hour. Here we met some inland Soosoos journeying towards Kisse-Kisse, with small ivory, bees’-wax, &c., which they in general exchange for cloth, tobacco, salt, &c. Having crossed the river we arrived at a slave town belonging to Bareira, situated in an extremely fertile plain, well adapted for cultivation. The number of slaves it contained I calculated to be two hundred. A multitude of them flocked round me, begging for a leaf of tobacco. I gave each of the old people a leaf, and they in return presented me with some oranges. Having refreshed ourselves with a little water and oranges, we resumed our journey.

“A slave town is, in general, a considerable distance from any people of free condition, and placed in regions of countless fields, good for cultivation. The inhabitants are either slaves brought out of the interior for sale, and purchased by the Africans for the tillage of the ground, or they are hereditary. Among them resides frequently a free man of no consequence, who, for the sake of his maintenance, has the care of them, and makes report to the master or owner. If no free man is resident among them, the most respectable is chosen to be head-

man, upon whom the owner places all responsibility. The master visits them occasionally. Two days out of six the slaves work for themselves, and four days for their respective owners. When a slave has eloped, the whole town is in pursuit of him; and when caught, he is carried to his former abode, stretched on the ground, and has his throat cut, for an example to the rest, or he is sold. Some of the slaves have very sullen countenances, but some bear the loss of liberty with fortitude, and especially those that have either been born in slavery or enslaved in their childhood.

"21st. In the afternoon I visited Alemame, King of the Mandingoes. He is a stout and vigorous man, in height five feet five, of a pleasing countenance, and, apparently, of a fairer disposition towards Europeans than the generality of Africans and Mahomedans. His dress consisted of a pair of neat-worked sandals—of a pair of short trousers, made of baft stuff—of a loose gown, of white muslin—of a red cap, around which was tied a whole piece of muslin, constituting the Turkish turban. He mentioned a piece of muslin, but, as I did not possess such an article, I appeared a little dull of comprehension.

"23rd. After breakfast, King Alemame sent for me, by one of his royal attendants. When I made my appearance, his majesty was seated on a European chair, under a fine shady tree, his nobility around him, on either goats' skins or bullocks' hides, and his pages standing to receive their lord's commands. He asked me what I was come for into the country—if I was come to buy bulls and goats, which he knew Sierra Leone people came for. Being made sensible of my errand, he cast several silent looks at me, and turned, at last, the conversation into questions, which I answered as I thought it expedient.

"In the evening, Alemame sent again for me. He shewed me the Koran Mr. Dawes had presented him with, esteeming it a superior present; and having read a few passages in it, he endeavoured to explain them to me. After this, he asked me to explain to him the nature of the Christian religion, to which I readily consented. Treating of the theocratical government, he had a tolerably clear idea of it; and, in several points of doctrine, we agreed. But when I went over to the dispensation of the New Testament, and explained to him the salvation by our Lord Jesus, his merits, and the reason of his sufferings and coming into the world, his comprehension seemed to be here at an end. For a short interval he was silent, and then asked if Mahomet was not a prophet—if my book did not tell that palaver? I told him my book knew nothing of Mahomet; but all good people in the white men's country said he was no prophet. 'But,' said he, 'is Jesus a prophet?' I told him, 'More than a prophet; he is God also.' 'Do white men believe that there are two gods?' he replied. I told him, 'No,' and thus spoke fully and plainly about the matter; but he told

me this thing was too hard for his head. I was for a few hours at his house, and all the time he appeared in good humour, and asked various questions, which it would be too tedious to relate.

“27th, Sunday.—An intelligent Mahommedan visited me during the day, who endeavoured to explain to me the doctrines of their religion concerning a future state; but all he said was truly of such a nature as would move any Christian mind with compassion, for it was not only a corruption of the absurdities of Mahommedanism, but a system of African ignorance and superstition also.

“From this I took occasion to tell him of the faith of Christians concerning a future life. He seemed to be much affected with its solidity; and having, after a long and full deliberation of the matter, to say no more in defence of his religion, he only added, that every one had a right to believe his own prophet.

“A native African brought a tooth of prime ivory for sale, and hearing that I was making no trade, he sat down and looked at me, wondering what could be the matter, as it is always esteemed by them a great favour when they bring any trade like that. After a little while he asked what I was come for to the country. This I told him; but he could not conceive how it was possible for a white person, coming to the country not to try for a little money, as he expressed himself.

“8th. It being a cloudy day, we pursued our journey as soon as possible, hoping that the day, would continue to be so. But the sun made his appearance about two, between heavy clouds of rain, and continued so till late in the afternoon. Having arrived at a Soosoo slave town, inhabited by about seventy captives, I begged for a house to sit down in, being greatly fatigued. But none was granted, because, as I perceived, they imagined me to be a slave trader. They were, however, within the space of half an hour reconciled to me, by the intercession of my guide, and granted to me a hut to shelter myself from the severity of the sun. A heavy rain within half an hour ensued, and put a stop to this day's labour. Here I purchased some palm wine, a fowl, and some rice. Here my heart did bless God for his mercy, who had permitted my eyes to see the Soosoos in their habitations. One of the slaves detected me praying, which excited their curiosity, as what they had never seen of a white person to pray. They all pretended to me to know English; and, to give me a proof of it, of their own accord they uttered some oaths, and there ended all the English, which they had picked up at the factories, where the slaves hear the most tremendous oaths uttered with the greatest animation. I reproved them for swearing, and endeavoured to make them sensible of its great evil in the sight of God. But I found in the end that they were totally ignorant, whether they had been swearing, or blessing, or calling the name of the Lord, or a stone.

"9th. Early in the morning we departed, and arrived at Mallisia at eight o'clock. Here we halted as I was wet all over, from the excessive dews that fall in Africa, and which the traveller takes up in going along, for the paths are no broader than one or two feet, and are overhung with bushes and grass from each side. I dried here my clothes at a small fire, and purchased a fowl and some rice for breakfast.

"About twelve o'clock we arrived at Mangatta, a free Soosoo town, inhabited by about four hundred free Soosoos. The town is situated at the foot of a mountain, one British mile from the north-east side. The soil is not very good, and has no comparison with that I saw during my journey. Here I halted till a little after two o'clock when I resumed my journey for Wonkapong. The sun was this afternoon very hot, and as I had not been this day very well, and walked some thirty miles, I was obliged, within half a mile of Wonkapong, to lie down under a small bush for about half an hour, after which I walked slowly and with great difficulty towards Wonkapong, where I arrived late in the afternoon.

"10th. During the forenoon I inquired after the nature of the town and its inhabitants. In the afternoon waited on Fenda Modu. He asked me from whence I came and whereunto I was going, upon which I gave full answers. He asked where Mr. Dawes was, of whom he spoke greatly in praise, as I frequently heard the natives do. When I had made him well sensible of my errand, he promised every assistance in his power.

"13th. During the forenoon I was at Fenda Modu's house. He told me that that country, as far as it was called Sumbea, was very safe, and nobody had need to fear any thing if he took but a little care of himself; but that the neighbouring nations, though Soosoos, were exceeding savage. In the afternoon I was chiefly employed in reading and writing Arabic. Towards the evening I took a survey of the town without, and within two hundred yards met a hill I greatly admired, which, in my opinion, would be a beautiful spot for a missionary settlement, if safety would allow it. Leopards are in this quarter in abundance, so that they come at night into the town, and have actually devoured people: carrying away sheep, goats, &c., is no news here.

"16th. Prepared myself for an inland excursion—set off at half past two in the afternoon, and arrived about four o'clock at a town called Dumbrick, inhabited by about six hundred free Soosoos. The town is situated in a very fertile soil, at the foot of those mountains I have mentioned, but I cannot say east or north, as I had, in a mistake, left my compass behind. I waited here immediately on the headman, which is the custom in Africa generally looked upon, both by the people and the chief, as a piece of deference. It is also the custom to ask the headman for the path, though one may know it per-

fectly well, and for liberty to pass. I acquainted him briefly with my purpose in coming into the country, to which he replied, that he should be very glad if he could get his own children instructed in what was necessary. We must pardon them, if they at first value our offers only as tending, in their opinion, to render them better acquainted with the means of rivalling the white people in trade. This I always felt to be their mind."

As all information respecting the Soosoo people will be found useful, as we proceed, we subjoin an account of a tribe called the Waukapong Soosoos, collected by the missionaries, and transmitted home. It was among these Soosoos that the committee had decided on forming their first missionary settlement, until diverted from their purpose by circumstances that will be explained:—

"These Soosoos form a small nation of themselves, having no connection with the Benna Soosoos, with those scattered in the Bagoë Country, nor with those who inhabit the banks of the Rio Pongas, either in laws or government. The extent of this country, over which Murry Smile has the ruling power, is very small. The length from south to north is no more than about fifteen miles; and the breadth, from the mountains to the sea-side, five, eight, and ten miles. Its soil is not so good as that of the neighbouring countries. The fields are covered with grass, usually twelve feet high. They have but little rice—what they plant is on the lower parts of the mountains, or even upon the mountains, as upon the Sangerees there are rice plantations and slave towns. Other mountains seem to be very barren, and their soil is a kind of white clay, and only small bushes grow upon them; but, as they descend, the more fertile they are, and along them the people plant casada, rice, &c.

"The population of this country is, of course, but small. There are but three or four towns, and, perhaps, a dozen villages, which together may contain three or four thousand people. Now, that this people should not increase, but rather diminish, so long as the slave trade continues, may be supposed by every one; for if any of them gets in debt, either to a factory or to one of his countrymen, he is caught, and sold without much process; beside those who are sold for crimes, witchcraft, &c.

"To kidnap individuals is also not an uncommon thing among them, especially now slaves are scarce. It is wonderful to a spectator, to see how eager the traders are after slaves: it is wonderful how impatient they are until they get a couple of their fellow creatures into their chain. In their breast lies a desire which nothing can satiate but slaves: this desire is so strange, so singular, that it perhaps cannot well be explained. The profit by a slave, as far as I could learn, is but trifling—scarcely ten bars. By a ton of rice there is more profit than by three

slaves. That, indeed, many of the slave traders live in great poverty, is a fact. Many cannot procure a fowl for dinner, but live on dry rice, without any nourishment, drink, or liquor of any kind. Slavery is a misery in itself; but the slave, when he is once in his occupation, may be happier than he that sold him, or than he that bought him. It is frequently to be wished that this trade should soon be abolished. The noble act would redeem factors and slaves together. That it is shortly to be abolished no one here will credit, so deeply is it rooted in the breasts of those who are engaged in it.

“These Soosoo are much addicted to drunkenness. Nothing keeps the Soosoo man sober but the want of liquor; and, if he can get it, he observes no seasons in his intoxication. We have seen men and women quite insensible in the morning. If they cannot procure rum, they have recourse to fermented palm wine, which is as intoxicating as any liquor. It seems strange to one that comes from such a country as the Mandingo, where a drunken man is never to be seen, except it be an European, and now comes among people whose mind and reason is so far gone, that they stand before one like fools.

“Drunkenness occasions, of course, many vices; as indolence, poverty, &c.

“To all appearance, civilization, and even nominal Christianity, are not sufficient to subdue this evil. Therefore, in this respect, there would be little harm if the yoke of Mahometanism should be put upon their necks. And this may be the case, perhaps, in less than thirty years, especially if all those Soosoo people who received education in the Mandingo Country were as strict in their conduct as they are in their profession; but now they give offence to their countrymen, who reproach them—‘If you pray, do not drink liquors; and if you drink, do not pray.’ But in every Soosoo town there are strict Mandingoes, who observe a conduct consistent with their profession. These do whatever is in their power to make proselytes. They have not indeed much success with the adults, though they persuade them, and show them every kindness—for instance, when they celebrate one of their feasts, they distribute half a ton of rice among the people, only to get them to the praying-ground.

“The children are their chief object, and with them they mostly succeed.

“Certain it is, that Mahometanism makes much progress among these Soosoo, and will probably overrun this small territory in a short time; and, should it not prosper by the stratagem hitherto used, war will soon determine the fate of the whole business, as there is a great religious enmity in the hearts of the Mandingoes towards the Soosoo. The Soosoo respect the Mandingoes; so that they think them superior beings, on account of their being, as they term them, book-men, and, humanly speaking, would ten times rather yield to them, being of

their own colour, than have any confidence in an European teacher or missionary. A settlement, either in Wonkapong or the neighbourhood, does not seem, under present circumstances, either to promise a long duration, or to be undisturbed by the Mandingoes. This, however, might not justify the laying of it aside altogether, as scarcely any settlement of this kind has remained unmolested; but as the conversion of the pagans is not, nor ever has been, remarkably rapid, and we know not the mysterious ways of God, nor are so under the immediate influence of His Spirit, as to comprehend at once his bidding or forbidding directions; therefore, we must endeavour to settle in that place and country where there lie the least obstacles in the way. Now, it is likely that, among the Soosos in the Rio Pongas, such obstacles will not be met with as heretofore, although there may be some of another nature; in the Sherbro there may, perhaps, be fewer than even in the Rio Pongas. In my opinion, therefore, the settlement in Wonkapong or its neighbourhood ought to be suspended, until we have more knowledge of the Soosos on the banks of the Rio Pongas, and also of the Sherbro country."

The health of Mr. and Mrs. Hartwig was again severely affected by the rains of 1805, which were unusually severe. Towards the close of the year, Renner, too, who had been hitherto upheld, began to suffer from the climate; and in the beginning of the year following, Mrs. Hartwig was advised to return for a time to England, for the restoration of her health. These were some of the discouragements which the society and the missionaries had reason to expect; but the Lord of the Harvest was their consolation under them. Hartwig was enabled to assist Renner in the church services of the colony, by preaching on Sunday in the afternoon.

While Renner was delayed at the colony, he baptized forty-six children, none of them above thirteen years of age; thirty belonged to the Nova-Scotians, and sixteen to the Maroons.*

During the year 1805, three more German students, from the institution at Berlin, arrived in England, and, on the 19th of August, they were presented to the committee, for the office of missionaries, under the Society. Their names were—

Gustavus Reinhold Nylander, a native of Revel, in Livonia, aged 29.

Leopold Butscher, a native of Ueberlingen, on the Bodensee, in Swabia, aged 29.

* Descendants of revolted Jamaica slaves, who, to the number of fifteen hundred, fled to the mountains, on the conquest of that island by the English, in 1655. They continued to harass Jamaica until the end of the last century, when they were reduced by the aid of blood-hounds, and the survivors sent to Nova Scotia, from whence, in 1800, they were transferred to the new African colony of Sierra Leone. They are said to have sprung, in Jamaica, from an intermixture of several white and black races. The origin of their name is unknown.

John Godofred Prasse, a native of Seifhennendorf, in Upper Lusatia, aged 28.

These missionary students had received ordination previous to their departure from Germany, of which they exhibited certificates, and were accordingly received as missionaries under the society. After spending some months in study, under the eye of the committee, they received their instructions at an open committee, held on the 13th of January, 1806, and were addressed by the Rev. John Venn, previous to their departure for Africa. To this address they delivered an answer, from which we shall venture to make an extract or two, as a favourable mode of introducing these devoted men to the sympathy of our readers:—

“Encouraged by the love of Jesus, who laid down his life for us, hell-deserving sinners, and enabled by his Holy Spirit, we desire to devote our souls and bodies in the service of Jesus Christ, as his followers and labourers in the vineyard, whereof he himself is the Husbandman. We stood idle in the market-place, looking up to our Divine Master, that he would open unto us a door; and, blessed be his holy name, by the benevolence of British Christians, he has done it.

“We, therefore, consider ourselves very happy this day, in having such a favourable opportunity to appear in the presence of this honourable society, under whose patronage we were almost three years in the seminary at Berlin, and from whose kind hands we have enjoyed many benefits—a society whom God has united, and whose aim and earnest desire it is to send the glorious Gospel to distant nations, who sit in darkness and the shadow of death.

“Though we, by the grace of God, acknowledge our own insufficiency for the great work before us, yet we venture upon it in the power of our Almighty King, Jesus Christ; and being persuaded that he has called us, we are ready to go wherever he will send us, to proclaim that Christ came into the world to save sinners; and we trust that, by your earnest and fervent prayers, and zeal for the honour of Christ, our feeble endeavours will not be in vain.”

After touching on some other points in the same pious strain, they conclude thus:—

“As it is probable that we shall not see one another any more in this world, we earnestly commend ourselves to the fervent prayers of the society, that the Almighty God, by his power, may convey us safely over the mighty waters, and open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ to the poor heathen.”

On the 12th of February, they embarked on board the *Margery* and *Mary*, at Liverpool, which immediately set sail; but, after encountering much severe weather, the vessel was stranded on a sand-bank off the Irish coast, at a place called St. Margaret's Bay, about nine miles from

Wexford, at four o'clock on the morning of the 23rd. The particulars of this alarming occurrence are represented in a very lively manner by Nylander, in his journal, from which we extract them :—

“ About four o'clock in the morning, as we were all in profound sleep, we were suddenly roused with a cry, upon deck, of ‘ We are lost !—we are lost ! The ship is aground ! ’ It was very dark. We went with as much haste as possible upon deck. When we came there, we heard some of the sailors crying, ‘ Lord help us—save us’—whilst others had the audacity to call upon God to damn their souls, which was truly shocking to hear, as each had to expect every moment would be his last. On account of the darkness of the night, the captain could not tell where we were ; and we all anxiously waited for the break of day. At first it was expected that the ship would clear herself, but at every blast of wind she stuck faster in the sand. ‘ The only means of saving ourselves,’ said the captain, ‘ will be, to put out the boats, and endeavour to escape with our lives.’ Measures were accordingly taken for the purpose. The ropes were cut with hatchets, but the people were so much terrified or dispirited, that they had no heart to exert themselves. In the meantime the ship was driven nearer and nearer to the land. All the sails were taken in, and we now thought that the ship would go to pieces at every moment. The rudder broke in ; and gave such a shock, that we thought the bottom of the vessel was damaged. Brother Prasse was so alarmed that he stood upon the deck, without shoes or hat. Brother Butscher also could not find his hat. The morning was rather cold, but we were not very sensible of it. In this dangerous situation I could do nothing more than continually cry ‘ Lord Jesus have mercy upon us—deal not with us according to our sins, and punish not our transgressions ! ’—till the Lord brought into my mind the following consolatory words, which refreshed my soul—‘ Fear not, for I am thy God. I strengthen thee, I uphold thee, with the right hand of my righteousness.’ Now I felt completely comforted, and had no more fear of death, but, on the contrary, rejoiced that I should see Jesus, who had hitherto led me in so wonderful, and yet so gracious a manner. Our fellow-passengers, who before had been so merry, now went about in the dark, full of terror and apprehension—shook hands, and took leave of one another for this life. A young man came also to me, took me by the hand, and asked me how I felt myself. ‘ Very comfortable,’ I replied, ‘ for I have no fear of death, and know that if I should die this moment, I should immediately see Jesus, on whom I have hitherto believed.’ ‘ Alas ! ’ said he, ‘ I have not lived as I ought to have done ; I am in great fear of death.’ He began to weep bitterly, and left me. In the meantime it grew lighter, and we saw, not far from us, a great rock. This afforded a fresh proof

of the mercies of God. Had our vessel struck upon it, scarce one of us could have been saved. Praise and thanks to thee, Lord Jesus, that thou hast so graciously preserved us! We found ourselves very near to the coast of Ireland, at St. Margaret's Bay. A boat was let down, and one of the steersmen, together with some of the sailors and a passenger, went to shore to fetch pilots. Not far from the shore they came to an estate, where a very hospitable and benevolent gentleman, Captain Joshua Nunn, has his residence. He kindly sent us word that his house was at the service of all the passengers, and their goods, and that we should be heartily welcome to take a lodging with him. In the meantime, our vessel rocked continually to and fro, till, at length, she lay down on one side, and so stuck fast. It was fortunate that we were near to the shore, where the water was so shallow, as not to enter the ship. The second boat had now been let down, and the captain went with it on shore. The ship looked as desolate as a house that has been on fire. While the captain was on shore, the sailors began to regale themselves with the spirituous liquors. When he returned, all the small articles that were on deck were thrown over board. We now went on shore also, taking with us as many things as we could get into the boat; and Captain Nunn gave us a very favourable reception. I was the whole day occupied in conveying away things that had been brought from the ship. Whenever I was at the sea-shore, in the course of the day, I could not help shedding tears of gratitude to the Lord, for His wonderful preservation, as I contemplated the rocks to which we had been so near. At six o'clock we dined with Captain Nunn. After dinner some friends came to us and took us home with them. They entertained us, according to their circumstances, in a very hospitable manner; and, joining with us in prayer, thanked the Lord for having so graciously delivered us."

It being found necessary that the Margery and Mary should return to Liverpool to refit, and the period of her detention there being uncertain, the committee directed the missionaries to proceed to Bristol, and embark on board another vessel, the *Rover*, which was about to sail direct for Sierra Leone. Their second embarkation took place on the 22nd of April. On the 25th the vessel arrived at Falmouth, where she was to be taken under convoy. The convoy arrived on the 5th of May, but the crew of the *Rover* was found insufficient for the voyage, and the opportunity of joining the convoy was lost. On the 13th another convoy made a signal for sailing, and the *Rover* immediately weighed anchor, without the captain's having apprised the missionaries, who were on shore. They followed, however, in an open boat, but could not overtake the vessel, and after being tossed about for several hours, in a violent gale, at the peril of their lives, they were obliged to return to Falmouth, greatly distressed and disappointed.

Most providentially, however, the wind suddenly changed, and the missionaries had scarcely returned into the harbour, when, to their great joy, they saw the whole fleet come back, and come to anchor. This gracious interposition of their Divine Master enabled them to return on board on the 15th, and the same evening they set sail, and after considerable danger of being captured by a French privateer, having lost their convoy in the night, they arrived safely at Madeira, on the 2nd of June.

On landing here, they found to their great sorrow that a former friend and companion, who had spent twelve months with them at the Berlin seminary, had breathed his last but a few days before, in the very chamber which they were to occupy. He had been received into the service of the London Missionary Society, and had been sent by that society to Madeira for the restoration of his health. "In the seminary," wrote one of the missionaries, "we heard his blessed exhortations, and rejoiced in his holy conversation. Our feelings, on receiving the intelligence of his death, especially as we had no knowledge of his being in the island till our arrival, may be easily imagined; and now we lodge precisely in the same house, and in the same chamber which he inhabited. Had we arrived only a few days earlier, we had then found him yet living! How much would it have rejoiced both him and us; but he died wholly resigned and full of hope, often repeating, 'I know certainly that the Lord hath mercy upon me.'"

The captain of the *Rover* dying while they were at Madeira, of an apoplectic fit, brought on by intemperance, the British consul and merchants thought it right to detain the vessel until instructions could be received from her owners in England; and thus the missionaries were delayed in the island for nearly four months, and did not finally set sail until the 17th of September. During the interval they employed themselves in studying the Scriptures, and improving themselves in the Soosoo language. On the 22nd of September they landed at Sierra Leone.

On their arrival in the colony, they found that Mrs. Hartwig had returned to England some months before, for the recovery of her health, and that Hartwig was absent at Bareira, in the Mandingo Country, collecting information regarding the different nations of Soosoos to be found in that direction. Renner, however, was still at his post, performing the clerical duties which had devolved upon him.

Shortly after they had taken up their residence at the colony, Butscher embraced an opportunity which presented itself for a visit to Fouriecaria, the residence of the King of the Mandingoes. It appeared that Dalla Modu, son of Fenda Modu, headman of Wonkapong, which we have mentioned as being thought of by the society as a desirable missionary station, had resided for several years in the territory of the

Sierra Leone Company, and having acquired some influence there, he thought proper to set up a claim to the territory, pretending to have received it from King Don, the former sovereign of the country. His right, however, was clearly disproved; but as he continued to be troublesome, he was ordered to quit the territory; and the Governor of Sierra Leone thought it expedient to communicate the affair to the principal chiefs of the country, particularly to the Mandingo king. Accordingly, a member of the council was despatched for that purpose to Fouricaria; and as it was known that Dalla Modu was never friendly to the objects of the mission, and might influence his father, the headman of Wonkapong, against it, Butscher accompanied the deputation to watch over the interests of the society. From Fouricaria they walked to Baireira, where they found Hartwig, who then returned to Sierra Leone.

On the 10th of January, 1807, the brethren, Renner, Butscher, and Prasse, left the colony on an excursion into the Mandingo country, to continue the inquiries which had already been made, intending to proceed from thence among the Benna Soosoos. They were anxious to see the place where Fantimani, father of one of the Soosoo boys educated at Clapham, resided; having reason to expect that, if it should prove eligible for a missionary settlement, they should find every encouragement and protection from a chief whose son was so much indebted to British intelligence and hospitality. On proceeding thither, their reception by the chief was all that they could expect or desire, and they received from him the most urgent invitation to come and settle in his town; but as it had lately been destroyed by fire, and consisted at that time of but a few houses, and he himself was no longer considered as a headman, but was under the authority of another, they doubted whether a settlement there would essentially serve the purposes of the society.

Fantimani's residence was on the river Bassia, in the Soosoo country, one tide's-pull and a half from its mouth. There were four slave factories below him, and two above. The country is hilly, and contains excellent water. One of the few houses which the town contained was destined, Fantimani said, for missionaries, and from his conversation they felt assured every facility would be afforded them for the preaching of the Gospel. On the whole, they considered this locality preferable to Wonkapong; but the number of slave-traders carrying on their nefarious operations in the neighbourhood, and the diminished influence of Fantimani, presented serious obstacles to a settlement near the Rio Pangas, especially as they were assured that as long as the slave-trade continued they might not expect any success in their Christian work. On this painful subject, an intelligent Mahomedan, at Wonkapong, said to Butscher: "Our kings and headmen have little regard

even to a civilized manner of life, much less to a religious behaviour, so long as the slave-trade continues, and they can sell slaves for rum and other commodities; and for this reason they will scarcely suffer you to stay here and instruct the people, although your intentions and the intentions of your society are very good towards your fellow-creatures."

The missionaries continued almost five months in the Mandingo Country and its neighbourhood, of which one month was spent among the Soosoos. They were well received by the natives, and treated with great respect, as having been sent by the Governor of Sierra Leone, and being, as the natives called them, "white book-men." At Barreira they were visited by several learned Mahomedans, with whom they discussed the relative merits of the Bible and the Koran. They seemed, however, destitute of argument, merely saying, in reply to the reasonings of the missionaries, "Our book says so, and, therefore, we believe it." In relating this the missionaries expressed a pious wish, that those who were born in a Christian land, and instructed in the letter of the Word of God, would say in truth, "Our book, the Bible, says so, and, therefore, we believe it."

During the absence of the other four missionaries, Nylander discharged the office of chaplain of the colony. His labours proved acceptable to the inhabitants, and, it was hoped, not without abiding advantage to many. He opened a school for native children in Freetown, for which purpose a house was provided by the governor, it being found that there was no instruction afforded to the Maroon children; their parents not choosing to send them to the schools of the settlers, there being enmity between the Maroons and the Nova-Scotians.* The committee, anxious for the spiritual welfare of the colony, requested the Governor to appoint such one of the missionaries as he should think proper, for occasional residence there, that he might engage in its religious services until the appointment of a regular chaplain, for which they expressed an earnest wish, and made some exertions.

It is painful to contemplate the source from whence the society received its first serious disappointment to its arduous and anxious labours—a disappointment unexpected as it was afflicting. The conduct of one of the missionaries—the instrument of the great work which they had in hand, and whom they had selected with anxious and prayerful care, had for some time given uneasiness to the friends of the

* The Nova-Scotians were originally free American blacks, who remained loyal to Britain throughout the American war. After that event, they were assigned lands in Nova Scotia, but these having turned out unprofitable, they accepted an offer from Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, &c., of a free passage to the country of their fathers, and an assignment of land.

society in the colony. The reader will be concerned to learn, that the irregularities of Peter Hartwig had become so glaring and scandalous to the cause, that after the failure of all Christian exhortation and remonstrance, the committee felt themselves compelled to direct his removal from the society. It is a cause of trembling to remember the language in which this erring man could express himself in his correspondence with the committee, in connection with the evil habits which he had been for some time indulging at the scene of his ministerial duties. And who will brand him as a hypocrite, while employing a tone of piety and devotion? Who will undertake to say that he was intentionally practising a deception? Let us remember that the human heart is not only desperately wicked, but deceitful above all things; and while we charitably presume that poor Hartwig was himself deceived, and that satanic influence had bewildered his moral vision, into an unconsciousness of the awful inconsistency between his convictions and his conduct, let us note this danger which lies in the path of every professing Christian, and often and anxiously investigate the strict identity which must exist between what we think ourselves, and what the world sees us to be.

Hartwig's unhappy wife had been for some time looking for an opportunity to return to Africa, after a short sojourn in her native land; but upon hearing of her husband's misconduct, she determined to remain in England; and having been provided with a situation there, was able to maintain herself, independently of the society.

For the better regulation of the mission, at the scene of its operations, it was thought advisable to commit to one of the missionaries a primary station and authority. Of the two who first went out, it will be remembered Renner was appointed senior. When others followed, the committee did not consider it necessary to continue him in that capacity. Subsequent experience, however, suggested the expediency of there being an acknowledged head, to whom might be entrusted the power of convening meetings for deliberation, of deciding in cases of doubt and difficulty, and corresponding with the committee on the subject of such meetings. At the request of the missionaries themselves, Renner was reinstated in the office of superior, for which he was considered highly qualified, by his experience, prudence, and integrity.

It was not without reason expected, that the abolition of the slave trade by England, which was happily effected at this time, would occasion much excitement in Western Africa, where the nefarious system had taken such deep and extensive root, and the subsistence of so many depended on its continuance. The committee calculating on this, felt reluctant to commence operations in those parts of the coasts where the greatest number of slave-dealers were located, although otherwise offering the greatest advantages. Hence they hesitated to accept the invi-

tation which the missionaries had received to settle on the Rio Pongas, a locality infested by the traffickers in blood. Expecting, however, that in a short time, when the salutary effects of the abolition came to be experienced, in the introduction of security and industry in the place of oppression and rapine, the introduction of the Gospel would be hailed with gratitude and joy, as an auxiliary to the exertions made to promote civilization and peace.

Meanwhile, the committee directed their missionaries to employ themselves, with their utmost assiduity, in the acquisition of the Arabic and Soosoo languages, the advantage of which was urged by the committee of the African Institution, in the Appendix to their Second Report, from which we have already made an extract;* and they suggested some considerations for the appointment of teachers of both languages at Sierra Leone, which applied with greater force to a society strictly educational. The committee likewise, calculating on a lengthened delay at the colony, before a suitable opportunity of settling among the natives presented itself, directed that the missionaries should apply themselves to the art of printing, that they might then, and at all subsequent times, be able to print and circulate through the country portions of Scripture, and tracts explanatory of Christian doctrine and practice.

This arrangement, however, was only the result of an apprehension that the main object of the society should be, for the present, suspended, in consequence of the disturbed state of the native mind immediately subsequent to the abolition of the slave trade. Facilities, however, were happily afforded for at once making the experiment of a missionary station beyond the colony, and intelligence of the actual commencement of operations reached the committee sooner than they had reason to expect.

* See p. 183.

CHAPTER II.

THE minds of the missionaries naturally harmonizing with the anxiety of the committee, to commence their work and labour of love among the Soosoos, the Rev. Leopold Butscher, on the 15th of October, 1807, set out from Sierra Leone in a company's ship for the Rio Pongas, and on the 18th arrived at Fantimani's residence, where he was affectionately received by him and his people. Here he lost no time in entering with Fantimani on the subject of a missionary settlement, inquiring if it was not possible to make a purchase of a place for that purpose, to which Fantimani replied, that the chiefs of that country never sold land; but that should a white person choose to settle among them, he might select a spot for himself, and then he is obliged to invite the chiefs from all the adjacent towns and villages to repair to the plot of ground which he has chosen. When the chiefs assemble, he must kill an ox, and divide it amongst them: besides, he must give to each chief a certain portion of gunpowder, tobacco, and rum. The expence of these presents may amount to about ninety dollars, and this is called by the natives a *dantika*. The chiefs then give him possession of the ground, to hold it as long as he pleases, and do with it what he likes; only, should he desire to leave, he cannot sell it. Upon hearing this, Butscher was anxious to pay a *dantika* immediately for himself and his brethren; but when he was informed that his *dantika* would not entitle them to possession on their arrival, but that the offering should be repeated by each for himself—but that, if he waited until they had arrived, and then all make a joint *dantika*, it would not cost much more than the one he would now make for himself—he, of course, would do nothing until they were present.

In the meantime he found occupation in making inquiries about the soil, which he was informed was extremely fertile, and requiring very little labour to yield most abundantly, and in visiting the chiefs in the

neighbourhood, accompanied by his friend Fantimani, who was beginning to recover his authority and influence : the principal of these was Mongè* Backe, the supreme headman of the district. He resided two miles from Fantimani, in the depth of the woods, like a hermit. His house was small, but clean. Butscher told him that himself, and, perhaps, three other persons, had a mind to come and reside in his country, not for the purpose of trading in slaves, but to learn the Soosoo language, and be enabled in time to instruct the African children after the European manner; and that to support themselves, they would traffic with the natives in such articles as would be likely, by their proceeds, to contribute to that object. At this announcement he appeared pleased, and declared they might live in his country without being molested; and as they had selected a spot near to Fantimani, he would advise them to live in harmony with him, and not listen to the reports of evil-disposed persons, who might wish to sow dissension between them—a course which Butscher replied they were most anxious to pursue at all times.

Some days after, he and Fantimani, who always acted as his interpreter, visited another chief of nearly equal power with Backe, and residing at the same distance from Fantimani's place, whose name was Mongè Domba; and, having repeated to him what he had said to the former chief, he expressed himself with similar satisfaction at the proposal; but to him, and all others to whom he addressed himself on the subject, it seemed most absurd and unaccountable, that white men should undertake such a journey, and submit to such labour, with the sole object of learning their language, and instructing their people after the English fashion. The specimen which they had hitherto had of Christianity, in the lives and conduct of the European slave-dealers, had not prepared them to hear, from any persons professing that, religion a desire to settle among them, with any object unconnected with that odious traffic, or any other of selfish interest. Moreover, the prostration of every liberal feeling under the baneful influence of the slave trade, rendered them rather indifferent to the intellectual improvement of their offspring. However, the offer of the missionary was in some instances embraced with joy, and in none did there appear any direct opposition to their plans, a further development of which, it was hoped, would engage the more decided approbation of the chiefs.

Butscher's host, Fantimani, was not without some knowledge of the Christian religion. He could relate the history of the New Testament, but the truths of Revelation had not released him from the bondage of his old superstitions, as was exemplified by the following incident :

* "Mongè, Munga, Mungo, or Mungke, according to the different methods of pronouncing the word, signifies headman, or chief."—*Missionary Register*.

One day Butscher discovered him in the act of making an offering, as he called it. For this purpose, he took two goat's horns, and laid them in a tin dish, and having gone down on his knees before them, he laid his hands on them, and muttered something to himself. Butscher asked him what he was doing. He replied, "I am praying to God, and making an offering for one of my people, who lies sick some miles from hence." Butscher then took one of the horns, and threw it away, saying, "Prayer to God is, indeed, good; but the goat's horns which you are now offering can be of no service to you, and these customs are rather an abomination to God, who has forbidden them in his Word." He accompanied this observation with some suitable remarks on the nature and value of the sacrifice which our great High Priest has offered for the sins of the whole world.

All things seemed now to be working for good to the missionary cause. One day, a man, who lived five miles off, came to Butscher, and told him he had a boy who had received some instruction from Greig, the missionary, who had been murdered by the Foulahs, and who, he requested, might be taken under the care of the missionaries as soon as they were settled. He had, he said, two other boys, whom he would also send to them when they were a little older. A few days after, Fantimani, having some business of his own to transact a considerable way down on the Kissy Kissy river, Butscher accompanied him, and, in the course of their excursion, as Fantimani desired to see his son William, whom he had placed in the service of a Mr. Condier, a slave-dealer, they visited, on their way, the factory of a Mr. Curtis, who received them with the greatest kindness. Addressing the missionary, he said—"Mr. Butscher, I am very glad to see you at my place; I was just about sending William Fantimani to invite you hither, that I might speak to you of the house of the late deceased Mr. Gray,* at the Bassia river, near your place. That house now belongs to me, and I will make a present of it to you, if you will take two or three of my children, to instruct them in reading and writing English. You shall have every assistance which you may want; and there are, likewise, some other traders, who would be very happy if you would take their children to school." To this generous proposal Butscher replied, that he duly estimated the offer of the house, which was, indeed, a valuable one, and also of his assistance, but that, without consulting his brethren at Sierra Leone, he could come to no decision on the subject.

The house thus offered for the use of the mission stood on the east side of Bassia river. It was two stories high, about sixty feet by twenty in

* The person here mentioned had been formerly Governor of Sierra Leone. For some time before his death, which happened Nov. 12, 1807, he was residing at Bassia, as a slave dealer.

area, and built chiefly of country brick. The upper story was divided into six neat rooms; attached to it was a store nearly as large as the house itself. There were also four other houses belonging to it, and four grumetta, or servants' houses, which promised to be very useful. The gardens were extensive, and well stocked with lemon, plaintain, pine, and other trees. The water was good, and the river itself fresh for eight months in the year. There was a small Soosoo town in the immediate neighbourhood; and, although the situation was low, it did not appear to be unhealthy, as the banks of the river were free from mud, and no marshes existed in the vicinity. The land around the house rose into eminences, which presented an agreeable prospect to the eye, especially in front of the settlement, where hundreds of palm-trees spread their luxuriant foliage. Such a providential opening for the immediate occupation of a missionary field was well calculated to awaken the liveliest feelings of holy joy. "The whole plan," says Mr. Renner, in a subsequent letter to the London committee, "we must acknowledge, is a kind present from God to the mission; and we trust he will vouchsafe his blessing upon it, and make it both a hiding-place for us, and also a city which cannot be hid, from which may go forth light and truth to those who sit around in darkness and the shadow of death."

Butscher, soon after his conversation with Mr. Curtis, despatched a letter to his brethren at the colony, informing them of the offer, and the condition annexed to it; stating, at the same time, his own impressions on the subject. He said he conceived they could not, themselves, build such a house as that at Bassia, for £400 sterling; that, in the second place, as regarded the children of the slave dealers, they were no better than heathens, and, therefore, needed instruction as much as the negroes; that, thirdly, if the brethren refused to receive traders' children, they would provoke their hostility doubly on that account, and as they were sure to do by appearing to interfere with their ungodly traffic; and, fourthly, that it was most judicious to secure the protection of the traders, of which they could not expect to be altogether independant, for, at least, the next four or five years. To this communication a reply was, in due course, returned by the other missionaries, to the effect, that the house was to be, by all means, secured for the use of the mission, according to the opinion both of the brethren and the governor of the colony; the former promising to comply with the stipulation as regarded the traders' children; but requesting that Butscher would return to Sierra Leone as soon as possible, that they might all confer together on the subject.

We must here observe, in reference to what Butscher said in his letter to the brethren, respecting the traders' children, that most of the slave dealers were men of extravagant habits, frequently squan-

dering, in excesses, the little property which they brought into the country ; and it was known that most of them died in debt, and often left behind them young children, the offspring of illicit connexions, who, from want of any opportunity of receiving an education, were brought up as heathens ; thus exemplifying the righteous judgment of God upon a class of men, of whom it may, in a peculiar manner, be said, they “ fear not God, neither regard man.”

On receiving the approval of the brethren, Butscher set out again for Mr. Curtis’s residence, and informed him of their intention to receive the traders’ children, at which he appeared much pleased, and immediately prepared a written engagement, making over to Butscher the entire possession of the house, for which he had paid, at the auction of the late Mr. Gray, 225 dollars. The deed of gift, which he handed to Butscher, ran as follows :—

“ This is to certify, that I, the subscriber, do give unto Mr. Leopold Butscher, missionary, for his own benefit and use, the place called Bassia, in the Rio Pongas, formerly belonging to the late Mr. S. Gray, merchant, deceased.

“ As witness my hand this 22nd Jan. 1808,

“ BENJ. CURTIS.”

This important transaction having been finally arranged, Butscher, early in February, returned to Sierra Leone, from whence, on the 2nd of March, 1808, accompanied by the brethren, Renner and Prasse, he sailed again for the new settlement, so providentially acquired, on the Rio Pongas, where they found the houses generally in good order, except some doors and locks which had been stolen away. The garden, however, and the ground immediately about the houses, presented a very wild and desolate appearance ; the fences having been destroyed, and the posts carried away.

The brethren were soon favoured with visits from Monge Backe and Fantimani. They requested the former to point out to them the ground which, of right, belonged to their house, but he declined, on the plea that he could not act without Mongè Domba, who should also be present, and with whom, he said, he would appoint the following Monday, to come and do for them all that was necessary. Accordingly, on the day specified, Mongè Backe, Mongè Domba, and other chiefs, together with about a hundred Soosoos, assembled at Bassia. The missionaries informed them of the reasons which had induced them to come into the country, and requested that possession might be formally given to them of the land which had hitherto belonged to the house, upon which the chiefs held a long conference ; in the midst of which the brethren offered them some refreshment, but they declined accepting anything from them until the business was concluded. At

length they gave them possession of as much land as they chose to have, in the presence of the people, which was what they wished. They likewise promised them protection for themselves and their wives, whenever they should bring the latter to reside at the settlement. The ceremony was concluded with a present to each of the chiefs, and a glass of rum to each Soosoo present, with which they were all well satisfied; and in the evening they returned home. The expenses of the day's proceedings amounted to about fifty dollars.

The missionaries now set about putting their garden and grounds into some kind of order; and, as this occupied most of their time, they did not immediately enter on their task of instructing the children. Manwhile they adopted the following rules for their domestic economy :—

1. To hold Divine Service twice on the Lord's day.
2. To have no traffic, whatever, with the natives on the Lord's day.
3. To have family prayers morning and evening, at seven o'clock, and to require the attendance of all persons connected with them, who understood English.
4. To hold a meeting for prayer in the German language, as being more familiar to them, on the first Monday of every month, for the success of the mission, and of all similar designs.
5. To receive the children of all traders who wish to send them, on condition that their parents find them food and apparel.

Mongè Domba having obtained a promise from the missionaries, when he assembled with the other chiefs, at their house, that they would return his visit, Messrs. Butscher and Prasse, after a few weeks delay, occasioned by constant employment at home, set out for his town, which lay at the distance of two hours journey, in an easterly direction, on a rising ground, the same side of the river. On their arrival they were affectionately received both by the chief and his people. Mongè Domba ordered a mat to be laid on the ground, on which they seated themselves, and were immediately encircled, almost to suffocation, by the people welcoming them, and begging a little snuff. The inhabitants, and several others from the neighbouring towns and villages, were just then holding a *Kolingi*, which is a kind of feast, in memory of a deceased relative, given by the next of kin. On such occasions a great quantity of *gurgibere* (a kind of wine prepared from roots), honey wine, and palm wine, is prepared and handed to the guests who, sometimes, get very much intoxicated. Three such *Kolingis* are usually held for adult persons, but none for children.

A conversation was soon introduced with Mongè Domba, in the presence of the natives, on the object of the missionaries in coming among them, and in the course of it Butscher took occasion to allude to a report which had reached them, that some persons in their neighbourhood had expressed dissatisfaction with them, although they had not done them any injury; to which the Mongè replied, "I am yours and William Fantimani's landlord, and because I believe that you are come into the country to do good, and not evil—to spread good things, and to instruct our children in useful knowledge; as such I will, at all times, defend you to the uttermost, and as long as I live no man shall either disturb or injure you; and, further, in a few weeks I intend to give you my own boy to be instructed; and, besides this, Mongè Backe is landlord to Messrs. Renner and Prasse, and will certainly at all times protect and defend them." These assurances, together with the consistent kindness of the chiefs since their arrival, comforted the missionaries, who, however, knew how to estimate all human helps at their true value, and to lean only with perfect confidence on that Almighty arm which, it is promised, shall be ever bared on behalf of those who trust in it.

During a visit which their friend Fantimani paid to them in August, he told them that, in his opinion, the slave trade had entirely ruined the character of the Soosoos—that they had lost thereby their ancient honesty and simplicity; "for instance, twenty or thirty years ago," said he, "when a Soosoo man found any thing in the path, he would give himself much trouble to discover the loser, and restore the property; at that time, too, every thing was safe in the lugars (houses), but now the finder and the thief keep what they get." Indeed, the missionaries soon found that there was no punishment attached to the crime of theft. If a man was caught in the act of stealing, he might get a good flogging; and if a thief should be discovered by the employment of one of their tests, such as the red-hot iron, &c., he had only to restore the stolen property, or the value of it.

Towards the end of this month, most of the people at Bassia went over to Lissy, Mongè Backe's town, to hear and talk a leopard palaver; a leopard having lately, in the day time, seized three persons in the neighbourhood, and almost killed them. Circumstances, of a peculiar character, had made it necessary to ascertain whether those people had in reality been attacked by a leopard, because, when the slave trade was at its height, many a man was caught on the road by men wrapped up in a leopard's skin, and carried away to a distant factory, and sold. In this way it once happened that a woman was caught by an alligator, and the alligator sold her. Such was one of the devices which this hellish system had suggested, and which godless men, greedy of gain, were not ashamed to adopt. It was not decided in the

present palaver what sort of a leopard it was which had done the mischief, but Mongè Backe declared that whenever a leopard should attack people in the day time, in any town, and the inhabitants did not kill him, he would certainly march an army against that town, and destroy all the houses in it with fire.

The missionaries having applied to the committee, to know whether they should receive under their instruction the children of the traders, received the following reply—"Take *any* children. Do all the good you can. Lay out your whole time and strength in instructing the ignorant, in reclaiming the wicked, in proclaiming 'the glorious Gospel of the blessed God' to every sinner around you. 'Make full proof of your ministry.' To the Soosoos you are, indeed, more directly sent; but if you can conciliate the traders, by educating their children—if you should, with the blessing of God, establish any of these children in the faith, and so render them hearty friends of the mission; if you can but retard the progress and lessen the exertions of evil, you are well employed. The committee do, therefore, hope and desire that you will open schools for the instruction of all the children, of every description, who can understand you; and that you will labour to acquire those means of making yourselves understood by your whole neighbourhood, of which you may not yet be fully masters."

Reading the journals of the missionaries at this distance of time, and ignorant as we must be of the difficulties with which their path was strewn, it would scarcely become us to give an opinion as to the manner in which they commenced, and for years carried on their work; but we do not find that the early preachers of the Gospel at all hesitated as to *their* mode of proceeding. They addressed the offers of divine mercy to adults wherever they went; and whatever was the character of the people, the word was with power. The good men in Africa, however, thought differently. Butscher, writing to the committee, says: "Our first endeavour must be to sow the good seed among the children, whose hearts are more tender, and not so corrupted by actual sins as those of the more aged. The good seed, watered by the Spirit from above, may, therefore, sooner spring up, and show some fruits in the youth than in the grown people, of whose conversion I have very little hope, seeing many of them entirely given up to superstition, drunkenness, and sensuality. Yet the things which are impossible with man are possible with God." With much of this we cannot agree, knowing the power of him who came to call sinners to repentance, and whose will none can resist. However it conveys to us the reason which satisfied the missionaries in confining their labours to the rising generation, and it gives us some idea of the discouragements which they had to encounter. They began in August, 1808, with the son of a respectable chief residing about five miles from the

settlement, named Mougè Hate, who promised to entrust all his other sons, of which he had many, to their care. Their present pupil, by name Banga, was fourteen years of age. An interesting trait of maternal affection is mentioned by Butscher in connexion with this boy. When the missionary, who went himself for him, was removing him from his father's house, his mother accompanied them about a mile of the way on their return to the settlement. "I was astonished," said he, "to see her going with us through a creek, where the water reached to the middle of our bodies. When we had passed it, she said to me, 'White man, here I give a country cloth to my boy, to cover him in the cool nights. Farewell; take good care of him.' This she spoke with such motherly affection, that I scarcely could refrain from tears." Besides Banga, they received three other children; but now a difficulty presented itself, for which it appeared judicious to provide a remedy.

Up to this they had managed pretty well to attend to their own domestic concerns; but while their household continued to be enlarged, and their time must necessarily be engrossed with the moral and spiritual cultivation of their pupils, it was not to be expected that, without injury to either department, they could themselves fulfil the duties both of housekeepers and instructors; besides, situated as they were, they were precluded from receiving female children under their charge, and thus a great part of their work was to be left undone. These considerations suggested the necessity of securing the valuable aid of some Christian European female, with heart devoted to the cause, and in other respects qualified to act as matron to the new establishment. They felt that the presence of an exemplary young woman at the settlement would be of essential service, not only within doors, but without, among the natives of their own sex, in forming and restraining their manners and habits, and acting as a standard of Christian decorum. Mr. Renner was, accordingly, induced to make proposals to Elizabeth Richards, a respectable young woman, who had acted as their housekeeper at Freetown; and having proceeded to the colony for that purpose, was there united to her by Mr. Nylander, on the 27th of October.

Shortly before this, Butscher received a letter from the factory of a Mr. Frazer, requesting him to come and baptize one of his children. When he arrived, he found seventeen traders assembled, some of whom having children, asked him what time he would begin to take children under his care. He replied, that he and his brethren could not take many at present, because there was no good accommodation for them. They had thought, however, of making a new arrangement in their house, which would enable them to receive many more; but as they had learned that some of the traders were their enemies, and were endeavouring, by every means, to drive them from their position, they were

rather cautious in what steps they took ; not, however, that they were afraid of them, conscious of having given no occasion of offence ;" upon which several of those present confessed that many of the traders had cast a suspicious eye upon the missionaries, conceiving that they had been sent as spies to report upon the character of the traders, especially as upon their first coming into the country they had addressed themselves to a native, rather than to one of them ; to which charge Butscher answered, that when they came, they determined not to be chargeable to any man, as the society to which they belonged had rendered them independent of all, and so would they keep themselves.

Among other boys who at this time were brought to the school, was the son of a Portuguese. At one time the Portuguese were very numerous about the Rio Pongas river (from whom, indeed, it received its name) ; and they were very successful in trade, as were their priests in making converts, having baptized hundreds, without any attempt to make them Christians. However, the people rejoiced in the new religion and the new name, and their children boasted to the missionaries that they were once Christians, and that their parents knew how to pray. In some places the Portuguese traders established schools, and kept their slaves and servants under the strictest discipline in the Roman Catholic religion. Some of them supported monks, who purchased every thing that was offered them for sale, in order to make many proselytes ; but after a few years they relaxed their exertions, fell into polygamy, adopted other heathen customs, and, by degrees, became Soosoos. Many of them died there ; but some returned to their native country. Few, however, of their descendants were now to be found, and those were heathens ; and such we have seen has been the fate of all Romish conversions in Africa. This illustrates the character of the system : separated from human agency, on which it is continually dependant, it crumbles into dust : there is nothing of God in it, and, therefore, it possesses no innate principle of durability.

One day Renner brought his pupils into the garden, where there stood a guava tree, having fruit on it, which was then ripe. Banga, Mongè Hate's son, having ascended the tree, and perceived a serpent on one of the branches, quickly descended. Renner asked him if the serpent did not attempt to bite him, upon which he smiled, and showed him a string which was tied round his foot : it had been given to him by his father, as a preservative against the bite of a serpent. This charm is called by the Soosoos a *queé*, and they consider it not only a preventive of all disasters, but a means to secure their success in all their undertakings. The *queé* is prepared from the horns of goats and oxen, or is composed simply of a piece of paper, with some words inscribed on it in Arabic. In fact, it is the Greegree under a different name. *Queés* are found in all houses, to protect the persons and pro-

perties of the inhabitants: these consist of wooden images, and sometimes of small pots, filled up with feathers and other things.

Previous to the transfer of Bassia, as a missionary settlement, to Mr. Butscher, he had prevailed on Fantimani to commence a house for the purpose in his own town; but the acquisition of Bassia, and the attention necessarily bestowed upon it, had hitherto interrupted the work at Canoffee, the name by which this settlement was afterwards designated. Now, however, in the expectation of being soon joined by some of their brethren from the seminary in England, they proceeded to finish the house. Its dimensions were thirty feet by sixteen, the middle part being occupied by a sitting-room, beyond which was a store, and out of which, on each side, opened two small rooms, for the separate use of each missionary.

While, however, this work was in progress, the Lord of the Harvest saw fit to visit the mission with a sore bereavement. Butscher had been obliged to retire to the colony for a short period, to recruit his health, after severe indisposition; and, during his absence, Brother Prasse resided chiefly at Canoffee, hastening forward the building; but not coming down to Bassia on one Saturday, as was his custom, to spend the Lord's day with the family there, Renner went up, and found him in the lowest state of exhaustion; upon which he had him removed to the settlement, where he lingered until the 23rd of January, 1869, and then, in spite of every attention which Christian love and tenderness could suggest, he fell asleep in Jesus, having been deprived of the power of speech almost the whole time. Thus departed Johann Gottfried Prasse, protomartyr of the Church Missionary cause, a man of simple manners and unassuming piety, who promised great future usefulness as an apostle to the poor Africans; but, scarcely had he entered the field of spiritual conflict, when his heavenly Father, who saw that it was in his heart to erect a temple, on heathen ground, to his praise, in his unsearchable wisdom, overruled his desire, and devolved the work upon others, who were to succeed him. Prasse was of a robust constitution, and vigorous almost to the last; and as the season was healthy, little care, he conceived, was needed to avoid disease; but having incautiously, the Monday before he was taken ill, waded through several tide-creeks, on his way to Canoffee, to avoid a circuitous route, he caught a cold, which brought on the fever of the country; and as his stomach would not retain the bark which was administered, that fatal disorder rapidly accomplished its work.

The surviving brethren, soon after taking possession of their establishment on the Rio Pongas, found that the utmost delicacy and judgment were necessary in their deportment towards the slave-dealers in their neighbourhood, who quickly began to suspect that they were acting as spies upon their proceedings, being employed by the authori-

ties at the colony: nor was this an unnatural supposition, since their opinions, as Christians, respecting the traffic in immortal beings, could not be doubtful; nor, as British law had, at the particular period of their settlement in the country, ordered its discontinuance, could they be supposed to look with indifference on any attempt at infringing or evading it, which came under their observation. Their conduct, however, was marked by such a tone of conciliation as obtained regard; while, at the same time, their consistency secured for them general respect; and thus, while they were necessarily a restraint on the manners and practices of the traders in their vicinity, they succeeded, by the kindness and prudence of their deportment, in disarming the hostility which their presence excited.

A confident expectation was, at this time entertained, that the abolition of the slave trade, on the part of Great Britain, had proved the dawn of a great moral and social improvement to the long-afflicted natives of Western Africa. The traders, 'tis true, still attempted to carry on a traffic, though a dangerous and restricted one, with smuggling vessels, but the activity of English cruisers had alarmed them; the demand for slaves was, consequently, so much diminished, that the natives began to turn their attention to other sources of trade. The Foulahs, who formerly brought down to the Rio Pongas the greatest number of slaves, seldom visited the river; and when they did, it was to convey horned cattle and other articles of legitimate commerce, but scarcely ever slaves, as they chose, rather, they said, to keep them themselves than dispose of them at the low prices then offered. Thus, although many of the traders remained in the country, expecting that the slave trade would be re-established, it was, at the time, confidently anticipated that their expectations would be disappointed, and that they would be obliged to divert their capital into new channels, profitable to themselves, while conducive to the great objects which the friends of Africa had in view. How far these anticipations were realized, we shall see in the sequel. The pious reflections, however, of one of the missionaries were justified by immediate circumstances. "Years," said he, "have passed away before we could announce an established settlement. Why the work has gone on so slowly, eternity will show. This much, however, we can now observe, that had not the abolition taken place, we think it would have been impossible to settle in this quarter. The opposition of the traders would have been insurmountable. The abolition has generously delivered an advantageous situation into our hands; and the remaining traders are so much exhausted, that they can do little injury to our cause. The natives improve in many respects, in consequence of the abolition; and there is good ground to hope that they will at length embrace Christianity."

We must now say a word of Mr. Nyländer, who had been left

behind at the colony, in charge of its spiritual interests. Previous to Mr. Renner's leaving for Bassia, and during his residence at Freetown, he had baptized one hundred and fourteen children and nine adults; Mr. Hartwig had baptized four; and Mr. Nylander twenty-six, besides a number of adult Maroons, and a Mandingo man and woman; of these last, Nylander said, in writing to the committee—"Without doubt, they have experienced the grace of God in their souls." Among those whom Mr. Renner baptized, were six converted Maroons, three of each sex. Nylander instructed thirty Maroons, four native, and six settler boys, one native man, and six adult Maroons, some of whom were married men. His time was so fully occupied with this charge, that he with difficulty fulfilled the duties of his ministry in a language not his own, nor, as yet, quite familiar to him. The school, however, was afterwards committed to the care of masters sent from England for the purpose; and he then established a lecture every Wednesday evening, and took upon him the particular task of visiting the criminals; but he still cherished the expectation of devoting himself more strictly as a missionary. "My desire," he said, "is to go among the Soosos, and to offer up my health and life among them, in the service of Jesus." The committee, in England, however, considered the post which he occupied at the colony too important to be abandoned, until a truly faithful clergyman could be procured to succeed him; and they considered that, in continuing him there, they were far from departing from the objects of the society. They supplied him with books suitable for the education of children, and adapted to the capacity of the lower classes of the inhabitants, and also procured him a liberal supply of Bibles, Testaments, and Prayer-books, for the use of the colony.

In January, 1809, Captain Columbine, who was appointed governor of Sierra Leone, sailed for that colony. Previous to his departure from England, the committee recommended the mission to his attention; and they had the satisfaction to receive from him the strongest assurances of countenance and support to their Christian objects.

Notwithstanding the sanguine expectations which had been entertained by the friends of humanity, that the slave trade had received a salutary check, by the British Abolition Act, of which the effects promised to be permanent, the monster, which had been only stunned, not killed, and scarcely disabled, now began to rear its savage head again, and having only adopted a new method of attack, showed evident symptoms that its appetite for human blood was as keen and indomitable as ever. "It has been discovered," says the Fourth Report of the African Institution, read at the annual meeting of the society, March 28, 1810, "that in defiance of all the penalties imposed by act of Parliament, vessels, under foreign flags, have been fitted out in the ports of

Liverpool and London, for the purpose of carrying slaves from the Coast of Africa, to the Spanish and Portuguese settlements, in America, and that several adventures of this description have actually been completed. The persons, however, who are by far the most deeply engaged in this nefarious traffic, appear to be the citizens of the United States of America. These shelter themselves from the penal consequences of their criminal conduct by means of a nominal sale, both of ship and cargo, at some Spanish or Swedish port ; (the Havannah, for example, or the island of St. Bartholomew.) They are thus put in a capacity to use the flags of these states, and, so disguised, have carried on their slave trading speculations, during the last year, to an enormous extent." This extract both shows the fact of the revival of the trade and the manner in which the legal enactments against it, both in Great Britain and America, were evaded.

After an interval of fourteen months, during which no slave vessel had visited the Rio Pongas, which, previous to the abolition, had held a distinguished place as a slave port, one arrived in the beginning of the year 1809, to the great grief and horror of the missionaries. The captain of the slaver was a Spaniard, and the supercargo an Englishman. She was laden with rum and tobacco, which the captain sold at a very high price for slaves. This quite raised the spirits of the traders, as they flattered themselves with the speedy arrival of more vessels. The Soosoos also, but especially the chiefs, expressed great delight at the prospect of the return of slave ships ; hoping that the traders, under their protection, would be able to make them as large presents as formerly. The Soosoos called the period of temporary suppression, " evil times," as the traders were impoverished, and no presents given, contrasting it with the time when slavery was at its height, which they called " good times ;" yet some natives acknowledged that it was an advantage to them for rum to be less abundant among them than it used to be, as their understandings, they said, suffered essentially from such an immoderate use of it, and even the traders were obliged to confess that they had led far more tranquil and comfortable lives since they had had no rum to sell.

Speaking of the captain of this slaver, Renner said, " He will carry off such a noble cargo as has never been carried off before, since the abolition ; the traders have bought only boys and girls." One good effect, therefore, which was produced by the abolition was, that the aged of both sexes were spared the almost certain death of the middle passage, or the scarcely less terrible fate of hopeless slavery ; but in consequence of the risk incurred, the horrors of the middle passage were greatly aggravated to the younger victims. Now vessel after vessel arrived at the Pongas, as before, and being supplied by the traders, set sail with full cargoes.

In April, 1809, Butscher, in consequence of the death of poor Prasse, removed to Canoffee, accompanied by Banga, Mongè Hate's son. He was no sooner settled there, than Fantimani committed two of his sons to his care, and promised to send him more as soon as his kitchen should be finished, and his house enclosed with paling. He begged Butscher not to suffer his boys to speak Soosoo, that they might more rapidly improve in the English language; and while they were at the school he would scarcely allow them to visit their mothers, lest, by talking Soosoo with them, they might soon forget what they had learned at the school. The number of the scholars, under Butscher's instruction, soon increased to eleven, all of whom were committed to him, on condition of instructing them in English, and preventing them speaking Soosoo.

While at Canoffee, he kept school twice every day—in the forenoon and afternoon; and in the evening he began to instruct two of his scholars in the rudiments of arithmetic. The people in the neighbourhood were very curious to see the school; but Fantimani kept them back as much as possible. Banga was now so far advanced, that he was able to to assist in teaching the younger children their alphabet.

At this period the missionaries were able to testify, that from their first coming into the country, their persons and property were as safe as in their own country—if not safer; for theft and murder were far more rare with them than in Europe. This was, in a great measure, owing to the simplicity of the Soosoo mode of living. Each person knows that he will find nothing in the dwelling of his neighbour, more than he himself already possesses. A Soosoo's whole property consists of a few earthen pots, baskets, and mats, the last of which serve for beds. Of rice he has but little in the house; the rest he leaves in his plantation. As to clothes, he has none but the scanty ones which he wears. Yet some precaution is necessary; for the Foulahs sometimes break into the houses of white people, and steal their cattle, and even murder them if they can; "but," adds Butscher, "a missionary who puts his trust in God can undisturbedly live among this people, more especially after he has resided some time with them, and acquired a little of their language. To judge from my own experience, a missionary has more to fear from his own heart than from any thing else: this he must strictly guard; and in believing prayer look to Jesus, till he obtain power to conquer the robbers of grace that lurk therein, and to renounce every thing that might hinder him in Christ's blessed fellowship; as, for instance, looking back after one's native country, seeking property, ease, honour, or reputation."

One day a Soosoo, who resided a few miles from Canoffee, came to Butscher, and offered him some rice and palm wine for sale. Butscher told him he was well supplied with rice, but that he would probably buy

the palm wine, if it was good. When any one buys honey or palm wine, or any of the native drinks, it is customary for the seller to drink of it in the presence of the buyer, to prove that it is not poisoned; and then the latter tastes it, which Butscher did. The palm wine being sour, and the charge exorbitant, he declined the purchase, whereupon the man became angry, and told him that as he had tasted the wine, he should buy it, or make him some reparation. In vain Butscher remonstrated that in tasting the wine he had only followed the general practice: his rage increased to such a degree, that drawing his dagger, he challenged him to fight. Butscher, much perplexed, sent for Fantimani, who instantly hastened to his aid, and on being informed of the nature of the case, said to the man, "Art thou come to fight my white man whom I love as much as my headwoman?—only touch him, and you must take the consequences. Here is my dagger—look at it. Dost thou take him for a slave-dealer, who lies, curses, and defrauds? No, such a man he is not, but to teach our children, and make us better people he is come; and, therefore, nobody shall molest him; for I, Mongè Backe, Mongè Domba, and Mongè Hate, whose son is with him, love him, and stand by him." This so completely silenced the man, that he quietly took his rice and palm wine on his shoulders, and marched off. In a little while Fantimani called him back, and requested Butscher to buy the wine, that he might not have to carry it all the way back, which he gladly did, as he lowered his price, and some use could be made of it.

Some time after, one of Fantimani's wives having missed two yards of stuff, insisted on its having been stolen. Immediately a man named "Que ra mutre" was brought, who pretended to hold intercourse with infernal spirits. He brought with him a pole ten feet long, covered in the middle with an old piece of stuff: this was called "Fine," a spirit able to discover thefts. The charm was contained in a little slip of paper, on which a few Arabic words were written. Six men held the pole, closely pressing it upon their shoulders, and the idea was, that to whatever house the spirit should conduct the men, the stolen property would be found there. The men began to perspire in a fearful manner, and to look extremely agitated. On Butscher, who was present, expressing his surprise at the apparent hard labour which the men were enduring, the pole not being very heavy, he was told that it was the spirit who pressed down so heavily, and wearied the men, and that they were often sorely wounded by the pole. The men, having for about two hours run up and down the town, at length were carried to a house where the stolen property was to be. The moment the woman of the house saw them, she began to weep bitterly, and make loud protestations of her innocence, but in vain: the whole house was searched, but nothing found. At length the men said the thieves had concealed the

stuff under the grass of the roof, where it could not be discovered for the present.

Butscher sometimes, attended by his little flock, spent the Lord's day with Mr. and Mrs. Renner, and their young people, at Bassia, and returned home on Monday morning. Previous to their setting out one Monday morning in May, Mongè Hate unexpectedly arrived to see his son Banga ; and, as he did not understand English, Butscher employed his son as interpreter, which so delighted him that he promised to send more of his children to be instructed. On this occasion he returned with the party to Canoffee, as he wished to see the place where his son resided. On his arrival, Fantimani made him a present of a sheep. The settlement pleased him very much. He requested Butscher, in case he paid him a visit, not to bring his son with him till he was quite grown up ; for as the people knew that he would one day become their chief, some evil-disposed persons, he said, might injure him. Though he had many other children, Banga was his favourite, being the son of his head-woman ; the others were the offspring of his slaves. In this country the law of primogeniture prevails in favour of the eldest son by a free woman, who inherits all the property when a chief or the father of a family dies ; this property usually consists of slaves. He also succeeds to his father's office, if he has arrived at the proper age, and is acquainted with the laws of his country. The rest of the children must shift for themselves, which is often the occasion of family quarrels.

Two respectable chiefs signified their intention of placing their sons under Butscher's care : William Fananders, who resided near the Dambia river, and John Pierce, near the Rio Nunez. They and Fantimani were intimately acquainted, but were at the time at enmity with each other, on which account Fantimani objected to the boys being received ; but when Butscher represented to him that it might be the means of effecting a reconciliation between them, he withdrew his objection.

In the meantime Renner and his wife continued to labour at the Bassia settlement in a similar way, collecting children, and bringing them under instruction. Writing about it to the committee, he said—“The Bassia settlement, under its present circumstances, cannot be considered with indifference. The children, we may safely say, are manifest proofs that the mission is in a progressive state ; and in faith we may venture to believe, and in love to hope, that wonders of mercy will crown this establishment.” On another occasion, the anniversary of the society, which the committee had directed the missionaries always to celebrate together, he writes : “Perhaps some of our friends will ask, at this solemn season, ‘What are your missionaries doing in Africa ? What success have they ? Is there any prospect at all of

success among the Soosoos ?' We answer, that we came as ignorant strangers into this country, and we had to learn the native manners and fashions. We found our friend Mr. Ludlam's remark true : " It will take one year's time before you can get properly settled." It requires time, too, to get into the confidence of the people ; and even years may pass away before they get any other idea of us than they have of the generality of the traders. The settlement at Bassia and at Fantimania (Canoffee), were established at a critical period. The slave trade received just at that time a deadly blow ; and, had God permitted it, a mortal blow would have been returned on us by the remaining traders. It is our bounden duty to thank God that he has thus far helped us, and invisibly shown that he is not against us, but for us. Whenever more brethren come to join us, they may sit down and proceed in the work, without having to encounter the same trials and troubles which we had to encounter for more than twelve months. * * * It has pleased God to send us little ones, whose souls are precious in his eyes, and who knows that some of these shall not embrace Christianity, and feel its vital virtue, being enabled to lay hold on salvation by the means now afforded them ; and, in the world to come, bring praise to God and the Lamb for ever, and blessings on that society whose members cast their eyes on this quarter of the globe." These sentiments will commend themselves to the judgment as well as the piety of the Christian reader.

Renner, in a late visit to Sierra Leone, had received from Mr. Ludlam a box of cotton-seed, most of which the missionaries presented to Fantimani, who immediately ordered a piece of ground to be prepared for a cotton plantation. In a few weeks Fantimani, assisted by Butscher, planted the cotton-seed in strict conformity with the directions of Mr. Ludlam. Very few of the seeds, however, sprung up, from which they concluded that most of it was bad ; and Fantimani was obliged to sow rice in his cotton plantation, to make something of the ground.

While Butscher and Renner were thus prospering in their work on the Rio Pongas, Nyländer was endeavouring to establish a third missionary station among the Bulloms, a people occupying the shores of the river Sierra Leone, opposite to the British colony, and therefore separated only by the waters of the estuary from that centre of Christian civilization. About this time (May, 1809,) Nyländer received a visit from the chief of the Bulloms, whose name was King George, and he took that opportunity of speaking to him about establishing a missionary settlement at his place. Such a circumstance, he said, would give him great pleasure, and he promised to send his children to school, and to direct his subjects to send theirs also. His son, who was present, and who was heir to the Bullom crown, was also much pleased at the proposal. Having mentioned the matter to Mr. Ludlam, Nyländer

had the satisfaction to find that he fully concurred with him in opinion, that as much good might be done on the Bullom shore as among the Soosoos, and perhaps more, as there were no slave-traders there to interfere with the missionary work, besides the advantage of being so near the colony ; but he by no means intended that the settlements at Bassia and Canoffee should be given up, as a blessing might be expected there in spite of all opposition. At Bullom, however, there was an opportunity of learning three languages, Arabic, Soosoo, and Bullom, which are all spoken there ; besides, the soil is good, and the climate considered healthier than at Sierra Leone.

This year, the schools at Freetown contained one hundred and fifty children, and the demand for books of instruction and improvement increased considerably.

Governor Columbine, to whom, as already mentioned, the society had been commended by the committee, previous to his departure from England, nobly redeemed, on his arrival at the colony, the promise which he then gave. Among numerous instances of marked kindness and attention to Nylander, he advanced him to the station of regular chaplain to the colony, with the full salary of three hundred pounds per annum, thus enabling him to support himself and his wife, without drawing on the funds of the society. Such proofs of regard were at this time peculiarly grateful to him, as he had suffered severely from repeated attacks of illness, during the rainy season, which had just terminated ; and also, as appears from his journal, from some circumstances connected with his position in the colony, which caused him much uneasiness, but which were subsequently removed. His prison labours were particularly blessed, especially in the case of a young woman who was condemned to die, but who was afterwards pardoned ; and in whose mind it pleased God to make him the instrument of awakening an interest for eternal things.

The missionaries were reinforced in August, by the arrival of two brethren, the Rev. John Charles Barneth, of Bernsdorf, in Silicia, aged 45, and the Rev. Charles Frederick Christian Wenzel, of Breslau, in Silicia, aged 38. They had arrived from the seminary at Berlin, in August, 1807, and were shortly after placed under the care of Mr. Dawes, formerly governor of Sierra Leone, and then resided at Bledlow, in Buckinghamshire, from whom, it was expected, they would receive much information on the subject of Africa ; several neighbouring clergymen, members of the society, having, moreover, promised to contribute their aid towards preparing them for their missionary work. Two other students, Wilhelm and Klein, accompanied them to England ; of these mention will be made in the proper place.

Mr. Dawes having removed from Bledlow, the missionary students were transferred to the care of the Rev. Thomas Scott, rector of Aston-

Sandford, near to Bledlow, who added to the many proofs which he had already given of interest in the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, and especially in the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, as an honoured instrument in forwarding that glorious work, by acceding to the request of the committee, that he would accept the important charge which had thus been unavoidably resigned by Mr. Dawes. We need not stop to report how the venerated author of "The Force of Truth" fulfilled this charge. His instruction is described by those who had an opportunity of observing it, as "assiduous and affectionate;" and he had the satisfaction of testifying to the committee his sense of the diligence, improvement, and piety of his missionary pupils. It appeared, by the testimonials which they presented to the society, that they had been ordained the month preceding their arrival in England, according to the rites of the Lutheran Church, in the city of Wernigerode, and every evidence was borne therein to their excellent character, and the spirituality of their minds.

Previous to setting out for their destination on the Rio Pongas, where they were to assist the brethren, Butscher and Renner, Wenzel married, with the approbation of the committee, a young woman in the neighbourhood of the seminary, who appeared well qualified to assist him in his work. Barneth was a widower, having a daughter to provide for; but he was able to make arrangements for her future welfare, such as relieved him from anxiety on her behalf. When they arrived at the colony, after an agreeable voyage, Mrs. Wenzel was attacked with severe illness, which detained them there until the middle of October, Wenzel being of great use to poor Nylander, in his delicate state of health, by assisting him in the public service of the colony. In October, however, they hastened forward to the scene of their future labours.

Meanwhile the brethren at Bassia and Canoffee continued diligently to forward the good cause. Renner, writing from Bassia, in October, says—"Our progress is slow, yet not altogether unworthy the notice of our society. We have proceeded as Providence seemed to direct us; collecting as many native children as we could get, and teaching them as much as other circumstances would allow—keeping school twice a day, and instructing them in Christian doctrine. As my wife was indisposed for some time, I had to overlook twenty-two children myself, and attend to house business; sometimes being a carpenter, and at other times a gardener, and again to buy the necessary articles from the Soosoos, and also to see that that they got properly cooked. In both settlements, are at present thirty-three children; and thirty-nine souls in all. It concerns us much to know how to conduct the whole agreeable to the wishes of the society, and well pleasing in the sight of God. When it shall please God to strengthen our hands, by joining more

brethren to us, so that some can apply themselves entirely to the study of the language, it is to be hoped that the Gospel of Christ will not be fruitlessly stammered to the Soosoos. At present, the way of the Lord is only prepared, and the crooked paths a little straightened."

An extract of the same date, from Wenzel's journal, breathes a truly missionary spirit. "Thanks be unto God, our merciful Saviour, who has now placed us in his vineyard, and counted us worthy to feed his lambs! There are here thirty-three children, and it is indeed a pleasant sight to behold them, by the endeavours of our brethren, already civilized, and to hear them read in their Bible and other books. The honourable society having, however, required of us that we should pursue the Soosoo language; we shall endeavour, by the grace of God, to make progress in it; and if circumstances require, we shall assist our brethren in keeping school, for they have plenty to do, because the number of children is vastly increasing."

When Barneth and Wenzel arrived, a meeting of the four brethren was held according to the desire of the committee; and having, by prayer, sought the guidance and support of the Holy Spirit, they resolved that the two new missionaries should be stationed at Canoffee; and that all the children, at both settlements, should be collected together, at Bassia, under the care of the other missionaries. In November, the number of the children had increased to thirty-five, and some of them who did not understand a word of English on their introduction to the school, "began now," said Butscher, "to read the glad tidings that Jesus Christ came into the world to suffer and die for our sins, and to rise again for our justification." Besides these, the sons of three considerable chiefs, had been promised, and were daily expected.

Of the children in the school, five were mulatto boys, and nine mulatto girls, chiefly from five to nine years of age, the children of traders, and nearly half of them orphans. There were four native girls sent to learn household work, and seventeen native boys, from six to fifteen years of age, more than the half of whom were the sons of chiefs, whose interest was thereby secured to the missionaries; and of the remainder, four had been ransomed by the missionaries, and received the names of Benjamin, James, Joseph, and Butscher.

The maintenance of all these children was, of course, a subject of considerable anxiety, both at home and in Africa. The children of the traders had been admitted only on condition of their being supplied by their parents, both with food and clothing; but with the Soosoos no such condition could be urged, they being in general unable to give any assistance. The children were sent quite naked, and it devolved on the missionaries both to clothe and feed them. These devoted men

had offered to the society to maintain, out of their salaries,* thirty children, besides themselves; but, on calculation, they found this to be impossible, £5 being the average expense of each child for one year, including two pairs of trowsers and two shirts; thirty children thus costing £150, and leaving only £50 for themselves three. They, however, most generously, and in the true spirit of Christian shepherds, offered £100 per annum, to support twenty children, and agreed to live on the remaining £100. With such holy self-denial on the part of the labourers, derived from him who worketh in his people both to will and to do, there surely could not be wanting a blessing on the little vineyard which his right hand had planted; and so, said Butscher, "Truly the Lord has done much for us, and for the whole mission, during the past year. In the most critical situations he has strengthened and helped us. He has publicly confounded some of our most bitter enemies, who spared neither time nor pains to enrage the Soosos and their chiefs against us; and has so given us the confidence of the natives that they do not hesitate to entrust their children to us; and, above all, he has preserved and upheld us with the right hand of his righteousness. Not unto us, not unto us, but unto his name be all the glory."

When Wenzel arrived at Canoffee, he began to form a Soosoo dictionary of those words most used in speaking, and such as he intended should be employed in translating the Scriptures into the vernacular of the natives. With such industry did he pursue this work, that in December he had advanced as far as the letter W, thus following up the views and directions of the committee, in a manner that showed how much he entered into the spirit by which they were actuated. In the progress of his task, he found, from hearing the natives converse, that some words in the language differed in their pronunciation from that which Mr. Brunton had given to them.

In bringing to a close the transactions of the year 1809—a period pregnant with the most momentous operations of military and political achievement in Europe and the world—we shall conclude this chapter in the nervous and appropriate language of the Tenth Annual Report of the Church Missionary Society:—

"The calculations of the most able politicians have failed, and their plans been defeated. The old system of military and naval tactics, by which the powers of Europe balanced and counteracted one another, have been foiled by new systems, and by extraordinary men raised up by Providence, to bring those systems into action. Old dynasties,

* £100 per annum each.

venerable for their age, and apparently rooted in the affections of the people, have vanished like a vision before new dynasties, mean in their origin, but formidable in their talents, energy, and success. Weak and divided councils have prepared the way for a continental dominion, unprecedented in the civilized world;* and by this very power, born in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church, and avowedly asserting its authority, has the throne of the spiritual tyrant been overturned, and the pope himself degraded to the condition of a pensioner on mere charity!† The Mahommedan nations are trembling for their existence;‡ and while tempests are slowly gathering around, they are weakened and dismembered by internal convulsions. The Providence of God has, in the midst of all these fearful events, preserved this nation unbroken in its strength, unfettered in its freedom, mighty in arts and in arms, an asylum for the fugitive, and a friend of the oppressed—with a naval superiority unequalled in the history of the world; and with an ardent zeal glowing in the hearts of multitudes to communicate their religious advantages, by means of this naval power, to other nations.

“That the British government, deeply sensible of the obligations under which it is laid by this commanding situation, may invariably and zealously employ the extraordinary means with which Divine Providence has intrusted it, in diffusing the light of truth throughout the world, and occupy an important part in bringing forward that grand triumph

▼ The French empire under Napoleon Bonaparte.

† This may apply to two of the Roman pontiffs in succession, Pius VI. and Pius VII. The former, who obtained the chair of St. Peter by the meanest falsehood and dissimulation, disgusted his subjects by his tyranny and extravagance; and, on the invasion of Italy by the French, under Bonaparte, his conduct had so divided the Italian States, that the French general, Berthier, took possession, unopposed, of the heights of Mount Maria, from whence he summoned the Pope to surrender, or he would bombard the capital. The Pope yielded, and ceded the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, with all their territories, also a part of Romagna, to Napoleon. After this a tumult was raised by the Roman police for the purpose of massacring all the French in the city, in which the French general, Duphot, was killed. Military possession was then taken of Rome, and the Pope being seized in his bed, was, at the age of eighty, forced into a carriage and hurried off, first to a convent in Chartreuse, near Florence, and then from one prison to another, till he was banished to Dijon, a city in Burgundy. He died, however, at Valencia, on the 19th August, 1799. But it is, doubtless, his successor, Pius VII., who is here alluded to. He owed his elevation, during the imprisonment of Pius VI., to Bonaparte, but a decree of the French Emperor, dated 17th May, 1809, put an end to the temporal power of the Pope; and Pius, who had gone to Paris in 1804, to assist at his coronation, was detained a prisoner in France. In 1812 he was removed to Fontainebleau, where he was continued in captivity until 1814, and then restored to all his possessions except Avignon, Venaissin, in France, and a narrow strip of land beyond the Po.

‡ In 1806, Bonaparte embroiled Alexander, Emperor of Russia, in a war with Turkey to prevent him sending supplies into Prussia. In the course of this war the Ottoman empire suffered severely from internal convulsions and defeats in the field, so that at the termination of it, towards the close of the year 1810, the Russians were masters of the whole right bank of the Danube.

which is approaching, must be the fervent prayer of every Christian among us. Our duty as a society, and as individual Christians, is not only manifest, but it is felt by us. Let us cherish a lively sense of this duty in our minds. Let us abound in prayer, that God would graciously bless our endeavours, and the endeavours of all other associations engaged in the same great cause, and employ us in the erection of his temple among men."

CHAPTER III.

THE year 1810, was almost ushered in by a second visitation of earthly bereavement to the missionary family, at the hands of an inscrutably wise, and merciful God. Poor Barneth, from the period of his first landing in Africa, was afflicted with repeated attacks of fever, and reduced so low that he had scarcely reached his destination, on the Rio Pongas before he was summoned from his labours to his eternal rest.

There is something peculiarly affecting in the early removal of this man of God, considered in relation to his connexion with the society. It was intended that he should accompany the three brethren, Nyländer, Butscher, and Prasse, who arrived in England from Germany, in 1805; and, as he had not done so, the committee thought proper to write to Germany declining his services; but, scarcely had the secretary's letter been dispatched, when he arrived with his wife and child. The committee then held several conferences with him, the result of which was, that they felt perfectly satisfied of his piety, competency, and true missionary zeal; but two obstacles to his being engaged presented themselves. He had not obtained ordination in his own country, and, even if he had, his wife's constitution, according to the report of the medical gentleman who attended her in a recent illness, was totally inadequate to encounter the hazards of a tropical climate. Under these circumstances they were reluctantly obliged, upon mature consideration, to decline attaching him to the mission, and, upon receiving their decision, he returned, with his wife and daughter, to Berlin.

Poor Barneth had returned but a short time to his native country, when the Lord saw fit to deprive him of his partner, and thus, as he piously judged, to remove the obstacle to that course of life to which he had been providentially invited. Accordingly, he again put himself in communication with the Church Missionary Committee, expressing his earnest wish to devote his widowed heart, and all his energies, to

the cause of that adorable Redeemer who seemed to claim him for himself, by severing the cords that would have held him back from the field of Christian warfare. The committee consented to receive him, provided he could obtain ordination, and dispose of his daughter; with which stipulations he considered himself able to comply, and, having in course of time succeeded in effecting both objects, we find him accompanying the next party of missionary students, who arrived in England from the Berlin seminary, as has been stated, in August, 1807. About two years and a-half from this date his mortal remains were committed to their last earthly resting-place, in the garden of the settlement, at Canoffee. So faithfully does our Heavenly Father confound the calculations of his creatures, that the excellency of the power which he eventually displays may be of him and not of us. Barneth would gladly have had his space lengthened, until, like David, he had showed the Lord's strength unto that generation, and his power unto every one that was to come; but that God, whose he was, and whom he served, had chosen for himself other instruments of his will, and he was withdrawn.

He is represented as a man of a peculiarly simple and affectionate disposition, having his eye ever turned towards his great work, and the glory of his Master. His journals breathe ardent devotion to God and love to man—and his surviving brethren bore the most honourable testimony to his character. Renner says of him, "The last four days he was not able to speak, but we had full confidence that he was dying the death of the righteous. He was a lover of Jesus Christ, and an example to believers, for 'with purpose of heart he cleaved unto the Lord.' The many tears which he shed in his sickness, while he lamented that he could not execute the work for which he was sent out, are as a blessed dew on the heathen among whom he died, and on the land which he was permitted but to see. The short time that he lived in the country, he was much beloved by the natives, and greatly respected by all who knew him; his failings shall be remembered no more, and his soul is among those who worship the Lamb for ever and ever." Nothing can be added to this, favourable to the dead, or creditable to the head and heart of the living.

The blessing of the Most High, notwithstanding such visitations of chastening mercy, continued to rest on the labours of the surviving missionaries. At Bassia, so many children were gathering into the school from all quarters, that Butscher and Renner were obliged to build an additional house, two stories high, capable of accommodating fifty boys; while the other was reserved for the girls; and wherever they turned they had the satisfaction of receiving kindness and encouragement; while their own health was wonderfully preserved in that trying climate.

In March, John Pierce, chief of the Nalo nation, on the Rio Nunez,

sent two boys to the Bassia school, and William Fananders, chief of Bramia, on the Rio Dembia, sent one ; these, it will be remembered, had been promised the year before.

In the same month, Nylander was united to a young woman named Phillis Hazley, who had come to England with Mr. Dawes, formerly governor of Sierra Leone. She afterwards returned, and resided at Freetown, where her conduct was irreproachable. She kept a school of fifty girls, whom she instructed in reading, writing, and sewing, and altogether seems to have commended herself to the notice and esteem of all persons of piety and judgment. They were married by Renner, at Freetown—the consent of the committee having been previously obtained.

This year rice was so scarce at the settlement, that if the traders had not supplied some at a most extravagant price, the native children should be sent home for want of means to support them, as, contrary to usual custom, not one basket of that valuable grain was brought to the missionaries for sale. As it was, the children were restricted to one meal of rice in the afternoon, and in the morning they were fed on yams, cassada, biscuit, or soup made of flour. The support of so great a family (it consisting, in May, of fifty-one souls), was now often a source of painful anxiety, so that the brethren might sometimes say, with the Apostle, “We are troubled on every side yet not distressed—we are perplexed, yet not in despair.”* At this time Butscher, with twenty-five boys, occupied the new school-house, and Renner and his wife presided over the education of seventeen female children in the old house.

William Fananders, the father of the boy, already mentioned, as having been sent to the school at Bassia, had resided eleven years in England, and was, therefore, superior to the people around him. He now was very anxious to be visited by the missionaries, and, after repeated invitations from him, Butscher, at the beginning of June, set out to pay him the desired visit, at his town, Bramia, about forty miles distant from the settlement, in a south-westerly direction. Fananders received him most cordially, and showed him the town, and its beautiful situation on the river Dembia. It contained about 500 inhabitants ; that is almost a fourth of the people whom this chief governed—scattered over a district of about eighty miles in circumference. Of the two thousand thus under his authority, fifteen hundred were his own slaves. He expressed his anxiety to have an English school in his place, adding—“It is a pity, Mr. Butscher, that you did not first come into my river—I should have been very glad indeed. If you would reside here, I would build you a school house at my own expense, and procure you thirty or forty scholars.” To

* 2 Cor. iv. 8.

this Butscher replied, that probably had he known of him when he first arrived in the country, he would have put himself under his protection; and that should the society send out additional missionaries to occupy his present post, he might still be settled in that district. After enjoying his hospitality for two days, Butscher returned, and found, on his way back, that the inhabitants of the country were disposed to receive him with great kindness, and showed their desire that instruction should be afforded to their children. Besides the opening for a school at Bramia, Butscher conceived that another might be founded at John Pierce's place, on the Rio Nunez, as he had himself eighteen children, whom he was desirous of having educated, and a missionary could reside very cheaply under his protection.

At this time the missionaries evidently felt that there was a great defect in their work, such as we have ventured to allude to in the previous chapter. They were not preaching the Gospel to the perishing Africans, which was their legitimate province, and for which they should have been every day capacitating themselves, by cultivating the Soosoo language; but hitherto the means to which they had resorted for conciliating the good opinions of their neighbours, both white and black, had been a considerable obstacle to their proficiency; for the great object which the parents of the children had in sending them to the school was, their acquirement of the English language; and so, according to their strict injunction, not a word of Soosoo was allowed to be spoken therein; and thus, instead of the missionaries having the native tongue continually spoken in their hearing, by which they might catch its pronunciation and idiom, they were obliged to prevent any attempt to introduce it. The Soosoo children began to speak English in about six weeks, and soon after they were able to read and write in the same language, which pleased their parents exceedingly, and this was the object to be secured. Alluding to this subject, Butscher says in a letter written to the committee in October—"In case I, therefore, or any other brother, should settle at Bramia, or on the Rio Nunez, it is desirable that another plan than that at Bassia should be laid down concerning the instruction of children. We know, beforehand, that the headmen of those parts desire that their children should learn English; but it is our opinion, that on that account the missionary should not sacrifice the native language. The children may be instructed in English; but, at the same time, let them talk their mother tongue as much as they please; the missionary will derive advantage in hearing their chat all the day long, and may, therefore, soon be enabled to preach, and, at the same time, attend to English teaching."

In a very short time the number of boys under Butscher's care increased to thirty; and of girls under Mr. and Mrs. Renner to twenty.

Mrs. Renner found her hands full of employment in attending to these girls, who were all neatly clad with frocks and gowns, which they made for themselves in their sewing hours. They also made the boys shirts. That excellent woman was much respected and loved by her pupils. She could admonish them with kindness when they did wrong, and even correct them, according to necessity, with meekness and judgment. She herself was always neat and clean in her attire, and it was a pleasure to her to keep the children so likewise.

During the rains this year the scarcity of rice increased to an alarming extent ; so that it advanced in price on the Rio Pongas to fifty pounds a ton, and some of the people in the neighbourhood died of hunger. The missionaries had, however, at that time a good supply ; but the consumption was so great, that they saw themselves arrive to within a fortnight of the exhaustion of their store, without knowing from what quarter it was to be replenished. The Great Shepherd of the sheep, however, took care that they should not want. When near their extremity, it occurred to Butscher to apply to William Fananders, and he had no sooner done so, than that chief sent him two baskets of clean rice, with a note, saying that his rice was still in the plantations, but he would endeavour to have two tons thrashed out for him in a few days, if he could send for it. Butscher immediately borrowed a boat, and after three days' sailing, arrived at his house, where he was welcomed with great kindness. Upon his telling him that he was come for the rice without having money to pay for it, Fananders said—" My dear sir, I do not look to your money—pay when you can : I look more to the purpose for which you came into this country—to teach children ; and I should feel very happy, indeed, to see you teaching children in my territory. I have now to request that you will come to me after Christmas, to baptize all my children according to the rites of the Established Church of England." This Butscher promised to do, and having filled his boat with rice, he returned to Bassia.

We have seen the revival of the slave trade in the Rio Pongas, filling the minds of the missionaries with sorrow and alarm. Happily, the unflinching determination and unwearied exertions of Governor Columbine put an almost total stop to the daring attempts which had been made to re-enact all the horrors of the traffic on that part of the coast, so that for a considerable time no slave vessel had been seen in the neighbouring rivers. " Numberless are the curses," said the missionaries, " which are poured on Sierra Leone on this account ; and a trader told us, with great sincerity, that our lives are, at this time, in danger, because the natives consider us Sierra Leone people, and Sierra Leone people, they say, abolished the slave trade. They suspect us of carrying on a correspondence with the government of Sierra Leone, to inform against them. This might cause us disturbance if the Lord

permit ; but we trust that he is, and will be on our side, and then we have no occasion to fear."

That noble institution, the British and Foreign Bible Society, was not slow in embracing an invitation to participate in the great work now going on among the long-injured and neglected people of Africa. With its usual liberality, it met the request of the Church Missionary Committee with a grant of one hundred and fifty Bibles, and the same number of Testaments, for the use of the settlers and scholars at Sierra Leone, to be sold or distributed gratuitously, at Nyländer's discretion ; and fifty Bibles, and a hundred Testaments, for the settlements on the Rio Pongas. The Church Missionary Committee added a very large quantity of such other books as seemed likely to promote the objects of the society. Upon receiving the Bibles, Renner wrote—"The word of God dwells now richly in our house ; may it also dwell richly in our hearts, and creep likewise into the hearts of strangers !" The revelations of the last great day, alone, will declare the effects of the grant, and of the prayer.

The first year of Nyländer's marriage had not come to a close, when he was called upon to communicate the fact of his conjugal bereavement. He had been a husband something more than eight months, when his wife was removed from him, after only eight days illness. Being considerably advanced in pregnancy, she incautiously took a long walk into the mountains, and on her return complained of great pain and exhaustion. These symptoms continued with increasing violence, until it pleased the Author of her being to relieve her from her agonies, after the short interval mentioned. She departed on the 24th of November, in the 22nd year of her age, very generally lamented in the colony for her piety and usefulness. Her death was a serious loss to the missionary cause, as Nyländer, with her co-operation, had, in addition to the schools under his charge, previous to his marriage, opened one in the evenings, which was attended by twenty-five young women, from sixteen to twenty years of age, which, in consequence of his bereavement, he was obliged to relinquish, as there did not appear to be a person in the colony capable of taking her place as school-mistress. The committee, however, expressed their desire to procure a substitute, towards whose support they would have been glad to contribute.

Nyländer, after the loss of his wife, felt more than ever desirous to leave Sierra Leone, and his eye turned with anxious longings to the Bullom shore, where there now appeared an opening for the introduction of the Gospel. Mr. Dawes, whose departure from Bledlow, where he had received the missionary students under his care, has been alluded to, had from thence proceeded to the coast of Africa, and on his return urged most forcibly on the committee the necessity of

enabling Nylander to settle among the Bulloms. He stated his conviction, that if the ground was not speedily occupied by Christian teachers, it would be seized upon by the Mahommedans, who were already insinuating themselves into the country.

During the year 1811, the school at Bassia was enlarged to more than twice its former dimensions. Great confidence was reposed by the chiefs in the teaching of the missionaries; and the desire to have their children instructed in "white man's book" was evidently on the increase. Mongè Hate sent two more of his children, and promised others; but every visit which he paid to the school, he was more and more delighted with the progress of his son Banga, the missionaries' first pupil, who proved, they said, a faithful boy to them. In February, the missionaries Butscher and Wenzel, paid a visit to William Fananders, who had obtained a large acquisition of territory, and was waiting, he said, most anxiously, for a school to be opened in his place. He offered to transfer to the society a sufficient portion of land for the establishment of a missionary settlement; and as he had just then become acquainted with a great chief in the Soolima country,* to the south of Footah Jalon, or the nation of the Foulahs, the missionaries conceived that, should his wishes be complied with, a way would thus be opened into the interior of Africa, for the introduction of the Gospel.

But as the Bassia seminary had now so greatly increased in magnitude as well as importance, it is time that some account should be given of its internal organization, and the economy by which one hundred and twenty African children were controlled, instructed, and maintained.

We shall begin with the boys who, the reader will remember, were placed under the care of Butscher, in the new house, which was built for that purpose. They all rose at day-break, when they went to a brook near the house, to wash, under charge of a captain appointed over them. On their return, they were ranged before Butscher, who examined them with care, to see how they had performed their ablutions, and how they were dressed. This necessary office being finished, the ringing of a bell announced prayer, and all took their seats. Those who could read took their Bibles, and one of them, who had

* "The Soolima country is a strip of land in the Kooranko territory, bounded on the south by the river Rokelle, on the north by Footah Jallon, on the west by Limba and Tamisso, and on the east by Koranko and Soolimana. The form of the Soolima country is picturesque in the extreme, being diversified with hills, extensive vales, and fertile meadows, belted with strips of wood, and decorated with clumps of trees of the densest foliage. The Soolimas are much accustomed to war. They average in height from about five feet six to five feet eight inches, and when their predatory habits do not interfere, their disposition appears mild and inoffensive, and they exercise the greatest possible hospitality to strangers who visit them as traders."—*Laing*.

previously prepared a chapter, that no mistake or hesitation might occur, read it aloud. After which prayer was offered, and then the boys proceeded to learn the lessons, which were to be recited in school. It, however, fell to the lot of four of the ransomed boys to labour by turns, for the support of the settlement, in beating out rice, which occupied, on an average, about six hours a day. Each party of four continued at this work for a week, when they were relieved by four more, which permitted the former to attend school with the other boys. It likewise devolved on some of the boys to keep the room clean, and on others to fetch the water for the day. A captain was appointed over them, to see that the work was properly done. Besides, one boy, by turns, stood sentinel in the yard, to protect it from the intrusion of strangers, who would otherwise commit petty thefts; and another, who was considered confidential, measured out the rice for breakfast and dinner, which amounted to about a bushel and a-half per day. After school-hours, some kind of occupation or another was found for the boys, such as weeding the garden when it was required, sweeping the yard, &c. Some of the larger and more robust boys were often required to row the canoe up and down the river, when business required an excursion on the water.

School was always held before breakfast, for the first classes, both of boys and girls; when they were instructed in English Grammar and Geography, and wrote letters dictated to them. At nine o'clock, the bell announced breakfast, which consisted of rice and palm oil. After breakfast, the lessons were again prepared, until school opened, which was at ten precisely, for which the bell rang again. The missionaries themselves, in the mean time, had various occupations to attend to. Renner was usually employed, both before and after breakfast, in buying the small articles which the natives brought for sale. He also attended to such of the children as were on the sick list, and saw that their medicines and other restoratives were properly administered.

School commenced with the singing of a hymn, or psalm. One of the boys then repeated the Lord's Prayer, after which a chapter in the Bible was read, by each boy taking one or more verses, until the chapter was finished. The lesson, then, which had been committed to memory was repeated, the three captains appointed for the day repeating first, and if they had acquitted themselves well, they proceeded to hear the lessons of their respective classes—Butscher taking the first class himself, and they the three next in rotation. When all was over, the names of the defaulters were reported by the captains, and punishment awarded. The lessons were then prepared for the next day. A column of words in the spelling-book was spelled aloud—first by the assistants, and then by the others, under their inspection. After spelling, the boys took their slates, and proceeded to work examples in arithmetic, at which

several of them exhibited great cleverness. The business of the school occupied four hours ; it was concluded by again reading a chapter as before, singing a hymn, and repeating the Lord's Prayer, when all departed.

Dinner was served at three o'clock ; it consisted of rice and beef, or palaver sauce, or fish, or palm oil again, just as the settlement happened to be supplied. After dinner was play-time, or the boys were engaged in various employments. Sometimes Butscher took them a walk in the country, which gratified them much, especially when the fruit was ripe. Towards evening they were engaged in arithmetic. At seven the bell summoned to evening prayer, when one boy read a chapter, as in the morning, and Butscher prayed. An examination of the tasks in writing and arithmetic performed during the day then took place, and the day concluded with Butscher reading and explaining some portion of Scripture, when most of the boys retired to rest about nine o'clock ; others sat up and read as long as they pleased. This was the order for every day, except Sunday, when the regular services of the church were performed, and, after the afternoon service, Sunday-school was held.

The regulations for conducting the female school were similar to these. Mr. and Mrs. Renner lived in the house with the girls, and had their entire management. Upon rising in the morning they were engaged in reading and spelling, were catechised, and went through the addition and multiplication tables, until the bell was rung for prayer, when one of the girls read a chapter in the Bible. When prayer was over, some of them took their needle-work until breakfast ; and others went to the morning school. Mr. and Mrs. Renner took their breakfast a little before nine o'clock, and the girls after : it consisted of tea, and dinner of meat, or whatever the Renners had for themselves. Before and after school they were occupied with sewing. Towards evening they sometimes walked out with Mrs. Renner ; and after tea they prepared their lessons, until eight o'clock, when the bell was rung again ; prayer was offered, and all went to bed. The various offices in the house, such as washing and ironing for both establishments, waiting at table, cleaning the house, beating out rice, and cooking, were performed by girls belonging to the settlement, or such as were brought in occasionally ; but none of the school girls were so employed.

Mrs. Renner's part of the work has been already adverted to : she watched with truly maternal care over the health, manners, and cleanliness of the girls—she superintended their needlework, teaching them how to cut out and make their own clothes, and while at work, she conversed with them on improving subjects.

At this time the missionaries began to feel the want of a few laymen of Christian mind and character, who might relieve them of much of the secular business which now distracted their attention from their

legitimate work ; and in consequence of which, the period for holding school in each day was considerably curtailed, and the missionaries often called away from their classes even then. They wrote to the committee on the subject, and expressed a desire that if they should think proper to send them such lay helpers, they might be artizans, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, &c., able to instruct the boys in their several trades, and thus prove a double acquisition to the settlement.

It may not be uninteresting to state the expense of maintaining this large establishment. The missionaries felt anxious that it should be conducted on a liberal scale, doubtless, with the view of gaining the affections of the children, besides commending the society's object to the hearts of the parents, and all the natives, who of course were acquainted with the manner in which the secular affairs of the schools were conducted.

The principal article of consumption was rice, of which they purchased, each year, fifteen tons, which cost . . . 600 dollars.

The consumption for the school for one year, also included the following articles, with the prices paid for them, annexed :—

Thirty bulls,		240
Palm oil,		100
Salt provisions,		60
Eatables of various kinds, bought from the natives,		50
Comforts, such as butter, sugar, tea, and wine,		100
Clothing of missionaries,		150
Clothing of sixty children		300
Clothing and maintenance of twenty children, by the missionaries out of their own salaries,		400

Total annual expenses, ... 2000 dollars.

That was 1200 dollars for the clothing and maintenance of sixty children, by the society, and 800 dollars, the salaries of the two missionaries. The whole, reduced to British money, was about £500—£100 only being allocated by the missionaries for their own support, and £400 for the support of eighty children. The other children being the offspring of traders, were provided for at the school by their parents. As regarded clothing, the only expense incurred was in the purchase of the materials—not a shilling was ever expended for making up—all that was done at the settlement. When a large stock of trowsers, shirts, or frocks, was required, all who could handle a needle, both boys and girls, were set to work, and the whole was completed in two or three weeks.

In April, Butscher set out from Bassia, on a visit to John Pierce, who had two sons at the school. His place was called Carcandy, on

the Rio Nunez. After four day's sail, he and his party entered Carcandy bar, and stopped for water and provision at the first Paga town,* close to the bar. As the landing place was very muddy, some of the Pagoes, well rubbed over with grease, carried them through the mud to the shore. They then conducted them to a palm tree, from which the wine was flowing in sixteen different places, with a vessel attached to each, and having refreshed them with some of this delicious beverage, they conducted them to their town, which consisted of one street, almost a mile in length, with huts placed at equal distances from each other, and of a uniform size, having roofs nearly flat, which are scarcely covered in the dry season. Both men and women wear large rings suspended from their noses—the former wear clothes, while the latter are naked, except a piece of cloth about four inches in breadth, which is attached to a string tied round their waist. The Paga language sounds harsh and noisy.

Having spent about two hours with the Pagoes, Butscher and his companions returned to their vessel, and in two days more reached John Pierce's. He received Butscher with a hearty welcome, and ordered his people to catch four bulls, which he presented to him as a present, and had them driven to Bassia, a journey of six days. Pierce anxiously inquired after his two boys, and was very happy to hear of their progress. He promised to send more of his children. Butscher took this opportunity to visit the white and black traders on the Rio Nunez, who received him with politeness; though some of them were reserved towards him, suspecting him to be a spy on their slave smuggling proceedings.

There are three distinct tribes inhabiting the banks of the Rio Nunez. The Pagoes, on the coast; the Naloes and Lantamers, along the river, inland. The last were formerly the most powerful, but were subdued by the Naloes; however, at the time of Butscher's visit, they all lived in harmony, and John Pierce was their principal chief. The Foulahs were in the habit of coming down to trade with the slave-dealers, bringing slaves, ivory, gold, cattle, &c. They assumed an authority over the natives, declaring that they looked upon them as no better than their slaves, and only hesitated to treat them accordingly in respect to

* Winterbottom spells this word Baga, and calls the people Bagoes. He says they "were once masters of the whole Rio Pongas, and of the country between that river and the Rio Nunez, together with a considerable line of sea coast extending from the Rio Nunez southward as far as the river Dembia, nearly opposite to the Isles de Los. They still retain a few straggling villages scattered here and there, among the Soosoos, but are chiefly confined to the sea coast and to the Isles de Los, upon the largest of which, called Tamara, they have plantations and villages. The Bagoes, like the Bulloms, seem to have been of a mild and peaceable disposition, and to have fallen a prey to ambitious and restless neighbours." He alludes here to the Soosoos, who, he says, have dispossessed them of the tract of country which they once possessed, extending from the river Kisse beyond the Rio Pongas nearly as far as the Rio Nunez.

the traders, from whom they received those commodities of which they stood in need. From these most of the rice used in the country was obtained in exchange for salt, as very little was cultivated by the inhabitants, owing, it is probable, to the slave trade, which employed a great many of them as servants, kidnappers, or petty traders. In all these offices the emolument was pretty high, either received from the traders in their service, or obtained for slaves. A native had only to seize one slave, and sell him, to secure his support for a year, without any further labour, and this naturally led to indolence and neglect; consequently, we see that slavery, among its other numberless mischiefs, sometimes recoiled upon those who were most actively employed in visiting it upon others—in the eagerness of plundering them of their freedom, they overlooked the best means of securing their own.

Had not Butscher's confidence been strongly built on the Rock of his Salvation, and the righteousness of the cause with which he was connected, he learned enough during this visit regarding the feelings entertained by many of the chiefs and traders towards him and his brethren to inspire him with alarm. The abolition of the slave trade had exasperated them to the highest degree, having cut off all their resources, and left them without an occupation; for they looked upon any other African trade but that in slaves as contemptible, and they were ashamed to think of returning home without the riches which they expected to realize. The property which they possessed, too, consisted of slaves, and the coast was too vigilantly guarded for any prospect of disposing of them by shipment to any of the colonies. Smuggling vessels were their only hope, but even these, notwithstanding all their ingenuity, they saw were captured again and again. Meanwhile, the chiefs looked to the traders for their accustomed presents, which could not now be afforded; this irritated the chiefs. Remonstrances led to explanation. The traders declared their business ruined, and, consequently, there were no large profits accruing to them, as formerly, out of which they could reward their friends. Scarcely even a smuggler could now steal into the rivers, and take away a few slaves. All their motions were known to the cruising captains, and their attempts defeated. Then came the inquiry, how was this accurate knowledge obtained? And now the usual reply was—"Do you not think that those people at Bassia give information to the Sierra Leone authorities of every slaver that they hear of in these rivers? And they will continue to do so as long as they are permitted to remain there; and so this country is ruined." The chiefs, who knew that an intercourse was kept up between the missionaries and Sierra Leone, were easily led to adopt so natural a suspicion against them; but as many of these chiefs had children at the school, from which they knew they were deriving great advantage, they often evaded the iniquitous suggestion

of the traders, by saying, "I am not chief of Bassia, and, therefore, have no power in that quarter;" or they said openly, "My child is there at school, to learn the book, for which cause I should not wish any one to disturb them."

When the traders found that several of the chiefs were thus prejudiced in favour of the missionaries, they took counsel with the Foulahs and Mandingoes, whose attachment to their false prophet they knew inspired them with an antipathy for every thing bearing the name of Christ. On one occasion they contributed among themselves for a handsome present to be made to the King of the Foulahs, with a request that he would drive the missionaries away from Bassia. The present was sent, and accepted; and would, no doubt, have occasioned much trouble to the brethren, had not the Lord of the vineyard put his hook in the nose, and his bridle in the lips of the savage monarch, who was shortly after most providentially dethroned by his subjects, on account of the unsuccessful wars which he carried on with the pagan natives in the interior.

The good effects of the abolition, and the vigilance employed against illicit traffic, were soon apparent. The traders were obliged to send their slaves into their rice plantations, instead of selling them on the coast; and many men who made a livelihood by that horrid trade being dismissed from their offices, took to cultivating the soil, and forming plantations for themselves.

The craft in which Butscher was conveyed to Carcandy, having got out of repair, and, as he found, after nine days waiting for her to be fitted, that she was not much more sea-worthy than before, he determined on returning by land; but was informed that the only path lay through a desert of three days journey, and that in crossing it, he would be obliged to sleep in the bush. He was also told that at this time about two hundred Foulahs were encamped there to catch near a thousand runaway slaves, belonging to them, who had fled into a district near the sea shore. Uncertain how to act amid these difficulties, he consulted John Pierce, who kindly offered to furnish him with twelve of his men, well armed, as a body guard, who, he said, would be able to defend him from the wild beasts; and as to the Foulahs they would not molest him, when they saw him attended by his men. Butscher accepted the offer, and retired to rest, resolving to depart on the morrow.

Early next morning a man rushed into his room, exclaiming, "Mr. Butscher, here is war—here is war." Butscher, ran out on the front piazza, and saw a number of people surrounding the house, fighting with cutlasses, and some tying others with ropes. Upon his asking the factor, with whom he lodged, the cause, he said, "there came down yesterday one hundred and fifty men from the Cabba

country, to sell their produce to the traders ; some of them came to me with ivory, calabashes, and stock, and I see that John Pearce's people are now catching them ; for what reason I do not know." After breakfast Butscher went to Pearce where he saw a hundred of these people in irons, and the remainder were brought in by his people, who spent the whole day in catching them. Being asked by Butscher why he treated them thus, he replied, " These people came from the Cabba Country, which is divided into two kingdoms ; one borders on the Lantamars, and maintains a friendly intercourse with them, inso-much that their children intermarry. The two Cabba kings were at war, and the King of Northern Cabba burnt a town belonging to the King of Southern Cabba, who enjoyed the friendship of the Lantamars, some of whose women and children perished in the flames. The Lantamars were consequently enraged, but could do nothing without me. A few days ago the headman of the Southern Cabba sent a message to me, that about a hundred and fifty of his enemies' subjects, including those who had burnt the town, where the women and children perished, were going down to the Rio Nunez with produce, and he requested me, should they arrive, to catch them all, and sell them for powder and guns, to enable him to carry on the war again. The chief of the Lantamars received the same message, and consequently we caught them all." " I suppose," observed Butscher, " they are not all guilty of the same crime for which they have been taken." " It may be so," replied Pearce, " but if a slave vessel was here they would be sold without mercy, guilty or not guilty ; but as there is none, the matter will be considered, and the people examined. Perhaps they will all return in safety," which, as Butscher afterwards learned, eventually happened ; and thus to the abolition of the slave trade, even as far as it had gone, was it to be ascribed that these hundred and fifty poor creatures were restored to their homes and families, instead of being crammed into a slave ship, and killed or sold like brutes.

Butscher now proceeded on his journey, and was the first night hospitably treated by a Lantamar chief, who received him into his house ; but on the second he was obliged to lodge under the shelter of a few small trees, where he and his party were overtaken by a tornado, which extinguished their fire, and completely wetted their clothes, which they could only dry by walking briskly on, as soon as the sun arose. They fortunately did not encounter the Foulahs, but found many traces of leopards, hyenas, elephants, and wild hogs, in their path, from which, however, an Almighty arm protected them. The third night turned out beautiful, and they reposed very comfortably in the open air. Starting early next morning, they arrived at a town, where a woman, who was acquainted with some of the school children at Bassia, wel-

comed Butscher very cordially. Having rested here about four hours, they proceeded, and reached a factory in the evening, from whence, having an offer of water carriage home, Butscher embraced it, being then much fatigued, and arrived at home in safety, and was rejoiced to find the Renners and all the children in perfect health.

He had scarcely rested himself after his visit to Carcandy, when he felt it to be his duty to set out again for a place called Malaga, in the Mandingo Country, in consequence of a letter which had reached the settlement during his absence, addressed to him, informing him that a white man, whose child was in the school, had died there, leaving property to the amount of £300 to his child, and appointing Butscher his executor; but that the Mandingoes would not let the property be removed, unless he came to claim it. Unwilling as he was to leave home so soon after his late absence, and as it was now the beginning of the rains, when there was much to be done in the way of planting, but considering that if he did not obey the invitation, the child of the deceased might lose the property which his father had bequeathed to him, he was at length induced to undertake the journey to Malaga, which was seven days' distance from the settlement. We shall let him narrate the incidents of the way in his own words:—

“The first day we arrived at Bramia, the town of Mr. Wm. Fernandez, who offered me a canoe, and people to carry me as far as Dembrica, one and a-half tide from Bramia, if I would stay a day with him, which offer I cheerfully accepted, because it saved us two days' walk. On the 16th we set out from Bramia, and arrived at Dembrica the following morning. The chief of that town, with whom I became acquainted a year ago, was not at home.

“After we had breakfasted, we proceeded to Mania, about fifteen miles from Dembrica. Here we had to pass the foot of the Sengra Hill, a very difficult road, on account of its crooked winding, rocks, and bushes, but affording a most beautiful prospect towards the north, west, and south. The Isles de Loss* are clearly to be seen, though distant seventy miles. In the evening we arrived at Mania, the town which

* This is a group of seven islands, to which the Portuguese gave the name of Yola de los Idolos (Islands of Idols) corrupted into Islands of Los. Three are inhabited, the other four, says Golberry, being nothing more than a shapeless mass of volcanic rubbish. The largest and most westerly, called by the natives Tamara, and by the English, King William's Island, is five leagues in length, east and west, by one in breadth, and has two harbours, where some English merchants have founded a settlement. The island of Los Idolos, from which the group has its name, is the most easterly; it is nearly three leagues in length, north and south, being shaped like a boat. The English have here some very fine factories, docks, and warehouses. These islands are said to be remarkably salubrious, owing to their elevation above the sea, to the sea breezes, and to abundant springs of fresh and limpid water.

the brethren Renner and Prasse, with myself, visited four years ago, when we were visiting in the Mandingo Country.

“Having lodged here this night, we proceeded the next morning to Wonkapong, about eight miles from Mania, and arrived there in the afternoon. When I left Bramia, Mr. Fernandez gave me two men, who were to accompany me wherever I had to go: by them he recommended me to a headman at Wonkapong, begging him to convey me, if possible, by water to Malaga, about two days’ passage, whereas, by land, it is two days’ good walk. Having been thus recommended, I did not hesitate to pay a visit to that chief, who received me very civilly, and ordered the canoe to be got in readiness for me as soon as possible; but his people, who were to carry me, were not all at hand. I had, therefore, to wait two days for them. During my stay at Wonkapong, I lodged with the same intelligent Mahometan with whom we three brethren lodged four years ago.

“On the 21st * we left Wonkapong. The day was very hot. The creeks through which we had to pull were very narrow, and the stings of the mangrove flies were almost intolerable. In the evening a tremendous tornado approached us. We, therefore, tied our canoe to the mangroves, and endeavoured to shelter ourselves from the violence of the rain, but in vain. On seeing the magnificent lightning, accompanied with a majestic noise of thunder, the two verses of Dr. Watts came into my mind, and which I then sung:—

‘The God that rules on high,
And thunders when he please;
That rides upon the stormy sky,
And manages the seas:
This awful God is ours,
Our Father and our love;
He shall send down his heavenly powers
To carry us above.’

“But the violence of the rain soon dissipated my cheerful thoughts, having nothing to defend myself from it but my great-coat, which now was nine years of age, and was become pretty thin, and could but little protect me. We were all thoroughly wet for ten hours.

“When we arrived at a Mandingo town, near the island of Mattakong, I was scarcely able to walk into the town, for I got a violent cold and shaking in my limbs. At the first house I entered, I directed a fire to be made, and laid myself down to it as close as I could bear, without shifting my posture till the wet and damp was drawn out of my body and clothes. This method I take when I get wet or cold in my journeys, and have always found it very beneficial. Having lain down

* May, 1811.

for about four hours, I felt myself much better, but had a violent thirst. The headman of the town procured me a jar of sour milk, of which I drank about a gallon in the course of the day, and during the night I felt myself perfectly well, although the people were afraid I should get very sick by drinking so much. On the 20th, we left the town, and arrived in Malaga the same evening; where I was immediately attacked with a fever, but which left me after a few hours."

The property of which Butscher was in search was found in a store at this place, but as it was mixed with another man's, who was then at Sierra Leone, the proprietor of the store would only agree to give it out with his consent. This, joined to a request contained in a letter which was handed to Butscher here from Nylander, induced him to decide on visiting the colony. It appeared that Nylander had determined to enter a second time into the married state, and having learned that Butscher had to visit the Mandingo Country, he considered it a good opportunity to have the ceremony performed by him, and for that purpose directed a letter for him, to the care of a white man at Malaga.

On the first of June, Butscher arrived at Freetown, and united Nylander to Anne Beberith on the 5th. Governor Maxwell took advantage of his arrival to commit six negro children, natives of the Congo river, selected from a number recaptured from slave vessels, to the care of the missionaries, and with these he left Sierra Leone on the eighth, and in two days arrived at Malaga, furnished with a written order to receive all the goods in the store, consisting of rice, canoes, &c., which had belonged to the deceased testator, and which, in consequence, were delivered to him—somewhat diminished, however, during his absence at the colony. These he converted, as soon as practicable, into money, which he remitted to the society to be funded for the use of the child to whom it belonged.

Having received the six poor negro children, almost naked, he clothed them decently, and on his journey home had to guard them with great care, as he was informed that the Mandingoes, on going to and from Sierra Leone, had stolen numbers of such recaptured children, by enticing them with rice, bread, &c., and carried them off by night, in their canoes, for sale, at the first opportunity. Besides these children he had with him a mulatto boy, about ten years of age, who was sent by his parents to the school.

In passing through Mania, on his way home, the chief asked him where he had got these children. Upon Butscher informing him, he said, "Mr. Butscher, I think the world will turn now at once. The slaves which are sold to the vessels are now carried to Sierra Leone, and there made free. A little before the abolition, you came into this

country, and got acquainted with the headmen, who gave you their children to teach them; and now you bring even such children from Sierra Leone as have been slaves, and you will teach THEM. Now, if all the children under your care learn the book, and grow up with you, they will know and do your fashion, and this will certainly make an alteration in the country. But I think it is not good if the slaves learn the book, because I think they will rise against their masters." Butscher explained to him that these children were as free as himself, and assured him that if a slave learned the book he would never rise against his master. This man was a Mahomedan, and instructed children himself in that religion.

The management of African children, the missionaries found, was no easy task. They required more severity to be exercised towards them than children of civilized parents. Having been mostly brought up by their mothers, they were accustomed neither to see nor hear any thing that was good, and, as the brethren said, it was hard to make them sing the praises of God, with the same tongue as had before been employed in cursing and ill language; nevertheless the change that was wrought in them, in a short time at the school was wonderful—indeed they were like new creatures. "Whatever," said their pious instructors, "may become of these children hereafter, only God knows: but this much we believe, that lasting impressions will be made on their hearts of what they learn, and see, and hear. Nor let the hope die, that we shall be the means of saving some of them. Their conduct in general, and in a moral view, is as good as in any Christian school of that nature can be. Decency and morality are enforced, as far as human efforts can enforce them, and vice suppressed whenever detected; and, till now (it is our great comfort) no particular vice has sprang up among them, so as to grieve our hearts, or make us lament our undertaking." Thus far had the Lord helped them, and they rejoiced to think that they were labouring under the eye and blessing of Him who had said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God."

The two new missionaries, mentioned in the last chapter as having arrived in England with Barneth and Wenzel—John Godfrey Wilhelm, of Strasburg, in Alsace, aged 33, and Jonathan Solomon Klein, of Stutgard, in Wirtemberg, aged 33, were dismissed to their work in Africa, at the end of this year. The latter was accompanied by his wife, niece to the Rev. Thomas Scott, for whom he had formed an attachment while he was under Mr. Scott's instruction, and to whom he was united, by his venerated instructor, at Aston Sandford, with the approbation of the committee. They sailed from England on the 20th of November, and after touching at Madeira and Goree, arrived, in health and safety, at Sierra Leone, on the 22nd of December. During the voyage they had conducted divine worship, with the consent of the

owner of the vessel, each day, morning and evening, and two public services on Sunday, which were attended with much decorum; and the day itself was observed with strict abstinence from all unnecessary labour. On the 4th of January, 1812, Butscher joined the newly-arrived brethren at the colony, bringing the melancholy intelligence that Mrs. Wenzel, after being safely delivered of a boy, on the 21st of December, had caught cold, which brought on fever, and terminated in her death on the 28th, thus adding another victim to the African cause, and we trust another testimony to the power of divine grace, "which always causeth us to triumph in Christ." On the 20th of January, they arrived safely at Bassia, where they were cordially welcomed by their brethren.

On the 25th all the missionaries held a meeting, to implore the divine favour and assistance; and, as the committee had signified their wish that Butscher should visit England, for the purpose of laying before them a particular account of the progress of the mission, as well as of replying to such inquiries as they might think proper to make, they likewise desired to dismiss him with their blessings and prayers, and to enter formally into such arrangements as might seem expedient during his temporary absence from the settlement. It was considered advisable that Wilhelm should occupy his station at Bassia, while Mr. and Mrs. Klein should unite with Wenzel, at Canoffee. Wilhelm and Klein had brought out with them, from England, a printing press, a font of Roman types, and a quantity of printing paper, which it was anticipated would materially promote the objects of the mission. While in England, they had been placed under the instruction of a printer, by whom they were taught his important art, and they were able, before their departure, to satisfy the committee that they could employ it to advantage.

As an edition of the Arabian Scriptures, printed from the Arabic text in the Polyglot, had recently been published under the patronage of the Bishop of Durham, the British and Foreign Bible Society, with its usual liberality, granted thirty copies of it, bound in calf, to be either sold or given away by the missionaries; and as many of the natives highly valued the Arabic language,* much good was expected from this distribution. Besides these, at the suggestion of Mr. Dawes, a few copies splendidly bound in Morocco, with cases for their pre-

* Park, in his travels among the Mandingoes, discovered "that the negroes are in possession (among others) of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch of Moses, which they call Taureta la Moosa. This is so highly esteemed that it is often sold for the value of one prime slave. They have likewise a version of the Psalms of David, (Zabora Dawidi); and, lastly, the Book of Isaiah, which they call Lingeeli la Isa, and it is in very high esteem." "I suspect, indeed," he adds, "that in all these copies there are interpretations of some of the peculiar tenets of Mahomet, for I could discover in many passages the name of the (false) prophet.—*Park's Travels*, chap. xxiv.

servation, were presented by the society to the King of Sulima and other chiefs. Another supply of Bibles, upon an extensive scale, was also furnished by the British and Foreign Bible Society to Sierra Leone.

At this last-mentioned station Nylander continued to officiate as chaplain, so far as his health, which was very indifferent, would permit, under the kind patronage of Governor Maxwell, who seems to have succeeded, not only to the government, but to the conscientious activity and benevolence of his predecessor, Governor Columbine, whom the Lord had recently been pleased to remove by death. The Hon. Robert Thorp, chief-justice of the colony, also highly favoured the missionaries. Nylander's second marriage has been mentioned. His wife was appointed schoolmistress, in the place of his first wife. His desire to labour among the Bulloms continued unabated; but circumstances did not yet admit of his changing his present position.

In the female school, at Bassia, the work of instruction and improvement went on prosperously, under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Renner. She appeared in every way to justify the choice which her husband had made; for although a woman of colour, her mind and heart were of a superior order, being ever under the guidance of that faith which worketh by love, and which dictated every act of duty, and enabled her to carry it out with single-mindedness and zeal. Perhaps her character will more fully develop itself in the following expression of her feelings contained in a letter which she addressed, early in the year 1812, to the secretary of the society:—

“ Bassia, Feb. 12, 1812.

“ **REV. SIR**—Had I the pen of a ready writer, I would long ago have taken the liberty to address myself to you, and I trust you will excuse this present scribbling, coming from a creature of God, whom His providence has intrusted but with a small talent.

“ I am not, sir, personally known to you; but so much you know, that I am in the service of the mission, and that God has cast my lot in a fair place. I am not only happy in having a good husband in Mr. Renner, but feel myself very happy to be in a way where I can serve God and the cause of Christ. My situation can lead my soul to work out my salvation with fear and trembling, and the same situation affords me the means to do good to others—to teach children the fear of God—to impress into the minds of those female children about me to be chaste, decent, and honest, and to show them such necessary works as are needful for females brought up in this country; and such virtues as I practise myself are not hard for me to teach these children. I like children; and the children in our house (I must praise them) like and regard me as their mother. It goes now in the fourth year that I am in the country and the society's service, in a busy and large

family ; but I am not yet tired of it ; and while God upholds my feeble frame, I like to stir about, and sit down with my girls, and do for them as much as I can. I conclude with begging to be remembered in your prayers, and I beg kind remembrance to your lady from a distant friend.

“ I am, rev. sir, your humble servant,

“ ELIZABETH RENNER.”

Butscher arrived safely in England, accompanied by Richard Wilkinson, one of his pupils at Bassia, and both were presented to the friends of the society at the annual meeting, held in London, on the 19th of May, 1812 ; and during his stay the committee held frequent conferences with him on the subject of the mission, from which they derived the most cordial satisfaction, and considered themselves warranted in deducing the fullest expectations of the most important blessings being thereby conferred on the inhabitants of Western Africa. They felt constrained, also, to bear testimony to the integrity, activity, and piety, which Butscher and the other missionaries had exhibited in their arduous undertaking, and to express the entire confidence which they were led to repose in them.

The want which the brethren felt of lay assistance has been referred to. No sooner had it been expressed, than it occupied the serious attention of the committee ; and with the object of providing for the necessity which had arisen, they received under the society's protection three young men from Germany—John Quast, a Hanoverian, aged 28 ; Herman Meyer, a native of Bremen, aged 30 ; and Conrad Henry Meissner, a Hanoverian, aged 33 ; having had, from full inquiry and frequent intercourse with them, every reason to be satisfied on the subject of their religious principles and moral character. These they placed under proper persons to learn boat-building, twine-spinning, rope-making, and smiths' work. The three men married during their stay in England, following the example of Butscher, who took advantage of his temporary return to be united, with the committee's approbation, to an active and zealous young woman, who promised to be an acquisition to the African work.

As might naturally be expected, from the peculiar position which the little church, planted amid the savage scenery of Africa, occupied, many difficulties would arise in the way of ecclesiastical order and legality, which should be provided for as they occurred, to prevent such irregularities as would be inconsistent with the character of the Christian community, whose formularies had been adopted, and the civil institutions of the country from whence the mission had emanated, the discipline of the Church of England had been hitherto adhered to, as far as the peculiar state of things permitted ; but as the settlements

were beyond the range of episcopal jurisdiction, many concessions were necessarily made to circumstances, utterly at variance with her constitution. For instance, the men who exercised sacred functions in the infant church had received no orders from her; they belonged to an entirely different communion, although consenting to use her liturgy, and conform, as far as possible, to her discipline; but wherever they could not take her with them, they were obliged to fall back on the formularies of the Lutheran Church.

While Butscher was in England it was considered judicious to come to some decision regarding the most critical of the questions which the experience of the missionaries suggested. Those relating to marriages, baptism, and confirmation, had naturally the precedence. Respecting the first, the difficulty was, as the missionaries would very probably be called upon to celebrate marriages, both among themselves and such of the heathens as should be converted to Christianity—the settlement being in the vicinity of a British colony, though not within its jurisdiction—whether such marriages would be considered legal in a British court of justice?—and the inquiry was suggested—what is it that constitutes a legal marriage under such circumstances, where no specific regulations have been provided for the occasion? On these points the committee took the opinion of an able civilian, whose judgment, as it may be interesting to some, we shall give:—

“The law of England, in the consideration of foreign marriages, looks to the law or rule of the country or place of the contract itself, whether written or consuetudinary, as that which ought to be conformed to, and as constituting the legality of such marriages, if controverted in a British tribunal; so that where no obstacle can arise to a compliance with it among Christians, although it may be thought expedient to celebrate it also according to the rites of their own particular church, it would adopt the first as the rule by which to determine upon its validity.

“But where no specific regulations subsist, or, if they do, are such as heathens only could comply with, being, as I presume, the state or condition of the place or country to which the questions proposed directly relate, I am of opinion that marriages celebrated by Lutheran missionaries, without the precincts or jurisdiction of the British colony, either amongst themselves, or among such heathens as may become Christians by their means, according to the rites of their church, or that of the Church of England, as near as either of them could be pursued, would be considered as valid in a British court of justice. But it may also be highly important that care be taken to preserve the record of such marriages, by some written entry or register, authenticated in that mode which their means may best afford, whereby the

evidence of the fact of such solemnization may be forthcoming as so recorded, if necessary to be resorted to, and the parties respectively have a certified copy of it delivered to them for their use, and to provide against the possibility of the original being destroyed.

“ M. SWABY.

“ Doctors’ Commons, April 28, 1812.”

In consequence of this opinion the settlements were provided with registers for the marriages which might be celebrated there, and also registers for baptisms and burials; and the missionaries were desired to record these events with punctuality, and to furnish certified copies to all parties concerned.

As a question had arisen respecting the re-baptizing of children baptized by laymen or others, the missionaries were desired to conform themselves to the practice of the Church of England, which allows the validity of lay baptism.

But as regarded baptism, it was the wish of the committee that every opportunity should be embraced of admitting infants to that holy ordinance, when proper sponsors could be procured, but in reference to children admitted to the settlement after infancy, their direction was that they should follow the analogy of the church’s practice with regard to the age at which she admits children to confirmation; the age of 14 or 15 being considered the period at which the children not baptized in infancy were to be placed under a course of instruction preparatory to baptism; and, “ due care having been taken for their examination, whether they be sufficiently instructed in the principles of the Christian religion;”* if they should “ be found fit,” then, they were to be admitted to the holy ordinance; but in particular cases, children of an earlier age might be baptized, should it appear expedient.

The directions of the committee, as to the manner in which the rite of confirmation, was to be administered, exemplify the awkwardness of the attempt to graft Church of England services upon an unepiscopal stock.† This ordinance, according to the constitution of the former, is an essentially episcopal one, consisting of imposition of hands by the bishop alone; but the missionaries were unavoidably commissioned to confirm their children according to the power vested in them by the Lutheran Church, whenever they judged of them that

* Rubric prefixed to the office of “ baptism of such as are of riper years.”

† A similar remark is applicable, in the case of adult baptism, as regulated by the committee, the rubric of the church appointing that “ when any such persons as are of riper years are to be baptized, timely notice shall be given to the bishop, or whom he shall appoint for that purpose.” The rule of Ignatius is the very spirit of our church, “ Let nothing be done without the bishop.”

they walked consistently with their baptismal vow ; and afterwards to admit them to the Lord's Table.

The subject of select places for public worship at the settlements was also considered, and the missionaries were directed to construct, with as little delay as possible, decent and commodious churches, not to be used for any other purpose than worship, and the preaching of God's Word. One such sacred edifice was to be erected in each settlement, of a form different from that of those buildings appropriated to religious purposes by either the Mahommedan or pagan natives, that none might mistake it for other than a house dedicated to "the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he had sent."

It was considered that the time had now arrived, when the adult Africans might be invited to hear the message of life eternal proclaimed to them in the Gospel. The committee, therefore, enjoined upon Butscher and his brethren, to assemble and address them as soon and as frequently as possible—to preach to them Christ crucified, and to show them, in the Cross, a remedy for all their evils. A hope was entertained that the success of the missionaries, with the children, had created an interest for them and their holy religion, in the hearts of relatives and friends, which would greatly facilitate this undertaking.

Matters of a more secular character were not overlooked in the general arrangement: the position and duties of the lay brethren were particularly defined—the manner of their support, and that of their families, regulated—facilities of intercourse between the settlements adopted—a provision allocated for the widows and orphans of missionaries, and other arrangements made. To each of these heads we shall devote a brief space.

The laymen were to act in subordination to the missionaries ; and, in consideration of the expense attendant on their instruction and outfit, they were required to serve for four years certain. After that period, should advantageous opportunities occur to them, for settling among the natives, they were at liberty, with the consent of the missionaries, to embrace them ; as, in case of their so doing, much benefit was anticipated from Christian families establishing themselves in the country. As regarded maintenance, it was agreed between Butscher and the committee, that each settlement, having in it forty children, supported by the society, at £5 each, should supply one lay person either husband or wife, with rice, and other country provision, together with meat, butter, tea, coffee, and spruce beer, besides washing, free of expense to the society ; and that for every additional man or woman, the society should allow £25 per annum, for maintenance, and £20 for clothing to every man and woman in each settle-

ment. A provision was also made, of £7 10s. per annum, for each child born to the settlers, while they were in the service of the society, or until they could otherwise support them.

As regular and speedy intercourse between the settlements, and between them and Sierra Leone, was considered important, the missionaries were empowered, in case they should judge it expedient, to attach a vessel of six or seven tons burthen to the mission; and as the cost of maintaining such a vessel would be considerable, it was suggested that the laymen might relieve the society to a great extent, by carrying on a small trade with the natives; or, as they had been instructed in valuable mechanical arts, exchanging their labour for such commodities as the settlements required. But in connexion with this subject, the lay settlers were especially cautioned against making any attempt, or even indulging a wish to accumulate private property. The settlements, they were reminded, with all their furniture; the libraries, the mechanics' tools, and every thing purchased by the society for the use of the mission, or procured by their time and labour, which they owed to the society, were the property of the society, and so to be considered by every person concerned, and to be secured by every means which the custom of the country provided. "So long," said the committee, "as you are dependant on that body, which has expended the public money in fitting you out, and in supporting you, you cannot from its funds accumulate any property as your own: you owe yourselves, and your all, to the advancement of that cause, for the furtherance of which Christian charity has enabled the society to send you among the heathen. If, by any prudence and economy, you can maintain each settlement for a less sum than that which the society allows, any saving must not be regarded as your own; but you are bound, in imitation of Mr. Renner and Mr. Butscher, who have in good part maintained twenty children out of their salaries, to apply such savings to the diminution of the society's expenses."

On the subject of the widows and orphans of those who sacrificed their lives in the missionary cause, the committee desired to make such regulations as would leave husbands and fathers, without distraction, to pursue their work and labour of love. They, therefore, declared that they would continue to the widow of a missionary her full salary of £25; and to the widow of a layman £20 per annum, should she choose to remain at the settlement after her husband's decease, and make herself useful, besides allowing to the settlement what may be further necessary for her support. But if she desired to return to Europe, the expenses of her passage should be defrayed by the society, and her salary continued until she could provide for herself; and even then a small annuity would be allowed, proportionate to the services of her husband. With respect to the children of deceased missionaries or laymen, the com-

mittee promised that the allowance for their support at the settlement should be continued until they could be provided for; and should it be considered inexpedient for them to remain at the settlement, they should be brought to Europe at the society's expense.

The principle of redeeming a certain number of children from slavery, to be attached to each settlement, was adopted by the committee. They directed that for each settlement containing fifty children, eight of these poor slave children should be redeemed, at a sum not exceeding £10 for each child, which children were to act as servants, and to receive education, and that the same proportion should be observed for a smaller or larger settlement; and these children, with the layman and his wife, it was expected, would be sufficient for the services required.

It was decided that fifty acres of land should be purchased from Wm. Fernandez, on the Rio Dembia, for the formation of a settlement. Butscher was commissioned to treat with him on the subject, and by representing to him the advantages which would result to him from the establishment of a mission in his territory, to secure the property to the society on reasonable terms. When the bargain was made, the three laymen were to accompany Butscher to the Rio Dembia, to assist him in the erection of the proposed settlement, which would be about forty miles from those at Bassia and Canoffee; and it may here be mentioned, that in reference to the locality of the missionary settlements, the committee expressed their wish, that in future they should not be found nearer to one another than from twenty to forty miles, those already existing being, in their opinion, too close together.

To these instructions, sent out by the committee, was added the direction, that on Butscher's arrival at the Rio Pongas, he should assemble all the persons connected with the settlements, in order to return public thanks to Almighty God for his merciful care of them, and to implore His blessing on their proceedings; and that the missionaries should afterwards hold a meeting among themselves to deliberate on their future plans; and the committee concluded with an earnest prayer, that God would bestow on them all those graces of his Holy Spirit, which would fit them for sustaining an honourable part in the great design. "Let," they continued, "the life which you live in the flesh be by the faith of the Son of God, who loved you, and gave himself for you. In unshaken dependance on his promised grace, in patient self-denial and steady zeal, go on your way, and bear up under all your afflictions. Be much in prayer, and walk close with God, and 'let all your things be done in charity. Be kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly love, in honour preferring another. Finally, brethren, farewell; be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind; live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.'"

In Butscher's reply, which was characterized by the committee, as

exhibiting "a spirit of simplicity, and of prudent, but determined zeal," he supposes that the important question will be asked—why the first attentions of the missionaries were not given to the preaching of the Gospel? In reply to which he enumerates several of the difficulties and obstructions to such a course; but we shall let him speak for himself.

"1st. I think every reasonable person must allow that it is of the highest importance for a missionary to study well the disposition of the nation to whom (which) he is sent, before any good could be expected to result from the labour of preaching.

"2nd. The slave trade not being abolished when we first arrived in Africa, we found the minds of the natives so strongly prejudiced against all Europeans, as to render it impossible to convince them that we had no worldly motives in coming amongst them; to this I may add that the European and American slave traders, who resided in that quarter, employed all their influence and power to oppose us, and to strengthen the native prejudices."

He then went on to say, that in consequence of these difficulties with the adults, the missionaries turned their attention to the education of children, hoping to obtain the confidence of the parents, and in time induce them to listen to the Gospel. That the result of their exertions had been, that the schools rose high in the estimation of their neighbours—that after four years the prejudices of the natives were nearly removed, and their confidence gained; and that these circumstances, together with the abolition of slavery, conveyed an encouraging expectation that the Gospel would then be favourably received. He was happy, he said, to announce that some of the children, under their care, had received abiding religious impressions, and that these were likely, in the hand of God, to become instruments of diffusing the knowledge of Christ among their countrymen.

His intention now, he added, was, accompanied by his wife and the three laymen, to form a third settlement in the Rio Dembia, where he would teach the children to read and write the Soosoo language as well as the English, which would greatly assist himself in acquiring Soosoo, and thus facilitate the preaching of the Gospel; and as twenty of the children in the Bassia school were the sons of chiefs, a circuit of about three hundred miles was opened for that purpose, without fear of persecution; and as William Fernandez, chief of that district, was well acquainted with some of the interior chiefs, and their children would probably be entrusted to his care, the field of usefulness would be still further enlarged.

But besides this new settlement on the Rio Dembia, another might be contemplated on the Rio Nunez, where the chief, John Pierce, was

desirous that one should be established. Each of these settlements, he conceived, ought to be furnished with two missionaries and a lay brother, as the attention of one missionary ought to be confined to the school, the other, while occasionally taking a part in the school business, should devote the principal part of his time to the study of the native language, while the secular concerns would devolve on the lay brother.

The reader will be pleased with the disposition manifested in the foregoing, to obey, at length, the Redeemer's command—"Preach the Gospel"—a command plain, express, and unqualified, and not, we would take the liberty of saying, subject to the modifications of human judgment, fear, or infirmity.

CHAPTER IV.

BEFORE we accompany Butscher and his companions out of England, it will be right for us to go back a little, and see how the brethren in Africa went on during his absence.

We have seen that there existed in the minds of the natives a suspicion, which was fostered by the traders, that the missionaries were spies appointed by the colonial government to watch and report any attempt to evade the British Abolition Act; and true it was that the use to which they might be turned in this respect, from the position which they occupied near the court, did not escape the authorities at Sierra Leone; for early in the year 1812 an official communication on the subject was addressed to Renner, by Mr. Biggs, the attorney-general of the colony, setting forth the anxiety of the governor and chief-justice to carry out the provisions of the act* to the fullest extent of the powers vested in them, and requesting the missionaries to supply them with all the information respecting the traders and the arrival of smuggling vessels which they could collect in their neighbourhood. To this application Renner returned the following reply:—

“ Bassia, March 23, 1812.

“ HONOURED SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your interesting official letter, dated March 22, 1812. It affords me much pleasure to see the laudable vigilance of the present government in Sierra Leone, in using every means in putting an effectual stop to the

* The act here referred to is called the Slave Trade Felony Bill: its title is, “ An Act for rendering more effectual an Act made in the forty-seventh year of his Majesty George the Third's reign, intituled, ‘ An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade,’ ” and its date is May 14th, 1811. By the original act of March 25th, 1807, the slave trade is declared unlawful, and is consequently abolished under a penalty of one hundred pounds for every slave carried from the coast of Africa; but by this bill the offence is declared to be felony, subjecting the perpetrator to transportation for fourteen years.

infamous traffic in human beings, according to the law of your country. The noble exertions of his Excellency Governor Maxwell, and those of the Honourable Robert Thorpe, chief-justice, in putting the Abolition Act into exercise, like men authorized by God to wear the sword of justice, not in vain, deserve the praise of their king and country.

"I am aware, sir, of the difficulty to get substantial evidence against the transgressors of the Abolition Act. They are so cautious in their dealing in slaves, that they even shun the rays of the sun, and transact their gloomy business in the night, and, of course, exclude any stranger or person whom they may suspect to inform against them. You may be sure that slave traders are more afraid of a person of my profession than they are of hell, on account of giving information against them ; and, therefore, one of our persuasion can never come to facts, though one may have occasion to go into their houses and factories.

"Besides, sir, *it has been a standard rule with us, never to correspond on this subject with any individual in Sierra Leone or in England ; and even not with our society, except merely mentioning the smuggling vessels which occasionally invade the coast.* With this conduct, perhaps, you find fault ; but if you should know our critical situation, you would easily excuse us. We are watched by the natives with a suspicious and jealous eye, considering us always as 'Sierra Leone people ;' and they cannot help telling us that, by our means, the Soosoo Country will gradually become King George's. Did we enjoy the protection of a government similar to a subject in Sierra Leone, the case would be materially altered ; but so we are not governed by law and government, but by the general voice of the people—by fashion—by the influence of other head people over our headmen, and even by the influence of traders over our landlord ; therefore it is indispensably necessary for us to keep our distance in matters which do not immediately concern us, and which are not, in a direct view and prospect, in the eyes of our society. But, notwithstanding this, could I bring forward any substantial evidence against any slave traders, I would think it my duty to do it, as I am called on to do so : but mere hearsay, as you well know, will not do before a court of justice.

"The fact is observable, sir, that the slave trade draws nigh to its end, and to its deserved destruction.* True, the natives lament its downfall ; but the benefits are great which they derive from that downfall daily, though they may be blind to the benevolent blessings which the abolition confers on them.

"Let me observe, sir, how the mighty upholders, the slave traders, are fallen since a few years past. The few survivors and advocates for the trade will soon come to an end too. Their complicated crimes cause

* The experience of more than thirty years has miserably falsified this good man's prediction. See Introduction : Second Division.

them to fall either into the hands of justice here on earth, or they fall under the immediate judgment of God. To conclude, I pray God to put an end to the miseries of slavery, and pray the judge of all the earth to keep up the manly and noble spirit of his judges here below, and particularly those in Sierra Leone. This, sir, is the wish of

"Your much obliged and humble servant,

"M. RENNER.

"To James Biggs, Esq., &c. &c. &c."

This letter breathes the spirit of the instructions given by the committee to the missionaries on the subject of their intercourse with the slave traders. "Let them never charge you with intriguing against them and thwarting their schemes; but let them feel that, though the silent influence of Christianity must, whenever truly felt, undermine the sources of their gain, yet in you, and all under your influence, they meet with openness, simplicity, kindness, and brotherly love." Notwithstanding all the circumspection and forbearance which Christian prudence could suggest, the missionaries continued to suffer under the obloquy which the traders had succeeded in attaching to them at the first, and although they had considerable interest with the chiefs, whose children were under their care, the hostility of those interested in the slave traffic began to wear a rather alarming aspect, and to threaten the worst consequences. In a letter to the committee, Renner expresses his view of things around him in these emphatic words of Scripture—"The devil has come down, and has great wrath."* Serious disturbances were expected, which menaced the infant settlement, but their Heavenly Father, who would not that his little ones should perish, interposed and averted the blow.

Matters remained in a portentous, yet undecided state, until October, when they looked as if a crisis was arriving. The 14th day of that month was a day of great confusion and terror to many in the neighbourhood. "The voice of war," says Renner, "sounded through towns and villages, and soon it reached our place too, and put us first in confusion, by seeing brother Wenzel's children coming to us, who could hardly breathe for running. The first report was, that the Foulahs had attacked Fantimani. Our grumettas† went immediately into the canoe to the assistance of brother Klein and Fantimani." Renner received a note from Klein, informing him that the Foulahs had burned four towns, and that in consequence of an expectation that they

* No wonder satan should begin to feel uneasy about his prospects in Africa. In 1807 the number of slave factories on the Rio Pongas and the adjoining rivers were seventy-two; while this year, 1812, they were reduced to eighteen, and the Felony Bill was making still further havoc among them.

† Domestic servants.

would pursue their depredations further, Fantimani had advised him, for fear of the worst, to remove to Bassia. Renner accordingly sent him a canoe, and Mr. and Mrs. Klein arrived in the evening; but as news were brought next day that the Foulahs, contenting themselves with burning the towns, killing several Soosoos, and taking others captives, had retired, they returned.

During this commotion repeated applications were made to the settlement, by the natives, for powder, by those who had muskets, and for muskets, by those who had none. These demands were complied with to the extent of the missionaries' ability, as the plea of the Soosoos was, that in defending their country they were also protecting the settlement, which certainly could not be denied, and the custom of the country was besides in favour of their claim; for, when a trader was patronized by a chief, the latter was privileged to come for powder to the house of the former, and after examining it, take as much as he liked; however, the missionaries were treated with more courtesy, for it was begged from them as a compliment; and after the disturbance was over, two chiefs, Mongè Koore and Mongè Domba, sent to Bassia their grateful acknowledgements of the supply which they and their people had received.

Some days after, a palaver was held, consisting of the headmen, and almost all the Soosoos in the neighbourhood, at Domberenshe, about fifteen miles from Bassia, to talk over these events. It was decided that Mongè Fantimani, of Sumbure, was the cause of the war, and that he should be put to death, but Mongè Koore insisted that he should rather be imprisoned, until he disclosed the names of the instigators to this business. This Fantimani, Renner had seen at the place of a chief, named John Ormond, with whom he remained for two months, secretly plotting this war. On one occasion he begged Renner to give him an Arabic copy of the Scriptures, which, considering him a headman of great influence, he did, and he afterwards learned that one of the plans concocted was, that the Foulahs should advance as far as Bassia, which they were to capture, and deliver it up to John Ormond, who had long laid claim to it as the place where his father had resided. It was only by means of the Foulahs this could have been done, and with this object John Ormond had supplied them with powder and muskets to carry on the war. Why they did not come Renner could not learn, but assuredly the Lord found them a reason.

About this time the Soosoos assembled at Canoffee to talk politics, and build a devil's house in a bush, kept sacred by them for ages; also to offer sacrifices, to appease the manes of their ancestors, whose anger they believed had recently nearly occasioned the destruction of the country. They had a wretched being in chains, who was to be slain

as the sarta,* or sacrifice, to make atonement for the offences which had been committed. The headmen sent sticks to Renner, to signify that they required his presence. These sticks are the usual mode of communicating notice of a palaver, and specifying the day when it is to be held. The person who receives them flings one away every day until the number is exhausted, when the day of meeting has arrived. Renner, however, who knew the object of their assembling, refused to attend; however, he went to Wenzel's house, at Canoffee, and sent word to Mongè Backe, that if they had any palaver to tal to the missionaries, they might send for them. When, however, their debate turned on the white people, they quickly dismissed the subject, saying that they were old women, who were completely in their power, and might at any time be settled with. The meeting lasted for two days, without much business being done; only they decided on not allowing the Foulahs to come into the country for five years, and that they would meet at Bassia after two days, to hold a palaver on the missionaries.

Accordingly, at the appointed time, they came and completely crowded the house. Mongè Backe opened the discussion with a long rambling speech, in which he took a review of every circumstance attending the arrival of the missionaries in the country; how Butscher first inquired for Fantimani, &c. &c. He assured the residents at Bassia that neither he nor the people about him came there to fight them, only as they would not come to Canoffee, where they were assembled then, they were obliged to come to Bassia to ask them some questions. He then complained that he had got a bad name on account of the missionaries, and that now the Foulah war was ascribed to them, as the people said there would be no war if they were not in the country, for in the memory of man the Foulahs had never before warred against the Soosoos; but the missionaries had occasioned war not only inside, but also outside the country—inside, by bringing the Foulahs upon them; and outside, by inviting the men-of-war to come and spoil the slave trade; and if these things were so, he would have to act with them as a man acts with a woman whom he takes into his house—if he cannot agree with her, he sends her home again; and thus, if he could not agree with the missionaries any longer, he would

* Winterbottom calls this word serrata, and says it is a sacrifice offered to the Deity by the Soosoos, previous to undertaking any affair of importance. But he says the victim is a bullock, the throat of which is cut by the headman of the town, who, having placed a calabash half full of water and greegrees on its side, prays God to give the petitioners prosperity, and to supply them with all they want. The people, at the same time, touch the bullock with their hands, and those who cannot approach near enough, make use of long poles for that purpose. When the ceremony is over, all present feast on the carcase. In that part of the ceremony which consists of the people laying their hands on the head of the bullock, the reader will be reminded of Exod. xxix. 10; Numbers viii. 12, &c.

send them back to Sierra Leone. "And now," said the old chief, addressing himself to Renner, "the white people (the traders) tell us you are the ruin of this country, that you send for the man-of-war when there comes a vessel into the river, and that your intention is to make this country like the camp (Sierra Leone). We are come, then, to ask you whether all this is true."

Renner replied, "You must know that some people speak truth, but that others have pleasure in speaking lies; and you must know that the traders have spoken many lies against us since we have been in the country, for they never could prove what they said to be true. You know it is not fair to call a man a murderer or a robber, without proving the fact; and if the traders could prove that we inform against them, and cause the man-of-war to come into the river, would they not be all here to-day, and bring their proofs against us? But never has a single one yet come to face us, and prove what he speaks behind our backs; so I declare that that which they have told and reported to Mongè Backe, or to any other man, is malice and slander. And how can we inform, having no boat of our own? And how can we send information by land to Sierra Leone? I do not know the present governor; I never write to him, nor does he write to me; and when a man-of-war comes into the river, we never go down to it; nor do captains or officers ever come to Bassia. And if you send us out of the river to-day, the man-of-war will yet come and take the slave vessels. And if we are sent away, we fear not; we did not spoil this country; we wronged nobody. You cannot give us a bad name."

Other arguments of this kind were brought forward by Renner with great boldness, which produced a considerable effect upon the assembled legislators, who began to suspect that they had been imposed on by the traders; but the tide, which now evidently was turning in favour of the missionaries, flowed in a direction which Renner did not expect. "If then," said Mongè Backe, "the traders have told so many lies against you, and are so much your enemies, we tell you one thing: you must send away all the white peoples' children, and suffer no mulatto child in your house. You are come to us, the black people, and not to the white: teach our children the book, and not the children of your enemies." To this Renner answered, that they would be very glad to have more Soosoo children instead of the mulattos; but he contrived afterwards to postpone making any change until Butscher's return, when, as usual with these people, the matter would be all forgotten once the talk was over. It happened, however, that the traders who had no children at the school were far more hostile to them than those who had.

Another subject of complaint which was brought forward against the missionaries by Mongè Backe, who seems to have been the spokesman

of the palaver, was that they did not purchase their rice from the natives, to benefit the country, but from the traders. Renner explained that the Bassia settlement consumed twelve tons of rice in the year, of which only two tons could be procured from the people in the neighbourhood, and that this was in the husk, and therefore very inconvenient to them, as they had no people to beat it out; yet, as they were anxious to benefit the country, they took even of this all that they could get. The chiefs then regulated that the rice measures should be altered, and be made somewhat smaller than they were before. They also decided that a bar of tobacco should consist of five leaves, instead of four as hitherto. Upon this Renner stood up, and asked them whether they did not always fill their snuff-boxes with his tobacco, paying very little or nothing at all for it? They all cried out, "True, true," and the subject dropped.

At these palavers great freedom of speech is allowed, even to the slaves present, who may stand up and boldly state their real or imaginary grievances. They rejoice when they are able to substantiate a charge against a white man; on the present occasion a trader was at the meeting, who, some months before, had split the tobacco leaves, and put wax in his powder measure, and they now took him severely to task, charging him with being of a false and dissembling character.

Soon after this palaver, it was rumoured that the Foulahs were meditating another attack, and were encamped about thirty miles from Bassia. The Soosoos made every preparation to resist their incursion, and the missionaries determined, that if the war was renewed, they would move down the river, and relying upon God's gracious guidance and protection, there await the course of events—almost their only anxiety was for themselves and the children under their charge, for of property they had little to lose, and, therefore, were not much troubled on that account. Renner, however, was very unwilling to move until the last extremity. He loved the settlement, and, as he said, desired to live and die in it, so that he could scarcely bring himself to abandon it until he should actually see it set on fire by the Foulahs. In his present difficulty he sent to ask Mongè Backe's advice, and he desired him not to move before he did, for there was no danger, and that he should not believe every flying report.

On the 18th of December, the Soosoo army marched to Sumbure, to look for the Foulahs, and find out their encampment, but they were neither to be seen nor heard of, and it was reported that they were as much afraid of the Soosoos as the Soosoos were of them, which state of things rather presaged a continuance of peace. Meanwhile the Canoffee people, who had again come down to Bassia, returned to their own residence, in the hope of passing a tranquil Christmas, for which

fervent prayers were offered to the Prince of Peace, and Renner prepared to set out for Sierra Leone, to meet Mr. and Mrs. Butscher, who were just now expected from England, laden with necessaries for the use of the settlement, of which they stood in the greatest need.

The settlement at Canoffee continued to prosper, under the joint care of Messrs. Wilhelm and Klein, and their wives, who enjoyed perfect health. These missionaries had been instructed, while in England, in the national system of education, with the intention of their adopting it in their African schools, and on their coming out were furnished with every necessary for organizing them on that plan. Renner and Butscher had also introduced it into their schools, and they were all now watching its effect with considerable interest. Both boys and girls were making good progress in reading and writing. "But this," says Renner, is not enough to say of them, "their minds seem to improve in whatever they are instructed in."

We have mentioned that Butscher had brought with him to England one of his boys, Richard Wilkinson, who, as a specimen of African capacity and missionary success, gave general satisfaction to the friends of the society. He appeared to be endowed with an excellent understanding, and to be strongly impressed with a sense of religion. We shall, probably, take occasion to introduce him again.

Some of the girls, under Mrs. Renner's care, began to arrive at the most interesting, and probably, the most perilous season of their lives, when both mind and body expand into womanhood, and the most delicate and assiduous care is required to protect new instincts from the defiling grasp of the tempter, who would appropriate all the beautiful processes of nature to himself, and render each of them, as it was evolved, "a curse, and not a blessing." We may feel satisfied, that under the maternal hand of Mrs. Renner, the young females, at Bassia, enjoyed every protection which their circumstances required, and all the judicious tenderness likely to conciliate the affection and confidence of her interesting charge. Already she had the satisfaction of seeing one of them forming a matrimonial connexion with her entire approbation. Mary Lawrence was united, in the house, to George Irving, a mulatto, whose father was once an opulent trader on the Rio Pongas, and the marriage was solemnized according to the ritual of the Church of England. "May they," writes Renner, "set a good example in living together according to God's holy ordinance, so that many may follow their pattern, and learn to abhor the deep-rooted and abominable practice of polygamy."

At this time a plan was adopted by some friends of the African cause in England, of contributing money for the purpose of ransoming children from slavery, to be placed under the missionaries' care. The sum of ten pounds having been mentioned as the price of each child's

ransom, some Christian persons sent donations to that amount to the committee, which were employed according to the wish of the donors, and this interesting class of children commenced with two boys and one girl, who, it was agreed, were to bear the names appropriated to them by their benefactors.

The chaplaincy of Sierra Leone was at length vacated by Nylander, on the 1st of October, 1812, and the wish which he had long entertained to settle among the Bulloms indulged by the Society. He now crossed the Sierra Leone river, and erected a settlement at a place called Yongroo, on the Bullom shore, which contained some hundreds of pagan inhabitants, among whom a Christian missionary might expect more success than in other places on the coast, inasmuch as they were all greatly opposed to Mahommedanism, which had made rapid strides among the other people of Western Africa. Nylander was well received by the Bulloms, who appeared pleased at his settling among them, and promised to commit their children to his care for instruction. He commenced his school with two boys and two girls of the Congo nation, whom he brought with him from the colony, by permission of the governor, and who had been rescued from smuggling slave vessels.

The Bulloms, inhabiting, as has been mentioned, the north side of the Sierra Leone river, or estuary, immediately opposite to the colony, at the distance of about six or seven miles, extended originally northward as far as the river Scarcias, from the banks of which the Timmanees have driven them. Northward, however, of the Scarcias, they occupy a line of sea-coast as far as the mouth of the river Kissy. They also inhabit, to the southward of Sierra Leone, the river Sherbro, the Bananas, the Plantains, and some other smaller islands. This once powerful nation formerly possessed the whole of the river Kissy, from which they were driven by the Soosoos. They are a most uncivilized and ignorant people, living in a state of the grossest darkness, worshipping demons, and committing the most shocking cruelties against one another. Accusations of witchcraft are the most fertile source of these barbarities; as those convicted of this suppositious crime are commonly beaten to death with clubs, drowned, or sold for slaves. These few observations will serve as an introduction to the mission now commenced among these people, as abundant opportunity will be afforded of becoming more extensively acquainted with their peculiar ideas and customs as we proceed. Nylander had already, with great skill and industry, composed a grammar and vocabulary of the Bullom language, and translated a few chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew into the same tongue. Bullom is spoken for about a hundred miles along the coast.

It is now time for us to return to Butscher, whom we left in England, on the eve of setting sail once more for the scene of his

Christian labours, after having spent nearly five months in that favoured land.

He embarked on the 19th of November, with his companions, in the brig "Charles," Captain Graham, commander, at the Motherbank, whither they were accompanied by the secretary of the society, who, by direction of the committee, supplied them with whatever could contribute to their comfort during their voyage. On the 28th they left Portsmouth, and Falmouth on the 1st of December. On the 5th of January, 1813, soon after daybreak, Cape Verd was discovered, and at 11 A.M. they passed the island of Goree,* bearing N. E. by E., about nine or ten miles distant. The weather was then fine, and the missionaries expected so enter the Rio Pongas in three or four days; but He who measureth the waters in the hollow of his hand had decided otherwise. About eleven o'clock at night, it being then very dark, and the wind fresh, the vessel struck on a reef of the Tongui rocks, about five miles from land, and about twenty south of the river Gambia. The sails were immediately shortened, but she forged a-head, and beat over the first reef. The captain, thinking she was clear, set sail again; but the vessel had scarcely proceeded a cable's length, until she struck again upon a very hard rock, but providentially made no water. The boats were immediately launched, and all the spars made into a raft, to carry out the best bower anchor, in which the crew succeeded, and hove eight or ten fathoms a-head. The tide was now ebbing, and the watch was sent to rest until full tide. The wind then blowing stiffly from the N.N.E., the spindle of the rudder broke.

When the vessel first struck, the utmost consternation prevailed on board. The majority of the passengers were already in bed, but the repeated shocks soon startled them from their slumbers, and occasioned a general rush upon deck, when some appeared just as they had leaped out of bed, and others partially undressed. The night was very dark, and as the vessel continued to strike, with violence, against the rocks, all expected that she would go to pieces every moment. At this critical juncture Butscher appears to have enjoyed peace in believing. He exerted himself to inspire those involved with

* Goree is a small island on the west coast of Africa, about a mile to the south of Cape Verd. Its importance is derived from its position and military strength, being defended by a fort, and it now forms the chief *entrepôt* of the French African trade. The island is barren, consisting of a naked mass of black basalt, rising on all sides almost perpendicularly to the height of 300 feet. The town of Goree stands in a sandy plain at the foot of the rock, and contains about 500 inhabitants, chiefly Jaloffs, in a deplorable state of ignorance and superstition. The Dutch were the first European power who occupied this island: they named it Goree, after an island off the mouth of the Maese. It was then possessed by the French, who surrendered it to the British in the year 1800. It was re-taken by the French in 1804, who were, however, soon compelled to surrender it again; but it was finally restored to them in 1816. West longitude, $17^{\circ} 25'$; north latitude, $14^{\circ} 40'$.

him in this peril, with similar feelings. He exhorted them to commit their souls into the hands of a compassionate and forgiving Saviour, our alone righteousness in the presence of a Holy God; and taking his wife in his arms, he said, "My dear, look unto Christ our Saviour: perhaps in a few minutes we shall be before His throne, when we shall part no more, but shall be with him for ever;" upon which she replied, "The Lord's will be done."

Early next morning, to their great joy, they saw land; but as the vessel was greatly disabled, the captain judged it prudent to send the long boat ashore with the mate, two seamen, and three passengers, one of whom was Richard Wilkinson, who, it was supposed, would understand the language of the natives. The object was to obtain permission to land a part of the cargo, by which the vessel would be lightened, and got afloat. When the party landed they were surrounded by about fifty of the natives. Richard Wilkinson addressed them in the Soosoo, Bagoë, and Sulamab languages, but could not make himself understood. Discovering, however, that they were Mandingoes, he addressed them in Mandingo, entreating help for himself and his fellow sufferers, to which one of them replied, "Friend, though you are in distress, we must take you and all your company to the king, for our law is, that every vessel stranded here belongs to our king;" upon which they seized hold of the boat, with the intention of detaining the party as prisoners, but as they were well armed, and immediately assumed an attitude of defence, their intended captors ran away alarmed into the bush, except one who levelled his gun, but upon seeing another aimed at him, he also scampered off after his companions, when the intruders jumped into their boat, and returned to the vessel. In the scuffle, Richard Wilkinson was near being run through with a large knife, by one of the natives, who fled on Richard's presenting a pistol to his breast.

The great object now was to lighten the vessel, and for this purpose, early on the morning of the 7th, all hands were employed heaving bricks over board. In the meantime three small Goreë vessels appeared in sight, and on their being brought near, two of them were found to be laden with husk rice, the third had only ballast. One of those containing rice was prevailed on to throw its cargo over board, and relieve the brig by receiving part of hers; the one in ballast also took in as much as she could carry. When these necessary steps were taken, all hands were summoned, on the morning of the 9th, to be in readiness to heave the vessel off the rocks, at the time of high water. Every exertion was now made which skill and energy could suggest to effect that object; but, unfortunately, when on the eve of success, a cable broke, after which the kedge anchor came home, and being too near the reef for another anchor to be let go, the brig drove on the

reef, having only two feet at low water. She now continued to strike hard on the rocks, and made water so fast, that fears were entertained that she had bulged. A kedge anchor was therefore put out. Meanwhile the wind continued high, and the sea was in great commotion. Next day the efforts were renewed to get off the reef, but all in vain; the water now gained upon them rapidly, and the captain found it necessary to lighten the vessel still further by throwing some puncheons of rum over board, but he slung them carefully that they might not be driven on shore.

In the afternoon the son of the King of Cambo, with other natives, came on board to know if the sufferers wanted assistance. The captain replied that the only thing he could do for them was to carry a letter for him to one of the Gambia traders, which he consented to do, and the captain gave him the letter and a present.

On the 11th the pumps were kept continually going. The captain asked Butscher if he would go to Goree in one of the small vessels to procure some assistance; and, if possible, get a vessel which would take all the cargo of the *Charles*. Butscher at once consented; and on the following day set sail, taking away some of the cargo, and accompanied by his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Quast, and Richard Wilkinson, and bearing a letter from Captain Graham to the commandant and merchants at Goree. The first two nights it rained heavily, and the party were consequently wet through, without having any thing warm to take for one day and two nights. This state of things threatened the worst consequences, especially to poor Mrs. Butscher, whose confinement was approaching, but who bore up under her distresses with the most Christian fortitude, which greatly comforted the heart of her husband, and filled him with gratitude to the Giver of all Good for the blessing which he had bestowed upon him. In consequence of an adverse wind, and they being heavily laden, they made but little way. Goree, however, was reached on the 16th. On landing, Butscher went immediately to Mr. Carew, a respectable merchant, with whom he was acquainted, and to the commandant, to present Captain Graham's letter. The goods brought from the *Charles* were delivered to Mr. Carew, who told Butscher that there was a brig in the harbour, the *Neptune*, the commander of which, Captain Gibson, he said, would very likely bring her down to the *Charles*, and, if possible, save her cargo. Captain Gibson was sent for, and on being informed of the distress of the *Charles*, consented to go with Butscher in his brig. Butscher had met three Goree crafts on his voyage to Goree, the people of which promised him to go to the relief of the disabled brig, and by them he had sent a note to Captain Graham.

He had been only a few hours in Goree, when he left it again in the *Neptune*, having committed his wife and companions to the care of

Mr. Carew. On the 18th they came in sight of the *Charles*, and at about six miles distance fired a gun, expecting to be answered; no answer, however, was made; but two small craft were observed—one lying alongside the brig, and the other about a quarter of a mile from her. Captain Gibson ordered out the *Neptune's* boat, and he, Butscher, and two of the crew, rowed towards the *Charles*. On drawing near, they discovered swarms of natives surrounding her, all busily employed in taking out her cargo, and not a white man among them. Judging that they had seized upon her, they would not venture nearer, but proceeded to the craft which lay at a short distance, and which proved to be one of the three met by Butscher on his way to Goree, to which he had entrusted a note for Captain Graham. The crew of this vessel informed them that Captain Graham and one of the passengers had been killed by the natives, who had taken possession of the *Charles* four days before, the rest of the crew and passengers having fled to Goree, in the two Goree craft which Captain Graham had called to his aid. The small vessel then lying near the *Charles* was compelled by the natives to assist them in discharging her cargo; and they strongly advised Captain Gibson and his party to return to the *Neptune* as quickly as possible, if they would avoid the fate of Captain Graham and the passenger, which they accordingly did, esteeming it most providential that they had escaped falling into the hands of these savages.

Returning in the *Neptune* to Goree, they met two Goree craft, and inquired from the crews whither they were bound, when they said they were informed that the natives had killed the captain and a passenger of the brig *Charles*, and taken possession of her, and that it was their intention to go and retake her, and save the cargo. Captain Gibson told them there was great danger attending their enterprise, as the natives were in great force about the *Charles*; but they expressed themselves confident of success, being forty in number, and well armed, and strongly urged Captain Gibson to follow them with the *Neptune*, as the appearance of a large vessel, they said, would overawe the natives, and frighten them from the brig. To this the captain agreed, and towards night all cast anchor at such a distance that they could not be seen by the natives from the main land. It was then agreed that the *Charles* should be retaken early the next morning, by the two Goree craft, which could approach within gun shot of her. Accordingly, at break of day on the 19th, a gun was transferred from the *Neptune* to one of the Goree vessels, which was to approach the *Charles*, and fire, but without ball, and the *Neptune*, coming as near as she could, was to do the same, merely to frighten the natives. As the craft, however, drew near to the brig, followed by Captain Gibson in his long-boat, and perceived that she was abandoned, they took immediate possession of her, and proceeded to fill the craft with her cargo. The captain, however, who then

turned back, had scarcely reached his ship, when he saw the natives again collecting, and preparing to attack the *Charles*, upon which he fired four of the *Neptune's* guns, without effect, and then sailed towards the *Charles*. On the way he was informed by one of the *Goree* craft, that four hundred natives, in a fleet of twenty canoes, had re-possessed themselves of the *Charles*, and made twelve of the *Goree* people prisoners, stripped them naked, carried them on shore, and putting irons upon them, had led them to the king, who resided about twenty miles from the shore. Captain Gibson having reached the *Charles*, found her again abandoned, and going on board of her, he put one puncheon of rum in his boat, and returned to his brig.

About seven o'clock on the following morning, two small *Goree* schooners reached the *Neptune*, having on board fifty soldiers, under the command of Captain M'Kinsey, and the mate and crew of the *Charles*. They were sent by Major Chisholm, commandant at *Goree*, who, upon receiving intelligence of the murder of Captain Graham and one of the passengers of the *Charles*, was apprehensive that Captain Gibson, Butscher, and the crew of the *Neptune*, might share their fate. Captain M'Kinsey had a written order from the commandant to retake the *Charles*, if it could be effected without bloodshed. The troops were, accordingly, put on board the wreck, which was then abandoned; but the natives assembled in great numbers on the beach, and prepared their canoes for another attack; upon which Captain Gibson detained a small schooner, and armed her with a gun from his brig, to cover the troops, as the *Neptune* could not approach near enough to the *Charles*, for want of sufficient depth of water. As, however, Captain M'Kinsey did not consider one gun sufficient protection to his men on the wreck, who, from the position of the *Charles*, she then lying on her side, could not stand on deck to defend themselves, he withdrew them, anxious to avoid the useless shedding of blood, and proceeded to *Goree*, advising Captain Gibson to follow; but the latter, unwilling to surrender the brig and the cargo, returned with his boat, when he saw the natives retire, to see what he could save; but from the position of the brig, the scarcity of hands, and night coming on, he could only take part of the rigging, and at 11 P.M. returned to the *Neptune*, accompanied by one of the *Goree* people who had been taken prisoners. This person was sent by the King of *Cambo*, to inform him, that if he persisted in keeping possession of the *Charles*, he would put his eleven remaining prisoners to death, and requesting that he would depart in the morning. Captain Gibson considering that human life was of much more value than the cargo, at day-break returned the prisoner to the boat, which waited for him to carry his answer, and at 11 A.M. returned to *Goree*.

The story of poor Captain Graham, and the passenger's murder, is soon told. On the same day that Butscher sailed in the small vessel for

Goree, three large canoes, containing forty men each, came off from the land, and showed a disposition to board the two remaining Goree vessels. The black captain of one of them was, at that time, with two of his men, on board the *Charles*, and Captain Graham sent them off to the natives, to learn what they wanted. As the boat approached, they were seized by the people in the canoes, who, on Captain Graham immediately firing upon them from the brig, hastily retreated, the long boat from the brig, with armed men, pursuing them close to the shore; but they succeeded in carrying off the black captain and his two men, together with a gun which Captain Graham had lent them. They afterwards sent back the two men, to inform the captain that they wanted him and the supercargo on shore.

The next morning the natives came over to an island, situated between the brig and the main-land, which is nearly covered at high water. One of them came to the water's edge with a flag on a staff. Captain Graham went off at once in the long boat, with four men, to try if he could redeem the black captain. He found that the man with the staff could speak English, and was told by him that the black captain would be set free for a puncheon of rum; but the captain seeing about twenty natives lying in ambush behind the bank, where they had their prisoners, would not land, but returning to the brig, and taking two more of the ship's company, together with Richard Heard, a passenger, who volunteered his services, he went back to the island, and landed. It was then agreed that the black captain should be rescued by force, and Captain Graham, Richard Heard, and two of the seamen, went forward to speak to the natives. One of the seamen seeing a native with the musket which the black captain had the day before, took it from him, upon which the natives, being well armed with muskets and cutlasses, fired, and shot Captain Graham. He and Mr. Heard fired once more; the natives returned the fire, and Captain Graham was killed on the spot. Heard was wounded, and fell into the water, where he supported himself with one arm; but the people coming from all parts, the boat was obliged to push off, when they fell upon poor Heard, and cut him in pieces with their cutlasses. The crew on board the *Charles* fired, but to no purpose; as, from the position of the brig, they could not properly point the guns.

When the boat returned from the island, all the people in the *Charles* determined to leave her, except the mate, the supercargo, and three of the passengers; and these also fled, when they saw the natives prepared to attack them, in the remaining Goree craft, taking with them whatever they could; and they had no sooner left, than the natives took possession of the brig. All arrived safely at Goree on the 19th of January. Butscher and his companions reached that island on the 27th, to the great joy of their friends, who, having heard of the murder

of Captain Graham and Mr. Heard, were under serious apprehensions on their account.

The fate of the *Charles* was a serious blow to the missionaries, who took with them from England a large supply of necessities for the use of the settlement—for the promotion both of their own comfort and of their usefulness among the people to whom they were sent. Provisions, wearing apparel, building materials, tools of all sorts, books, &c., were among the things which fell, for the most part, into the hands of the Mandingoes; and, as the cargo had been insured, even the few articles which some of the crew and passengers had contrived to carry away in their flight, were, to their great mortification, demanded from them upon their arrival at Goree, that they might be sold for the benefit of the underwriters. Among those who were thus situated, were the lay brethren who went out with Butscher. They had succeeded in saving the greater part of their private property, and, as it was supposed to be insured, the merchants at Goree agreed that it should be sold with the rest. This decision discomposed the brethren a good deal, and some expressions of dissatisfaction were dropped by them, which caused much uneasiness to Butscher. He sent for the men, considering it his duty to remonstrate with them on their unbecoming conduct, under circumstances which could neither be foreseen nor avoided. He said, “Brethren, you see in what a situation I am myself—that I am not better off than yourselves. Every thing of mine is to be sold as well as yours. Here we are called upon to give proof of that faith, patience, humble submission, and single dependence on the Lord, which, as Christians, we profess to possess; and if we consider how gracious the Lord was, in delivering us out of the imminent danger in which we lately were, and bringing us safely hither, surely our hearts ought to overflow with thanks and praises for His merciful preservation. True, it is a hard case for our corrupted hearts to lose even those few things which we saved from the wreck, but according to the advice of these respectable merchants, and the commandant of this island, who are better judges of these matters than we can possibly be, the articles and goods saved must rather be sold than expose our society to a loss of the insurance. I shall, however, if possible endeavour to buy in all our wearing apparel, at the public auction; at the same time, you must take into account that the provisions, household furniture, tools, and merchandize, with which our society had so liberally furnished us, and which would have greatly contributed to our comfort, are all lost; nor have I any prospect of receiving such articles again within a twelve-month; and on our arrival in the *Rio Pongas*, we shall, in all probability, find our brethren there likewise destitute of all these things. I cannot, therefore, promise either you or your wives much bodily comfort: but one thing the Lord promises, on which we may always de-

pend, if we simply look to Him, and that is food and raiment ; and more we ought not to wish for in the service of our Lord. And should the Lord ask us now, 'Have you experienced any want since the time you were shipwrecked ?' surely we must confess, 'None, Lord.' It grieves me, therefore, to hear that any one of our company should be so dissatisfied, as to express a regret at his or her having come to Africa ; and if any of you or your wives entertain or harbour such dissatisfaction in his or her heart, he or she is not fit to proceed any further with me ; and, as there is a vessel in this harbour nearly ready to sail for England, I would much rather advise him or her to take a passage in this vessel, than to proceed to the Rio Pongas with a dissatisfied heart. As for me and my wife, we shall proceed the first opportunity that offers."

It appearing, however, afterwards that the personal property of the lay brethren was not noticed in the insurance, they were allowed to retain it, and this tended to satisfy all parties. As for poor Butscher, every thing he had received from the society during his late visit was insured, even to his watch, and some clothes which he was wearing ; and he had to surrender all up for the benefit of the underwriters "I kept, however," he writes, "two old good suits of clothes till the auction commenced, which I think was still more than the Apostle Paul retained when he suffered shipwreck."

While the missionaries were detained at Goree, it was ordained that, though the whole party had escaped the sea, they were to experience the chastening of Him whose ways are past finding out. On the fifth of February, Mrs. Meyer, wife of one of the laymen, was taken ill of a fever, and although the symptoms were not at first very severe, Mrs. Butscher advised her to have medical advice ; this, however, she declined doing, but took some medicine of her own choosing, and neglected the necessary precautions as to diet. The fever increased, and on Sunday, the 7th, she was detained from public worship. Mrs. Butscher having again, on the 8th, urged her to see a physician, Dr. Renney was called in, and he ordered her some medicine, but declared the case hopeless, as the disease had made such rapid progress. That night her husband sent for Butscher, with a message that she was dying. When he arrived she was delirious, and evidently drawing towards her end ; he, however, prayed for her, and in the morning, between seven and eight o'clock, "she fell asleep," said Butcher, "as, I trust, in the Lord." Through the kindness of Major Chisholm she was laid in the military burying ground—the only one in the island, as it is so small ; civilians being carried to the mainland, and there interred, where, it is said, it frequently happens that the wolves and hyenas dig them up again. The commandant, and all the military in the island, paid the missionaries the compliment of attending at the funeral.

The reflections of Butscher on this solemn occasion are valuable, and cannot be omitted. "The human heart may ask why the Lord has saved us nine persons from the brig *Charles* in a most wonderful manner, and brought us safely to this place in good health, only a few days' voyage from the place of our destination, and yet has suffered one of us to die before we reached the end of our journey. Could He not have detained such a person at home, and saved the great expense which she has caused by apparently coming hither merely to die? Perhaps many of God's poorest children have, from the most pure motives, cast in their mite towards these expenses, and yet to no purpose. Why does God act so contrary to our views and expectations? And, with Judas, it may be asked, 'Why was this waste of the ointment made?' My answer to the above question is: We are not the counsellors of our Heavenly Father, but only his adopted children, and that merely out of pure mercy, through the redemption of Christ; and if we attain to that state of perfect felicity in Christ, in which I trust our deceased companion is now, we shall then know and understand why God has acted so contrary to our intentionally good designs, and shall surely find cause to praise Him for those very dispensations of His providence which now thwart our desires and expectations. Let not, therefore, His mysterious ways discourage us; but, faithfully persevering in doing good to all men, with simplicity and singleness of heart, fearing and loving the Lord, let us work while it is day, for the night shall come when no man can work."

In connexion with the above, an extract from a letter addressed by Richard Wilkinson, the African boy brought by Butscher to England, to the secretary, dated Goree, February 26, 1813, will be read with interest:—

"I have had many reasons to thank God and your excellent society for the kindness shewed to me and to my country, for which I am extremely obliged, particularly for the precious instruction which I have received under their care. I hope and trust that their labour bestowed on the poor and helpless Africans will not be in vain. I am now trying to improve as much as I can, in order to advance the glory of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Mr. Butscher will inform you of all that has befallen us since our departure from England, and the many dangers which we have encountered. The hostilities now existing between England, France, and America, make me hesitate respecting any desire of returning to your friendly shore."

Had it not been for the kindness of Major Chisholm, the sufferings of the missionaries after the loss of their whole cargo would have been far more severe than they were, but he behaved towards them in the true spirit of Christian philanthropy. Seeing how they were circumstanced,

and their anxiety to re-purchase some of the things which were to be sold by auction, he, together with Lieut.-Colonel M'Carthy, governor of Senegal, advanced to them, on the society's account, upwards of £500 for that purpose. The only return they could make for the singular kindness with which they were treated was, to obtain from the society a letter to him expressive of their gratitude, together with a grant of a few dozen spelling-books, for the use of a school which he had established at Goree, for the instruction of the black soldiers under his command. Butscher and his wife visited the school in company with the commandant, and were greatly pleased with the application and diligence of his pupils. They found that several of the officers were in the habit of attending during the hours of instruction, and that the major himself devoted much of his time to the school, as he found his presence a great source of encouragement. Their progress was surprising under the instruction of the white soldiers, who received for their exertions a small increase of pay. The major had a large supply of Bibles and Testaments, but was in much want of elementary books, so that the grant from the society would prove a valuable acquisition.

After almost two months' detention at Goree, an opportunity occurred for the conveyance of the brethren to their destination. A Spanish vessel of forty tons burthen arrived at the island, from the Canaries, to purchase rice. Butscher entered into an agreement with the captain of this vessel, to carry himself and his companions to the Rio Pongas, and afterwards himself and his wife to Sierra Leone, for £85. The whole of the expenses incurred by the party during their residence at Goree, including the re-purchase of the goods which were sold by auction, amounted to £681 : but although the society was a severe sufferer by the disasters which had befallen the missionaries, the insurance which had been effected upon the cargo went far to cover the loss which it had sustained by the wreck of the *Charles*, and contributed to the subsequent replacement of what had fallen into the hands of the Africans.

On the 2nd of March they left Goree. During the voyage, on the 7th, John Quast, one of the lay brethren was attacked with fever, which terminated fatally on the 9th, just one hour before they came to an anchor in the Rio Pongas. He had been instructed in the trade of a smith, and his services seemed to be just then particularly necessary, as a new settlement was about to be erected. Infinite Wisdom, however, had decided otherwise. Butscher felt anxious that Remmer should perform the funeral service over the body of their poor departed brother, and for that purpose had it carried on shore, while he, accompanied by Richard Wilkinson and two men acquainted with the road, set out for Bassia, where he arrived at eleven o'clock at night, and felt truly thankful to find all his friends there in good health : one girl only had died

during his absence. The greater part of the night was occupied by the brethren in conversing on all that had occurred since their separation. Next morning after breakfast, Mr. and Mrs. Renner went with Butscher in a canoe to the Spanish vessel, and after the interment of poor Quast's remains, Butscher committed Mr. and Mrs. Meisner, Mr. Mayer, Mrs. Quast, and Richard Wilkinson, to Renner's care, and they proceeded with him to Bassia. He and his wife then set sail for Sierra Leone, where they arrived on the 14th, and he immediately waited on the governor and the chief justice, for whom he had letters from Lord Gambier, the president of the society. It may here be mentioned, that in the reply of the governor, he assured his lordship that he might rely on "his zealous support to forward the society's views to the utmost of his power."

Sierra Leone having been left without a chaplain, in consequence of the mission undertaken by the former chaplain among the Bulloms, the committee, who felt grieved at the destitute state of the colony, the great importance of which to their efforts on the coast was every day becoming more evident, had authorized Butscher to accept that situation, if he considered it expedient to do so, provided he would act as the society's missionary to the heathen in the colony; besides being its medium of communication with the various stations on the coast, and the superintendent of all the schools supported by the society in the colony. To the credit of this man of God, of whose piety and zeal the reader must by this time be fully satisfied, it should be mentioned, that the committee took every occasion of testifying their perfect confidence in his prudence and sincerity. They expressed themselves much gratified, by observing his fortitude, integrity, and piety, under his recent trials.

An opportunity soon occurred of replacing the cargo of the *Charles*, which the committee gladly embraced. Captain Gibson, who had rendered such valuable services to Butscher and his companions after their shipwreck, had sailed to England in the *Neptune* immediately subsequent to that catastrophe, and was now returning to Africa. An investment to the amount of £2000 was intrusted to him for the use of the society's settlements: this, it was hoped, would, with the stores bought at Goree, enable the missionaries to make that extension of the society's operations in Africa which was suspended by the loss they had sustained.

It is evident that the missionary work in Africa was yet only in its infancy. To whatever cause it may be ascribed, true it was, that after just nine years, since the first church missionaries set foot on that continent, but little Gospel work indeed had been done. Some of the children, under instruction, had probably received religious impressions, and thus instruments of future good were being prepared; but we

cannot help regretting that so many pages of this work have been written, without our encountering even one case of genuine conversion, to refresh our spirit or that of our readers. It is painful to contrast the exertions of our own beloved church with those of other Christian denominations ; but as we know that the defect in the society's operations, to which we have had occasion already to advert, has since been abundantly remedied, and with the happiest results, and as we trust that this work will be a guide and encouragement to future missionary exertions, we shall not hesitate to speak the truth, with such boldness as becomes a Christian undertaking, and such as a member of our Scriptural church need never be afraid or ashamed to employ. The following extract, from a missionary work, in reference to the labours of the London Missionary Society, will show what success attended the bold and faithful commencement of the Redeemer's message in another district of Africa, under circumstances as perilous and discouraging as any on the western coast—the missionaries' lives being placed in the greatest jeopardy on several occasions, among a people avowedly hostile to every thing English as well as Dutch. We allude to the mission of the celebrated Doctor Vanderkemp to Caffraria, in Southern Africa, of which we have, in a former chapter, given a sketch, undertaken in the year 1798, when the doctor was fifty years of age. The historian, after alluding to some of the attempts upon the missionary's life, proceeds :—

“ Amidst all the trials with which he was exercised, Doctor Vanderkemp appears to have paid the most unremitting attention to the great object of his settlement in this benighted land. Hence, it appears from his journals, that he established a school for teaching reading and writing in the Dutch and Caffre languages : *held a conversational meeting twice a-week ; and preached, frequently, on the most important subjects.* Some of his discourses were abundantly blessed to several Hottentot families, and one of them, named Sarah, afforded such satisfactory proof of the work of the Holy Spirit, that the doctor felt no hesitation in admitting her to the rite of baptism, together with her three children.” This poor woman was afterwards the subject of great persecution, which she endured with the utmost constancy ; and her father in Christ was called upon, not long after, to commit her spirit, with the strongest assurance of her conversion, into the hands of him who had called her from darkness to light. What we would dwell upon especially is, that the routine of missionary labour, recorded in the above extract, was entered upon simultaneously with the occupation of the missionary field: preaching to the adults was among the things that were done, while the instruction of the young was not left undone.

That the committee of the Church Missionary Society began now to

think that something more was due to the heathen, and to their own character—not to speak of the extensive pecuniary support which they were beginning to receive—than the instruction of a few children of slave traders and chiefs, sent to their schools with the expressed object of learning the English language, may be collected from the character and stringency of the instructions which they now sent out to their missionaries. Not content with those which were communicated to Butscher in England, and in which, it will be remembered, the missionaries were enjoined to assemble, and address the natives as soon and as frequently as practicable,* others more specific were prepared, and sent out in the course of the following year, and in these it will be perceived that the preaching of the Cross occupies a prominent place. We insert them at large:—

I. “Public worship and the preaching of the Gospel are to be maintained every Sunday, in each settlement, in a building appropriated to that object; and the natives, who understand the language sufficiently, are to be invited and urged to attend.

II “During every dry season one of the missionaries must make excursions among the natives, with a view of conversing with them, and preaching the Gospel.

“The committee consider that very much may be gradually effected, through the divine blessing, by conversation. The females should be active in this respect, and all should speak and live with this principle ever in view, ‘Let your speech be always with grace seasoned with salt.’

1. “Till the native language is completely learned, preaching and conference must be carried on through the medium of the elder children.

2. “When the language is completely learnt, then by yourselves.

III. “Every missionary is daily to make some acquisition of Soosoo.

“Mr. Renner, perhaps, under his particular circumstances, may be exempt from the strict operation of this rule; but the committee wish and expect every other missionary to adhere to this regulation, to the utmost that his circumstances will allow.

IV. “With all possible dispatch, the missionaries are to prepare, in Soosoo—

1. “A grammar.

2. “A vocabulary.

3. “Elementary spelling and reading books.

4. “The New Testament.

V. “The printing press must be set up. Any thing printed at that press will be very interesting to us at home.

VI. "As many of the children must be taught to read Soosoo as the missionaries shall find it practicable to teach.

VII. "Some of the more promising elder boys—particularly, perhaps, of those who have been redeemed—are to be selected and trained as *teachers of Soosoo*, and when furnished with elementary books, &c., to be fixed as schoolmasters and catechists in suitable stations.

VIII. "These boys are to be considered as probationers for the Christian ministry, and to be instructed so to consider themselves.

"IX. Regular accounts are to be sent to the committee of the Baptisms, Communicants, Burials, &c., with the religious state of each settlement, and a journal of every excursion.

"Let the missionaries assemble to take these instructions into consideration. They are to deliberate whether more help will be requisite than what they now have, in order to carry into full effect these instructions, and yet, at the same time, to conduct the settlement on their present plan. If so, more help will be sent to the present settlements, rather than new ones be established, for it must be well remembered that each settlement is then answering the purpose of its establishment only when it effects these three objects:—

1. "Exhibiting to all around the happy influence of Christianity on its governing members, and in the order maintained therein.

2. "Affording Christian instruction, either in English or Soosoo, or both, to all children within its sphere, and training up future schoolmasters and ministers.

3. "Proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation to all around.

"The committee again urge strict adherence to this plan. It must be immediately acted on, and with vigour and perseverance.

"Nothing must prevent the acquisition of the Soosoo language, the preparation of books therein, the patient education of children, and the preaching of the Gospel throughout the Soosoo territory."

That the exertions bestowed on the children at the settlement were not unattended with encouraging promise of future good to the cause of Christ in Africa, was abundantly shown in the progress made by them in Scripture knowledge, and not unfrequently the religious influence exercised over their minds and conduct. On this subject an extract from the journal of Mr. and Mrs. Klein, who superintended the female school at Canoffee, will be read with interest:—

"Our eldest girl, Julia, answers, with much feeling, to almost every thing that is said to her. She observed that as she was but a little girl, and could not know God, or such things as we told her, she

thought we had better teach her to work first, and then instruct her in these things. When we answered, that though learning to work was of great importance, yet learning to know and to please God was of much greater; she said, then, she should wish to know him, and how to please him, for she had not need to think of any thing else, as rice and clothes, &c., were abundantly provided for her. She then observed, that frequently, when going to the brook for water, she said to our other girl,* ‘Let us be good girls and try to please our friends; for had we not been bought by these good people, we should have been sent over to America, and that would have been a very bad place for us.’ She then seemed much affected, and observed that, if she had not come into the hands of such good people, she should have thought much more of being taken from her father and mother; but now their loss was in a great measure made up to her. We were affected and pleased and encouraged to go on with her in this way.

“In our first conversation with her, she told us she would believe whatever God commanded. She has given us many pleasing proofs since that these were not vain words. We hope that the Spirit of God influenced her to make that resolution. We shall mention a few things to prove that she is influenced, in her spirit and conduct, by the truths which we teach her.

“She sometimes goes to the brook to wash, and the women whom she meets there urge her to give them soap, and sometimes proceed to blows, because she resolutely refuses them. On one of those occasions a girl struck her, and challenged her to come from the water, and she would fight with her. She answered, ‘No; I shall not fight: I fear God.’ ‘What have you to do to fear God?’ said the girl. ‘He is not here; he is above,’ she replied—‘You think God does not see you; but he does: he knows all you say and do.’ Another time, two women urged her to give them soap, and to steal butter, &c., from us, and to bring it to them, and they would give her fruits. When they had wearied her with their solicitations, she said—‘When I die, and God talks with me about stealing, what can I say?—and when I burn, what can I do then?’ This silenced them: they spoke not another word.

“One day Mary, our little girl, who is a pleasing child, but rather sickly, came running to my wife, and told her that a boy in the yard had quarrelled with Julia, and struck her. ‘Well,’ said my wife, ‘did not Julia strike him again?’ ‘No,’ said Mary, ‘she said she feared God.’ She told her that afterwards he followed her into the kitchen, and struck her again; and that Julia observed to him that she would leave it to God.

“Some time ago Mary saw, at Mr. Wenzel’s, a picture of our Lord

* That is another girl redeemed from slavery as she herself had been.

hanging on the cross. She was often talking of it to Julia, who lamented much that she had not seen it. As they have no idea of worshipping images in this part of the country, I thought it would have no ill effect to show her one that I had. She expressed great delight when I told her she should see it ; but when she fixed her eyes upon it, she sat silent for some time, and began to moan and sigh, and at length burst into such a violent fit of weeping, that it was with much difficulty we could pacify her. Of course, we explained to her and the rest, as we had often done before, why he suffered. Afterward she sat very thoughtful, now and then uttering such expressions as these— ‘ Well, I will never leave these people when I am grown ; I will always live with master and mamma.’

“ A few days ago my wife was under the necessity of correcting her. She afterwards told her that she had hurt her. My wife said, ‘ I meant to hurt you—I was obliged to hurt you—you are a very good girl in such and such things ; and you know I love both you and Mary very much ; but because I let you talk freely to me, as if I were your mother, you become careless, and do not obey me.’ She then traced back all the evils in her temper and conduct to the depravity of her heart, and explained very fully in what way that was to be made good ; Julia heard her with fixed attention, and afterwards humbly thanked her for the instructions which she gave her.”

The plan of liberating African children from slavery, and placing them under the instruction of the missionaries, has been spoken of among the proceedings of the year 1812. It was destined to enjoy but a brief existence ; for although from the interest which it excited in England, and the promise there appeared of large contributions being furnished to the society, to forward this benevolent object, the practice was, after a few months trial, abandoned, upon the judicious representation of several intelligent and valued friends, that however benevolent the design of rescuing such children from slavery, in order to give them Christian education, might be, and however beneficial to the individuals themselves, yet that the practice gave some sanction to the principle of the slave trade ; and tended, so far as it went, to perpetuate the trade itself, by inducing the parties selling the children to replace them by others. Anxious, therefore, to avoid the very appearance of evil, the committee notified to their friends, that this part of their arrangements would henceforth be discontinued.

Anxious, however, to turn the benevolence of their friends to account in some similar way less exposed to objection, they determined to take advantage of the results to which the vigilance of the colonial government at Sierra Leone had led, in the capture of a great number of smuggling slave ships, from which many hundred poor African children of the various tribes on the coast had been liberated. They proposed

to take as many of these children under the society's protection and care as could be maintained and educated at its settlements ; and as the calculation had been already made that this could be done at an average expense of £5 per annum for each child, they announced that they were ready to receive annual subscriptions to that amount, to be specially applied to this object, and that their former rule of allowing each patron to affix names to the children who would become the objects of their bounty, should be continued. We shall find that this modification of their original scheme was blessed with marked success.

We shall conclude this chapter with a letter from Nylander to the secretary, dated Yougroo, Bullom shore, May 12, 1813 :—

“ REVEREND SIR—It gives me great pleasure that I am now able to inform you that on the first of April I moved into the society's new house, at this place ; on the 17th I gave my *Dantika*.* All the headmen assembled on the occasion approved of my settling here, and promised protection and assistance whenever I should stand in need of it. I have under my care eleven little negro children. When my health and domestic affairs shall permit me to visit the neighbouring rivers, I have no doubt but I shall collect a considerable school in a short time, but at present I am confined to Yougroo.

“ The place where the settlement is established, though decried as unhealthy, seems to agree with me tolerably well ; hitherto, at least, I have felt no inconvenience, except that of being somewhat solitary, there being neither house nor town nearer to me than a mile.

“ The Sherbro would be a very large field for missionary labours, and it would be worth a trial, if the war between young Caulker and Cleveland were not carried on as in their father's time.

“ It is lamentable that the Bulloms should have been left so long without any religious instruction. They live in gross darkness, worshipping evil spirits, and dealing very cruelly with one another, on account of their superstitious witchcraft, which perhaps was encouraged by the inhuman trade of slaves. If any slave ship had been permitted to appear in Sierra Leone river, about fifteen or more witches would have been sold, and sent off the coast since I have been at Bullom.

“ The way to find out the supposed witches and their greegrees is, to consult a small basket wherein the evil spirit is supposed to dwell. The treatment of these poor persons is most cruel. I have for two mornings seen proceedings which must excite pity in every humane breast.

“ I beg to inform you that my family is increased by a son, who was born on the 17th of April last.

“ My school I shall endeavour to conduct on the new British system,

* The nature of this custom has been already explained. See page 220.

so far as I am acquainted with it ; but it would be very advantageous if the committee would send out a missionary who is well acquainted with it.

“ I am diligently collecting Bullom words and phrases.

“ Recommending myself, my wife, and children, and my infant school, to the particular favour of the honoured society,

“ I remain, with sincere regard, reverend sir,

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,

“ G. R. NYLANDER.”

CHAPTER V.

How often is the Christian, jealous for the honour of his God, brought to see the force of the Psalmist's observation, "Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee!" A simple illustration of this occurred in connexion with the loss of the society's cargo, in the brig *Charles*, which fell, for the most part, into the hands of the savages, who took advantage of their fellow-creatures' distress to plunder their vessel. Among the goods thus lost were, as we have mentioned above, some boxes of English Bibles and Testaments, granted by the British and Foreign Bible Society for the use of the settlements, and twelve handsomely bound Arabic Bibles, intended for native chiefs, who were generally taught, by their Mahommedan instructors, to set a high value on any book written in that language. As Butscher judged that most of the goods, plundered from the wreck, would be carried by the natives to the traders on the Gambia river for sale, he wrote, immediately on his arrival at Goree, to one of them with whom he had been acquainted for some years, requesting him to send any thing he might have bought, and mentioning the most valuable articles, especially the Arabic Bibles. About a fortnight after, he received a reply from the trader, in which he stated that the natives had brought a great quantity of the missionaries' goods to the Gambia river, and sold them to the traders residing there; and that he had made particular search for the Arabic Bibles, and other books which Butscher mentioned, but that he could get only a few of the latter; and as for the Arabic Bibles, the Mahommedan natives would not part with them at all; he went even so far, he said, as to offer for one to the value of £8, yet it was refused, so highly did they esteem what they believed to be the word of God; and who can tell what everlastingly blessed results have proceeded from the bread thus literally cast upon the waters, and gathered even in this surreptitious and unhallowed way? It was not the first

time that God employed a shipwreck to convey the word of life to perishing sinners. The apostle of the Gentiles was thus sent to the Maltese, and eternity alone will reveal the wisdom of driving the missionary brig on the Zongui rocks.

Butscher, in a letter to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, wherein the above circumstances are stated, mentions also an occurrence which serves at least to show the reverence in which the servants of God were held by the poor untutored Africans. There was, at the time the natives were disposing of their plunder, an old slave trader in the Gambia, who bought several articles belonging to Butscher. Some of the Mahomedan natives went and told him that he did wrong in buying these things, for that they belonged to a bookman, who was on board the wrecked vessel; and if he did not restore them to him, God would surely punish him by burning his house and all his property. The trader, however, laughed at their advice, and strange to say, his house, and all that he possessed, became a prey to the flames not many days after. It might have been that the prophets fulfilled their own prediction. At all events they showed their respect for the missionary office, and the character of those who brought the Word of God among them; such as held out strong encouragement to those who should undertake to circulate divine truth among these poor children of wrath. In Butscher's concluding remarks we shall all gladly concur. "I may venture to say, that my having been cast away, may, perhaps, be the saving of those into whose hands these Bibles have fallen, or shall fall in future; and should this be the case, surely my having been cast away, and lost almost every thing with which my society has so liberally furnished me, ought never to be a source of regret."

When Butscher received the letter of the Committee, authorizing him to accept the chaplaincy of Sierra Leone, if he should think fit, he felt considerable difficulty in coming to a decision upon so important a step. The great object on which his heart was set, was the erection of a new settlement on the river Dembia, to be called, by the desire of the committee, the Gambier Settlement, in honour of the noble president of the society.* He considered that God had led him to become a missionary to the Soosoos, by whom, generally, he was loved and respected, and that the acceptance of the office now offered to him, would be a virtual abandonment of his legitimate post. On the other hand he reflected on the ten thousand souls in the colony—the utter want of a responsible and respectable ministry—the apparent improbability of supplying this want from England—the number of heathens in the population—the multitude of children—the great importance to the society,

* Admiral the Right Hon. Lord Gambier.

and their missionaries, of having a confidential medium of communication with their present and future settlements—the great aid which might be rendered through the blessing of God, by such means, to the spiritual interests of the colony, and, perhaps, of the whole coast. He could not overlook, besides, the desire of the governor that he should supply the vacancy. All these considerations urged themselves upon his attention, and made him long for the presence of his dear brother Renner with whom he might take counsel in his perplexity.

It occurred to him that he ought to consult the governor, who he knew was a sincere friend to the mission. He accordingly went and read to him the society's communication relative to the chaplaincy, which pleased him much, and he promised Butscher that if he accepted the post he should be permitted to go and erect the Gambier settlement, and act in all respects as the society's missionary until others were sent out to supply his place, only providing that he should sometimes come to the colony, to solemnize baptisms and marriages, as long as he was obliged to be absent. On these conditions Butscher became the government chaplain, on the first of January, 1814; up to which period he had baptized upwards of 200 persons, most of them captured negroes, who were in general placed with the colonists as apprentices.*

That the work of God was going on in the colony, we have an evidence in these baptisms, which we may be sure did not include any who afforded not, at least, external evidence of conversion from darkness to light—from doctrines of devils to faith in a crucified Saviour. Butscher furnishes us with a specimen of these African neophytes, which we shall present in his own language :—

“ Some of the grown captured negroes whom I baptized gave me a most pleasing account of the work of God wrought in their souls. I baptized lately a native of the Timmanee† Country by the name of Charles, whom I knew four years ago in the Soosoo. Many years ago he was a workman to a slave trader. In one of the trader's frolics he was ordered to fire some large guns, which he did, but unluckily shot away one of his legs. By this accident he was rendered unfit for a servant of a slave dealer, as he could no longer run to kidnap people; but he turned to and learned to sew, by which he has since got his living. I asked him why he wished to be baptized. He replied, in his broken and affecting dialect, ‘Dady me be bad man. God shewed me some-

* In a volume intended, if the Lord will, to succeed this, the subject of liberated slaves, their treatment, and the society's exertions in their behalf, will be, God willing, treated so fully, together with what is interesting in the condition and prospects of the colony of Sierra Leone at large, that it is not intended to dwell on these matters in the present volume.

† Butscher writes this word *Temanee*, and in our day travellers insist it should be written *Timnéh*.

thing a long time ago, but me no minded. That time me lose my leg. I got very sick : me think I must die. One time when I was so sick, me lay down ; me be all the same, me sleep, but me no sleep : me see big, big, very dark hole : me die, and the people begin to carry me to that big dark hole : me cry too much (very much) to go there, and some good people come and took me up again before I got quite down. That time me come to myself again. Oh ! me think God has shewn me something, that I should take care and look for God, that I must not go into that big black hole when I die. But me soon forgot all when I got well again, and did not mind God, but minded my country fashion. One time me see you, Mr. Butscher, in Bassia : me wanted to work with you, but you told me you and your boys make the trowsers ; but you gave me at that time four bars of tobacco as present. From that time me go from one place to another to sew ; me found oft trouble in my heart about God : me wear plenty greegrees, but they no could make my heart sit down (make it easy). At last God brought me to this place. One time me pass chapel ; me want to go in, but me think my cloth be bad too much ; them people no like me, me go back ; and so me do twice. Me get trouble in my heart ; me go again, that time me go in. Sleep come to me : me do not know what is the matter, me must sleep. Oh, that trouble my heart too much : me begin to pray. Me go again : me hear talk of Jesus Christ. Oh, my heart begin to sit down : me cast away all my greegrees, they no do me good : but now I know God do me good ; I feel it in my heart. Oh, blessed be His name.' ”

If the reader does not turn back and read Charles's simple account of his conversion over again, we are much mistaken, for, as every Christian's experience will testify, it bears the stamp of genuineness and truth, who is ignorant of that hacknied device of Satan, to detain his dupes from the house of God—“ Me think my clothes be bad too much, them people no like me ; ” and that other to render their attendance more than useless, “ Sleep come to me.” But God be thanked, who supplied Charles, and is willing to supply all, with the means of defence and victory, “ Me begin to pray—me go again—me hear talk of Jesus Christ.”

About fifty of the men and women, natives of Congo, who received baptism, were afterwards married, according to the rites of the Church of England.

We must now return, for a short time, to the settlements on the Rio Pongas, where much grief and apprehension were this year excited by the revival of the slave trade. During the former half of it, more than one thousand persons were carried off from that river, the American war with Great Britain favouring the designs of the traders, who

entered the river, even with American privateers as their convoy. The slave vessels came in, delivered their cargo, and, in the short space of twenty-four hours, had filled their vessels with slaves, and taken their departure.

As yet, however, the settlements remained unmolested, although the indications of a coming tempest were neither few nor equivocal; meanwhile another enemy to the missionary cause was effecting its more silent, but not less fatal work; another of the lay assistants, Herman Meyer, whose wife died at Goree, and who had been sent out as twine spinner and rope maker, was removed from the scene of his earthly labours, on the 12th of September, almost exactly six months after his arrival at Bassia.

A review of this man's career, during his brief connexion with the society, can afford us no satisfaction; but it may not be without its use in restraining young persons from entering into engagements involving great responsibility, and requiring peculiar qualifications, without solemn reflection and close self-inquiry. It will show us all that when the interests of eternity are concerned, our undertaking to perform certain duties without the grace that should work in us both to will and to do, is not only to encounter certain failure ourselves, but to expose the cause with which we are ostensibly connected to contempt and injury; so that in the end we are found to have been even fighting against God, however vehement were our protestations of friendship and alliance.

Wilhelm's manner of relating what had come under his observation in Meyer's conduct, will be found interesting. We shall therefore let him give the following memoir of his departed brother in his own way:—

“So far as I became acquainted with him (Meyer) in Mr. Steinkopff's congregation, I did highly esteem him, and so I did in the beginning of his stay here; he kept himself diligently employed; his behaviour was obliging, he read his Bible, and seemed to relish Christian conversation. After a short time, however, he discovered to me his anxiety about getting on with his salary; questioning in what way he could possibly set up for himself, after the four years of his engagement with the society were expired, if he could not, by that time, save some money.

“I bade him not to trouble his mind with such cares; but to trust in God's Providence for future times, as well as for to-day, assuring him that I myself cannot lay up money from my salary, and that though his salary was smaller than that of the missionaries, yet would he every day find the same victuals prepared for him which we have for ourselves.

“When I found him still uneasy about the want of many other things beside food, and heard that Meisner was in the same anxiety, I

advised him first to make an experiment for a year or two, and if then their prospects should not be more satisfactory, they might freely open their minds, and declare their wants to Mr. Pratt ;* assuring him that the committee of our honourable society consists of gentlemen who would take their case into mature consideration, and would not leave them in distress. This was enough to silence, but I think not enough to satisfy him on this subject.

“ By-and-bye he declared to brother Renner that he would wish to be again married ; and that with a person who could talk the Soosoo language, and had received some religious education ; and as brother Renner could not possibly foresee what wrong steps Meyer might be tempted to take on this occasion ; he told him of such a person as he desired. As soon as he became acquainted with her he found her a suitable person ; but at the same time he was tempted to listen to the fair promises of advancement with which her father immediately filled his mind—‘ that if he should become his son-in-law, he needed not to stay in Bassia, and be a workman and a storekeeper there, nor needed he to depend on that support which he received from the society ; but that his daughter had a lot and a house in Sierra Leone, and that he would instruct him in trading, and set him up in business there.’ He got also a vessel promised for the purpose of carrying on trade in the rivers along the coast. The young woman likewise declared to him that she should not like to live in Bassia.

“ Of these things he told me by way of asking my advice ; but it soon appeared that he was not much disposed to receive my advice contrary to his captivated inclination. I bade him be cautious, and not proceed without consideration and prayer, and that he should not leave this place, and his vocation, without his first having consulted the society, and obtained their consent. He objected against this, saying that the missionaries were authorized to settle such things among themselves ; and that he knew the intention of his heart, which was to serve the society in a better way than by sitting down in Bassia, and working. ‘ Can I not make myself more useful,’ he asked, ‘ by trading as well for the mission as for myself ; and when I bring you the provisions and goods, which you occasionally want, into the river, so that you need not go to Sierra Leone yourselves?’ Confident that the missionaries would never agree to his purpose, I replied that he would do right to bring it forward in a meeting.

“ By-and-by, when he perceived that it was not very likely he should obtain our consent for leaving Bassia, he betook himself to sinful and desperate measures, leaving off working, absenting himself from family worship, spending the Lord’s day, and half the week, in the place of

* The Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

his father-in-law, and behaving himself in a surly and quarrelsome manner toward each of us. At that time he brought brother Klein into a palaver, on a very worldly, proud, and foolish pretext.

“When I perceived that he was going about to seek some occasion for bringing the guilt of his crooked ways upon us, I began to avoid conversation with him, and to show my disapprobation of his conduct, for a while, more by silence than by words. But I got tired of seeing him wasting all his time, and, therefore, as Mrs. Renner one morning expressed a wish that a book-shelf and some benches might be made for the girls, and met with a murmuring answer, I seconded her, enforcing his duty upon him, but met, likewise, with a fretful scold. I then told him that it was not my intention to excite his passion or to dispute, and that he should rather first consider whether I treated him wrongfully. Upon this he began to do something, but not that which we desired him to do. The next day he showed a ragingly fretful temper. At breakfast he scolded first the children, who had to keep his room in order, and to wait upon him; then he began with Mr. Renner, and afterwards with me, telling us he was not our slave, to be set to work by us, but the society’s servant. Anxious, lest his ill-temper should plunge him into a violent fever, or drive him altogether out of his mind, we endeavoured rather to appease than to argue with him. He became, however, feverish the same day; but late in the evening, Mrs. Renner coming home from visiting a sick woman, he was well enough to get up and attack her with a very rough scolding, without any reason. We appeased him again, entreating him that he should mind his health and go to bed. The next morning his father-in-law sent his canoe to fetch him. On that occasion he put into Meyer’s mind that he should pay off the society what he owed it, and so make himself free of all obligations. Alas, this found also entrance into Meyer’s heart, and he made up the account himself, which amounted to £10.

“But God led him another way. He fell into a very severe fever, which kept him in bed for a long time. He wished to stay with his new friends in his sickness; and as the father-in-law had no objection, but promised him every assistance he could afford, we suffered it to be so. When he recovered from the fever, he got his feet swollen, like a person afflicted with the dropsy. In this state he came one morning to Bassia to fetch his trunks, in order to clean and sun his clothes, pretending that he could do this more conveniently at home than in our place. He also wanted the carpenters tools but was refused, as the tools belonged to the settlement.

“Some days after, Brother Wenzel, desirous to admonish him once more, invited him to dinner. He went up to Canoffee by land, with his swollen feet. When Brother Wenzel spoke to him, he declared that he would never break the promise made to his lady; but that he

intended to move again down to Bassia, as her father treated him cruelly. This intention, however, he could no more bring into effect ; for after dinner he went home again by land, contrary to the persuasion of all that he should pass the night in Canoffee, on account of the threatening tornado. Before he reached his home the tornado overtook him : the rain-gushes wetted him to the skin, and threw him into such a violent fever, that he was scarcely able to reach home. His illness increased to such a degree, as to put a period to his life in three days. His father-in-law did not call Brother Renner to see him till his speech was entirely gone. Scarcely was he buried, when the old slave dealer sat down and wrote a bill amounting to £200, which he wanted Brother Renner to accept, for the expenses he pretended to have had with Meyer. As Brother Renner made him ashamed of such an unreasonable bill for his deceased son-in-law, and refused it, he keeps all the things which Meyer brought into his house.

“ May it please God to keep us all from choosing our own ways ! O Lord Jesus, my Saviour, keep my heart free from worldly cares. Let me never covet and hanker after such earthly enjoyments as thou in thy wise providence seest good to withhold from me : let me never employ sinful means for the accomplishment of my desires : let me not fancy that I can make myself happy by acquiring worldly possessions ; but may I always seek and expect my happiness from thee, in the way of prayer, in the path of duty, and in resigning my will to thy providence ! Oh, let me never become vain in my own imaginations : let me never be enchanted and drawn aside by any fair prospects or promises, which satan and the world can propose ; and let me never act according to their insinuations. May I be careful not to lean upon the friendship of the wicked, but may I have an open ear and heart to receive the advices of thy word, and of thy children. Oh, gracious Heavenly Father, give me thy holy spirit, to show me the secret evils of my heart, and to enable me to conquer them when they become known to me, and to keep faithfully my engagements in thy service, even unto death, through Jesus Christ, my Mediator and Saviour. Amen.”

Our “ hearts’ desire and prayer is,” that the sentiments of this simple-minded man may find an echo in the breast of every one who peruses his admonitory narrative, and who, without knowing the plague of their own heart, or counting the cost, is “ almost persuaded” to occupy a prominent position in the Church of Christ.

We are now brought to that period, towards the close of the year 1813, when fresh troubles arose to the missionaries from the abominable slave traffic, which we have mentioned as being renewed this year with all its pristine virulence. It will be remembered that it was in the month of October the Foulahs made their incursion into the neighbourhood,

the year preceding, and threatened the settlements ; it was in the same month this year that the disturbances re-commenced. These new commotions were occasioned by the appearance in the river of the *Princess Charlotte*, an armed vessel sent by Governor Maxwell to seize upon a slaver. Her arrival was instantly ascribed to information conveyed by the missionaries, and a message was sent to Mongè Backe that the Bangalong Soosoos would burn down Bassia ; and in case the man-of-war should kill any free man, their lives should answer for it, because they were the cause of all that trouble. Mongè Backe hastened to Bassia on the 21st, and told the missionaries it was his wish that they should depart out of the river ; “for,” said he, “you make me a bad name.” He desired Renner to write to the captain of the man-of-war. “Very well,” Renner replied, “only tell me what I shall say.” This he would not do, but said Renner ought to know. The latter, however, refused to write in his own name, and so the matter rested. Afterwards Mongè Backe said to the missionaries, “You came safe and well into my hands, and I shall see that you get safe and well out of them, and that nobody trouble you in person, or touch your property.” They told him they were his old strangers, and should not leave him until he drove them away ; to which he replied that he would not drive them like dogs, but what he had said to them should be sufficient.

Before he took his departure, however, he seemed to relent a little, for he said, “Send your mulatto children away ; for how can you keep them, seeing that their fathers are so much in opposition to you.” The missionaries told him that the fathers of their mulatto children were for the most part dead, and that such as were still living were not in that country ; so that it was not the parents of their children that did them so much mischief, but white people who had no children with them.

They were now in much perplexity, not knowing how to proceed, and seeing that their own lives, and those of the children under their care, were exposed to the violence of an incensed people, infuriated by cupidity and rum. They thought it advisable to send for Fantimani, and inform him of their situation, as Mongè Backe did not send for him when he ordered them to depart, as it was his duty to do. When Fantimani arrived, he said his head-woman had told him the whole story when she came home, for she was in Bassia when the palaver was talked, “If,” he continued, “I give something under the care and charge of my friend, I expect if my friend is tired of that thing, and will no longer take care of it, that he will return it back to me. I gave you under the care of Mongè Backe, and if he is tired of you, he must tell me, and give you back to me. Not crediting what even my head-woman told me on the subject, I consulted some of my people what to do, and

where to inquire for the truth, either at Bassia or Mongè Backe's. They all said I should send to Mongè Backe at once, and inquire into the business. I did this, and he told the man that it was true that he ordered us away, and that he was tired of us. Well, then," said Fantimani, "we must move, live, and die together; we cannot be separated, although Mongè Backe has given me his daughter, and I have given him my daughter; we must mind what he told to you and me. And, if you like it, I will send a man to Mongè Chatee, to beg him to give me a place to settle on, and another place for the missionaries."

Renner, however, went himself forthwith to Mongè Chatee, considering that a man who had four children at the settlement would not refuse to befriend them. When he heard the circumstances, he consented at once to take the missionaries under his protection, and very shrewdly observed that they could not be the cause of the man-of-war's coming into the river after a slave vessel: "For," said he to Renner, "you have no boat, and your grumettas are all natives, and would not carry such a message by land. Besides, how can they charge you with having given information of this present vessel, which came in one day, and the man-of-war after her the next day?" He offered to them his new house, with a large hall and eight rooms. No headman on the coast had a better. He, however, advised them not to be in a hurry to remove from Bassia, as he would come up first and speak to Mongè Backe; but should the people disturb them, if they would let him know, he would send three or four canoes to take them away at once. This interview appeased the missionaries' fears, and had a good effect among the Soosooos around them, who could not bear the idea of their going away.

On the 29th of October, Mongè Backe paid them another visit, and presented them with Kolas,* as a token of friendship, which he never did before. Having rested himself, he produced the following letter from Mongè William Fernandez, addressed to Renner, and sent to him, that he might be the bearer of it:—

"DEAR SIR—I understand from some of my people that you are going from Bassia. I hope you will not believe any person, until you see me, or hear from M. Backe and me. What Ormond is about, I

* The fruit of a large and beautiful tree, which grows in abundance on the coast. It bears a thick green capsule, within which are imbedded seven or eight kernels of the size and shape of a chestnut, and of a pleasant bitter astringent flavour; these are the Kolas. They are either of a white, or a dark red, or purple colour. Kolas are always presented to guests in visits of ceremony or friendship, and are looked upon as a mark of great politeness. They form a part of every considerable present, and at public meetings or palavers, between different nations, they are a substitute for the olive branch. Two *white* Kolas presented by one party to the other, betoken peace, and a continuance of friendship, while two *red* ones are considered an indication of war.—*Winterbottom*.

hope you will not mind. We are natives in this country. No person can take the country from us, as long as M. Backe and I are living. I have no more to say, but conclude,

“Dear sir, to be yours, &c.,

“WM. FERNANDEZ.

“Rev. Mr. Renner.”

“Now,” said Mongè Backe, “by this letter it appears that Mongè Wm. Fernandez does not wish you to leave Bassia: neither is it my wish that you should go; but the people and Ormond made so many threatenings, that I was obliged to advise you to go.” It was now, therefore, arranged that the missionaries should not move, which would have been to them a serious inconvenience and expense, although Mongè Chatee offered to build them a town, if they required it. The interposition of their Heavenly Master was thus employed in their favour, and they seem to have been fully sensible of this evidence of his divine protection over them.

Early in November, an English schooner, commanded by Captain Cooper, destroyed two large slave factories in M. Chatee’s district. The captain invited the chief on board, that he might dissuade him from countenancing the slave trade in the river; but the invitation was not accepted.

A few weeks after, Renner and Wenzel went to Bramia, to return thanks to M. Wm. Fernandez, for his interference in their behalf. He firmly engaged himself to protect them, and declared that no man should drive them out of the country. He subsequently repeated his assurances in several friendly conversations with them and Klein.

Before proceeding with an account of these slavery movements, the order of time compels us to notice a most interesting circumstance which occurred at Bassia in the beginning of the year 1814. On the 20th of January, the foundation of a Christian church was laid at that settlement, although, to all appearance, the walls of it should be built “even in troublous times.” The manner in which the ceremony of laying the foundation was conducted deserves to be related:—

“We selected,” says Renner, “four boys to perform the mason’s part, in laying the foundation stones. For each of them was made an apron of white baft,* and to each a hammer was given.

“When all the children were collected, they were put in procession, walking two and two together. The masons took the lead—then myself, with the good Bible in my hand—then brother Wilhelm, with the boys, and then the girls, accompanied by Mrs. Renner and Mrs. Klein.

“When we arrived at the spot, the masons took their posts at the

* Cotton cloth.

corner stones, which were placed in an erect position. I then read a chapter in Isaiah, respecting Christ's kingdom coming to the Gentiles, and also four appropriate psalms.

"After the reading was over the first stone was laid in this manner—I addressed the boy in these terms—'You lay this foundation stone in the name of God.' He tumbling down the stone, I said, 'Lay it firm!' While he shook and moved the stone into the best position, I added, 'Lay it for the honour and glory of Christ. Lay it so fast that even the gates of hell cannot remove it!'^{*} the young man hammering away upon it to make it quite firm, and then taking mud balls, fixed it in its place.

"The same words and ceremony were observed at the laying of each of the other stones.

"Brother Wilhelm then gave out the psalm:—

' From all that dwell below the skies,
Let the Creator's praise arise;
Let the Redeemer's name be sung,
Through every land, by every tongue.
Eternal are thy mercies, Lord—
Eternal truth attends thy word.
Thy praise shall sound from shore to shore,
Till suns shall rise and set no more.'

"After the singing of which, having pronounced the blessing of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, on the whole place, we all went home, and the workmen immediately entered on the work.

"A place for public worship we wanted long ago; and we have good hope that the Soosoos, in the house appointed for them, will come and hear the good news of salvation, hid from them for ages. Should our hands be strengthened by other missionaries, much would be done in the work of God, notwithstanding the many oppositions which we have to encounter."

To the above Wilhelm adds—"May it please God to forward, accomplish, and uphold this building with his Almighty hand, as his holy temple, in the midst of devils' houses, and abominable places of idolatry; and may the constant sounding of the glorious Gospel, in this house of God, cause the sun of righteousness to arise and shine among those habitations of darkness and cruelty, so as to make them vanish like vapours on the rising of the sun."

The missionaries at Canoffee were not slow to imitate the example thus set them by their brethren at Bassia. Of this settlement we

^{*} We fear the good man has here sanctioned a rather too literal acceptance of our Lord's promise—(Mat. xvi. 18.) This, however, was less dangerous in Africa, than it would have been in Ireland.

have not spoken as much as of the one at Bassia, chiefly because the latter was the more extensive and important, and this was conducted upon the same plan, an account of which has already been given ;* Conoffee was under the superintendence of Mr. and Mrs. Wenzel, and Mr. and Mrs. Klein ; Mrs. Quast, widow of the layman who died in the passage out, was also attached to it. There were now about 33 children under instruction—20 boys and 13 girls, of the same mixed description as those at the other settlement ; and as regards their progress we cannot do better than make room for a report from Wenzel on the subject.

“ I exhort my school-children every day, and endeavour, as much as is in my power, to bring them into the ways of the Lord. Some of them are very young ; and some, alas ! have imbibed the views of their former associates, and would practise them if they were not restrained ; but, God be praised, I can say, that of two or three I may indulge a blessed hope that my labour is ‘ not in vain in the Lord.’

“ One boy acts in my house as a good steward. I have brought him, by the grace of God, forward in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in catechising the other boys. If other business hinders me from keeping school, he instructs the children ; and they willingly obey him. He is very useful to me if I am called to go out ; he can buy, and sell, and manage some things in the house, in which I instructed him when I was a widower. But my joy and hope consist in this, that he is desirous to know the way of salvation, and to experience its power in his own soul. He retires, sometimes, with one boy or another, in the evening, into the schoolroom, and reads the Word of God with him, and afterwards with him, and in private also, he pours out his heart before God in prayer.

“ Another boy is very industrious, and employs himself usefully in carpenter’s work. He repairs the canoe, and mends doors and benches. These two boys are also very useful as interpreters. One of them has translated the four verses which we read at the laying of the foundation stone of the church. With these two boys I will, by the grace of God, translate the liturgy of the Church of England into Soosoo, that, on the opening of the church, we may read them the service in the native tongue.”

To show the effects of scriptural instruction, he relates the following case :—

“ A boy had stolen some Indian corn last year out of my store. Nobody had witnessed the fact, nor had he told it to any one, but kept it concealed above three months. By expounding, however, to the children the Scripture every day, and by endeavouring to implant the

fear of God in their hearts, he became conscious that, by his stealing the corn, and concealing it, he had committed a great sin against God. He discovered the fact to one of my two above-mentioned boys, and begged his advice. He said—‘You must confess your sin to Mr. Wenzel.’ One evening, after prayer, he followed me out of the schoolroom, with the other boys all close after him. I enquired the reason of their following me. He told me the crime which he had committed, and the reason of his confession. He feared God would punish him for it. I gave him a short exhortation, and warned him against such evils. I urged on him that he must always fear God, nor do any more such wicked things. Though no man might see him, God can and will punish him. He showed great signs of repentance. I encouraged him afterwards, and told him God would forgive him his sin, but that he should pray to God for his Holy Spirit. All the boys were much affected, and promised me that they would not steal. May God grant that all these lambs may follow the gracious voice of the Good Shepherd of our Souls, who gave us a blessed example, even in His youth!”

There were, however, difficulties in the way of instructing these children peculiar to their country, and the circumstances amidst which they were placed, at that tender age when impressions are most easily made and retained. The missionaries were often much distressed to find early habits baffling all their exertions, and breaking out afresh, when they appeared to have been entirely subdued, like old sores yielding, for a time, to medical treatment, but which soon show, by their re-appearance, that the cure was only superficial. On this subject, Wenzel subsequently writes:—

“The Soosoos are too much disposed to keep their children at home in ignorance, and infect their tender hearts with the vices which are practised among them; so that the children have, in too many cases, lost all relish for a better education; because they can live at home without restraint, according to the will of their sinful hearts, and practise wickedness without fear.

“If children were sent to us at the age of five or six years, or younger, of such children, as they are not in the practice of sin, and their hearts not so much infected with the vices of the older, some hope may be entertained that, in a missionary settlement, they may reap the benefit of a Christian education: but when they are brought into a settlement beyond this age, which is too much the case with the Soosoos, as they do not like to take them from their mothers, their hearts are much infected with the evil of sin.

“A missionary must, therefore, be continually on his guard, to root out the thorns, briars, and weeds, which grow with their years; and

must look circumspectly how they go on, as there are children of both sexes in the settlement.

"I have mentioned some boys whose conduct greatly encouraged me, but some things are come to my ears that rather damp my expectations, though I see signs of repentance. What shall I say or think? Shall a whole society of Christians be disappointed in their noble design? Shall the labours and pains of their missionaries prove unsuccessful? Shall the prayers of so many faithful disciples of our Lord not be answered, and their money be spent in vain? I cannot think it!

"Nay, shall I say that no progress is made towards our end? God forbid! I will enclose a prayer of one of my boys, which he himself out of his own heart composed, and which I found in his bedroom, in which he thankfully expresses his sense of the benefits of the blessed Gospel of Christ, which is preached to them by us missionaries: and offers his prayers to God to bless the society, which has sent missionaries to this dark region. But how soon does satan corrupt such a mind again! Oh, 'Watchman, what of the night!—watchman, what of the night!'"

"It is by no means my intention to discourage the society, nor would I have it supposed that I am low spirited. Not at all—but I must state things as they are; and I will by the grace of God try the utmost, though the effort may be difficult, and the issue at times appear doubtful.

"When, now, much money has been spent, great pains bestowed, many trials suffered, frequent prayers ascended to Heaven, and not a few lives shortened in the work of the mission, should not this stir us up more and more in the service of the Lord?"

Our readers will doubtless desire to see the prayer of the African boy, to which the missionary has alluded:—

"O Lord, open thou our hearts, that we may lift them up and thank thee for thy goodness and mercy, which thou hast shown unto us, in that thou has sent thy missionaries into this country to show us the way to Heaven. We have been sitting in darkness, but now thou hast sent thy servants to enlighten us with the truth of the Gospel, in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord.—Amen.

"We thank all our friends in England, which sent cloth for us, that we may dress ourselves, and buy us food to eat. Oh, that the Lord may open our hearts, that we may pray for them, that God may take them up to Heaven when they die.

"Oh, let us be glad, and rejoice in this salvation which has come unto us. If we obey the Gospel and do it, we shall be happy in the next world: but we cannot do it ourselves: O Lord, help us, that we may understand thy holy word; that when we are at home we may talk to the others, and say, 'Come and see what the Lord has done unto my soul.'

“ We have been here. We knew nothing about Jesus Christ, thy only begotten Son, that thou hast sent him into the world to save sinners. But now, O Lord, by thy mercy and loving kindness, thou hast sent thy servants to declare thy wondrous works unto us. Help us, O Lord, to do thy will and to keep thy commandments. O Christ hear us : we heard in thy word, when children pray to thee, thou hearest them. O let our humble prayer come before thee, O Lord, our heavenly Father ; to whom shall we go but to thee ? O Lord we must come and bow our humble knees before thee, and pray to thee for thy goodness to us and to all. Amen.”

The foundation of Canoffee church was laid on the 19th of February, a month later than that at Bassia. The day preceding the ceremony, Wenzel sent the workmen and boys to the headmen, and other people, to invite them to attend ; “ but as,” says Wenzel, “ false reports were then spread abroad that we had made yamfa, (acted deceitfully), none of the headmen came.

“ The next day,” he continues, “ I proceeded with the female part of the family, Mrs. Klein, Mrs. Quast, my wife, and thirteen girls, to the school-house, the country people following us. In the school-house the boys, twenty in number, stood ranged in one line.

“ Here we began to sing the first verse of Psalm cxxii. With the second verse we proceeded to the churchyard. Having sung the second verse in going to the ground, we placed ourselves round the place dug for the foundation of the church. I then addressed the natives—told them the most excellent design of our most honourable society, and gave them, in the name of the society, and my own name, an earnest invitation to frequent this house of God. I assured them that the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ should be preached in this church, and that here they should be taught how they may go to heaven.

“ Four boys, with white aprons and hammers in their hands, were placed at the corners of the foundation.

“ I first went to the east, with a boy who acted as my interpreter ; and, with the boy who had taken his stand at that corner, fixed the stone in the ground, repeating the sixteenth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of Isaiah. My interpreter rendered the words into Soosoo ; and I and the other boy fastened the stone, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The stone being laid, I explained and expounded the words of the text. I then proceeded with the interpreter to the south corner, and laid the second stone, with the other boy who was placed there, repeating the twenty-second verse of Psalm cxviii. These words also were interpreted into Soosoo, and a short explanation of them given.

“ After this I went to the west, laying the stone with Matthew xvi. 18 : these words being likewise interpreted and explained.

“ At the north corner, the text used was 1 Cor. iii. 11.

“ The stones at the four corners were all laid, and fastened in the sacred name of the Triune Jehovah.

“ I then went to the middle of the church ground, and read a part of Psalm cii., beginning at the twelfth verse, Psalm lxxvii., and the fourth chapter of Micah.

“ After I had read the psalms, and the chapter in Micah, I kneeled down with the children and prayed, and dismissed the assembly with the blessing of the church. We then returned, singing part of Psalm cxviii., ‘ Behold the sure Foundation Stone,’ to the school-house.

“ Here I addressed myself particularly to the boys, and called their attention to the blessings which they enjoyed, and assured them that the honourable society wished that they might be brought so to know the Lord, and to become Christians, that they also might be missionaries, and one and another of them go into the country, and preach the Gospel of our Lord to other Soosoos. The children seemed all to be much affected, and the people thanked me for their invitation. I gave them a breakfast, and a little wine, when they went home.

“ The spot on which the house is built is very good ground. Nothing is to be feared from floods. I have made the walls so strong, that the tornadoes cannot blow them down. This spot is also close to the path by which the people have to pass who come from the interior.”

While on the subject of these two churches, we may anticipate a little, to mention that with much exertion they were covered in before the rains commenced. By the *Wildding*, Captain Gibson, which sailed in January, 1815, they were supplied with good bells and clocks, the measured sounds of which over the surrounding plains, it was hoped, would conduce to the introduction of social order, and gradually discipline the minds of the natives to habits of regular industry, and solemnize them into a love for tranquil enjoyments. As the children were already accustomed to raise their voices in sacred song, a barrel organ, too, playing thirty of the choicest congregational tunes, was sent out for the church at Bassia; and, should this one be found useful, another was promised to Canoffee. The area of each new church contained about three hundred square yards, and each was intended to accommodate from two to three hundred persons.

In contrast with the simple ceremonial observed by the missionaries, to solemnize the erection of a house for the Triune Jehovah, we shall describe the superstitious practices of the Soosoos at the consecration of a devil's house, or a building erected to the spirits of their departed friends or relatives, to make inquiries of them upon any emergency affecting themselves or their country.

The house is first built with posts stuck into the ground, the inter-

vals between them being filled up with platted twigs, plastered with clay, and the house is thatched with bamboo or long grass, and then the headman and people assemble. A bullock is then killed ; or if there is no bullock, some fowls are substituted. The flesh, with a large quantity of rice, is then boiled, and afterwards carried to the devil's house. The headman, who alone is supposed to be admitted to a conversation with the demon, and learn his will, communicates what he professes to have been told by him to the people. He then takes a kola, and breaking it asunder, throws it on the ground before the demon, and according to the position which the two pieces occupy in falling—either the broken or sound side being turned up—he says, “Thou art a good devil.” After this he takes the liver of the slain animal, and casts it likewise before the spirit, that he may eat it. The headman then chews a kola, and when it is well masticated, he spits it also before him. Sometimes, as we have before seen, a man is devoted in sacrifice to the demon, and is buried alive under the devil's house. The headman now tells the people whether in the matter then under consideration they shall be successful or not ; after which the chief and all the people squat down on the ground, and feast on the meat and rice, tearing the former with their teeth or hands, and eating the latter with their fingers, previously dipped in cold water. When the feast is over, a palaver is held, and their affairs settled. Shooting and dancing succeed, which are continued through the whole night, and some days after, until they are tired, when they depart to their several houses.

When we contemplate this picture of human debasement, are we not constrained to exclaim—“And such were some of us ; but we are washed ; but we are sanctified ; but we are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God !” (1 Cor. vi. 11). May that spirit operate upon our hearts in compassion, and irresistible yearnings after the souls of the poor heathen, now enveloped in the blackness of darkness ; but, we trust, not for ever.

We return to Bassia. In the beginning of February, Mongè Chatee sent for Renner to ask him to write a letter to Captain Cooper, who had seized in the river two of his canoes, laden with rice, and carried them off, with twelve of his men. As Renner was unwell, Wilhelm and Klein obeyed the summons, and setting off, reached M. Chatee's new town on the evening of the 7th, where they found a great number of people assembled, to keep Kulinji, (a feast), in the night. At the back of his house was deposited the greegree dish, filled with scraps of old cloth, bulls' and goats' horns, &c., placed there to secure the assistance and protection of the guardian spirits in these perilous times of war. He welcomed the missionaries, and said—“It will be too late for your business this evening : I will go with these people into my old town,” which was about a mile off, “that in the night you may have silence

here, and to-morrow morning I will come again." Accordingly he left them, and returned next morning with some men, who were to be witnesses of the conversation between him and the missionaries.

When all parties were seated, he gave Wilhelm a letter from Captain Cooper, which he requested him to read aloud. In this letter, Captain Cooper offered to M. Chatee to restore to him the people and goods which had been seized, if he would deliver up the slave traders in the river. This letter displeased the people, and M. Chatee declared that he could not comply with the captain's wishes, as he was not the only headman in the river, and he should conquer all the others, before the traders, who had lived under their protection, would be given up, as the slave trade was their chief source of revenue, and they rather desired an increase than any abatement of it. He then dictated, to Wilhelm, a letter for the captain, in which he again applied for his goods and people, and invited him on shore, that he might explain to him his position with regard to the traders, for whose surrender he covenanted. He promised the captain all respect and security, should he accept his invitation. He then requested Wilhelm to go with his son and people in his canoe to look for the man-of-war, and hand the letter to Captain Cooper, using all his influence with him to induce him to send back the canoes and people, and to come with them to M. Chatee's place, to speak with him. Accordingly they all set off to a place called the Palmtrees, from whence Captain Cooper had dated his letter, but no vessel was found there. On their return Wilhelm was seized with a fever, which, continuing next day, M. Chatee desired Klein to write to Renner, requesting him to come to him immediately, as he wished to send him to Sierra Leone, to interfere with the governor in his behalf. Wilhelm considered it right, under these circumstances, to return to Bassia, as Mr. Renner was also unwell, and should Renner set out, the children would be neglected, unless he was present. He therefore sent Banga, M. Chatee's son, the next morning, to apprise his father of his departure.

Renner considered it his duty to comply with Mongè Chatee's request, to avoid, if possible, hostilities between the English and the natives, which would be a certain blow to the settlements; especially as he knew it to be out of M. Chatee's power to comply with Captain Cooper's demand, to enforce which, he had seized on his canoes and people, and held them as hostages. At the Isles de Los, Renner met Butscher on his way to Bramia, but as he failed in procuring a vessel thither, he accompanied Renner back to Sierra Leone.

When Renner presented Mongè Chatee's letter to the governor, he was informed by him that the chief's people had already been sent home, and, by his order, three armed vessels had sailed for the Rio Pongas, to force out the slave traders and destroy their factories; since

they obstinately refused his invitation to abandon the odious traffic. This intelligence filled Renner's mind with the most gloomy forebodings of ill to the settlements, as they could scarcely, he thought, escape injury, at the instigation of the traders, infuriated as they would be by the losses which they would sustain in the destruction of their property. How far his fears were realized, we shall learn in the sequel. Meanwhile the reader will be glad to accompany us back to Bassia, where Wilhelm and Mrs. Renner were most anxiously expecting a favourable issue to Renner's conference with the governor, on which their future tranquillity, if not their safety depended.

In this state of suspense they continued until Sunday, February 20th, "when," said Wilhelm, "about five o'clock, six English boats, filled with black soldiers, under the command of Major Appleton, passed our place. We were just singing in the afternoon service. I was hailed, and when I made my appearance, the major wished me to tell our town's-people not to be at all afraid. One of our people, who was rather terrified at the sight of gun-boats and soldiery, ran joyfully into the town to declare this agreeable news. The soldiers went up to Canoffee, where Samuel Perry, an American slave trader, lives; set his houses on fire, and completely destroyed his place. On their return, they set our French neighbour Bougiere's place on fire; and, after that, the place of Fernandez, a Spanish trader, opposite Bougiere's.

"Having executed so much of their commission, Major Appleton and Captain Sander called upon us, not with fire and sword, but inquiring into our circumstances. 'I have heard,' said he, 'that the slave traders stir up the people against you missionaries, by denouncing you as spies, and as the cause of the executions which we are at present performing. If, therefore, you are under any apprehension of trouble from the country people, I have orders to assist you, or to take you out of the river.' I gave thanks to Major Appleton for this very kind offer, but told him that the slave traders had, for years, spread such evil reports against us, but that we had never been actually injured by the people on this account; and that so long as we did not experience any personal injury, and so long as there was no hostility between the English forces and the country people, we would wish to keep to the injunction of our society—'not to forsake our settlements unless we should be driven out of the country.' The major again kindly repeated the offer of his assistance, whenever we should want it, during his stay in the river.

"After these two gentlemen had spoken to us, they addressed the town's-people who were sitting all around our parlour; a friendly intercourse took place; after which they left us under the kindest salutations of the people, and our children. All being ready for setting off from our place, the major called to me out of his boat,

inquiring whether I had any objection to his making a difference between the wicked and the good, by giving us a tune.* Upon my answer—‘Not at all, sir,’ they began to play their French horns most charmingly.”

Apprehensive of the character which their enemies might attach to this visit of the English officers, Wilhelm judged it prudent to go next morning to Mongè Backe, and make him acquainted with the whole circumstance, and the conversation which had occurred. When he arrived he found a large concourse of people assembled, to talk a war palaver, and having communicated the object of his visit to Mongè Backe, he was requested to sit down in the assembly.

After a long conversation about the missionaries, Mongè Backe said to Wilhelm: “I must tell you, all the Soosoo people are against you this time; giving you a bad name, that you make yamfa, (act deceitfully), and bring war upon us. You always say that you came into this country to teach our children; but you came not only to teach, but to injure us. You have intercourse with the Sierra Leone people, and you write to them that they should send the man-of-war into the river. Why could you not tell or write to them that they must not come up here? If the people come now to your place, and trouble you; if they burn your houses, and punish you, and drive you away, I cannot help you; you must mind yourselves.”

Wilhelm replied, “Mongè Backe told us to go out of the country four months ago, and he knows very well what Mongè Fernandez told him at that time. I can prove, I hope, that all the Soosoo people are not against us, and the bad names which our enemies give us are all in falsehood. If any body can prove it to be true, that we make yamfa, and that we make the man-of-war come into the river, let them cut off my head in the midst of you. We have no power over the English war people, to tell them what they must do, or not do. We are not their headmen, but they are our headmen, and can tell us what we must do. If no trader had fought with the man-of-war, no English man-of-war could ever have entered into the river. You all know that trader very well. Now you may see what trouble this one trader has brought upon all the traders in the river along the coast. I have nothing more to say to this palaver; but let the Soosoo people mind what they do at this time. The English did not trouble the natives at all. Mongè Chatee’s people and property, taken by Captain Cooper, are sent back again; but the Soosoo people must take care not to trouble us, for nobody can prove that we have done evil. If the natives

* Meaning that, whereas the wicked slave traders could expect nothing at their hands but every demonstration of hostility, they were anxious to mark their approbation of the character and pursuits of these friends of the poor Africans by a few parting notes, symbolical of peace and good will.

trouble us—if they burn our houses—if they injure us—if they drive us out of the country for nothing: then I cannot tell what trouble they may bring upon themselves. I cannot tell how the English would take it up. For when the major came to visit us, his first questions were—‘Do the people trouble you? or are you in fear that they will trouble you on account of our executions in the rivers? I heard that the slave traders talk to the people against you, and give you a bad name; and I have orders to help you if this is the case.’ Now I might have told him that our headman wants us to leave the country: but for fear I should bring bad palaver upon you, I answered him, that though we had enemies, we have also powerful headmen, who are our friends, and protect and defend us; and that nobody has as yet injured us.” To this Mongè Backe, after they had consulted awhile, replied, “That what Wilhelm said was good, but that they could not tell him any thing more until Mr. Renner returned.” Wilhelm then, having exhorted him to warn the people against doing mischief to the settlements, and not to allow any rancorous feelings into their palaver, returned home.

The people at Canoffee, too, were not without their alarms. On the same day that the military visted Bassia, an alarm was given in the neighbourhood that the men-of-war were coming up the river. About an hour after Mongè Backe entered Wenzel’s house, with four armed men. “I hear,” said he, “that the men-of-war will come up the river next flood tide. The other headmen are now quite angry with me, for they say that you (the missionaries) have made yamfa. If I had not taken you into my territory, the men-of-war would not come here. You must now write a letter to them, that they should not come up.” To this Wenzel answered, “Mongè Backe, you say that we (the missionaries) have made yamfa; can you prove it? or can any man in the country prove it? Tell me. If you think we spoil the country, or are the reason that the men-of-war come hither, you must tell us to leave the country.” He replied, “That he did not wish them to leave the country, but that Wenzel should write a letter that the men-of-war should not come there.” Wenzel said, “I cannot prevent their coming up; the men-of-war act according to their orders.” He, however, and his men urgently insisted that Wenzel should write. Wenzel again replied, “I can do nothing, Mongè Backe. You will remember that when the men-of-war were here the first time, and you determined that we, missionaries, should leave the country, Mongè William Fernandez sent word to you that you should not drive us away, nor should any man trouble us. I must, therefore, write to Mongè William Fernandez.”

Providentially, just as he was speaking, Mongè William Fernandez’s brother, with another person, armed, entered the house, and delivered

to him this message—"Mongè William Fernandez gives you service, and tells you that you must not be afraid; the Soosoo people must not trouble you; we are sent hither to protect you, and stay with you." They then delivered this message to Mongè Backe—"Mongè William Fernandez gives you service; you must not trouble these men; they make no yamfa; they bring not into the river the men-of-war. A Sierra Leone vessel is now in Bramia river, and brings rice. Men-of-war do not trouble us." In the mean time, while these messages were being delivered, Mongè Domba's people had also entered, and when Mongè Backe and his people heard them, they went away silently, and were solaced with a few glasses of rum.

Soon after the British boats made their appearance, and proceeded to destroy the neighbouring factories. Every where around fires blazed, and all night the settlement was kept in a state of great alarm, while watches were constantly maintained.

These were, however, only the beginnings of sorrows—the faint mutterings of an approaching storm. On the 23rd of February, Bougiere, the French slave-trader, in the neighbourhood of Bassia, whose place Major Appleton had destroyed, sent one of Mongè Domba's people to Wilhelm, with a letter, addressed to the British commander on the Rio Pongas, directing him to send one of his people immediately to carry it on board the man-of-war. This request Wilhelm declined, ignorant as he was of the contents of the letter, and of the motive with which it was sent, and which the messenger who brought it could not explain. In consequence of this refusal no doubt, about nine o'clock that evening, one of the houses in which Banga, who had been recently married at the settlement, lived, was set on fire, and consumed. It was, providentially, perfectly calm at the time, which prevented the flames reaching the other houses. The state of alarm into which this awful occurrence threw all the inmates of the settlement may be conceived; especially as they expected the other houses to be also set on fire, as two Soosoo men had been observed about the place. They spent the entire night watching, and exhorting one another to resign themselves to the divine will and protection; as without the Almighty's wise permission no one could injure them. As soon as morning appeared they sent M. Chatee for assistance, and in the evening Wilhelm wrote to Mongè Fernandez, informing him of what had occurred, and intreating his interposition in their behalf, that they might be delivered from their present perils, without being compelled to apply for aid to the English commander.

While Wilhelm was absent at Canoffee, on the 26th, Mongè Backe, with his people and Mongè Fantimani, arrived at Bassia, and entered into a long conversation with Mrs. Renner. Meanwhile Wilhelm returned, and on his speaking to them about their present situation, they said

nothing could be done for them until Renner's return from the colony. He followed Fantimani out as they were departing, and intreated him to exert himself to prevent mischief, but he could obtain no reply, except "all must now be left till Mr. Renner comes home." "Yes, sir," said Wilhelm, "but then our houses must not be burnt down over our heads before Mr. Renner comes home."

Next day, the 27th, he received the following answer to the letter he had written to Mongè Fernandez :—

"DEAR SIR—Yours I received by some of your people, and am sorry that the natives should be so troublesome to you, and so foolish against themselves. But I have sent a man to Mongè Backe, to talk to them for what they have done, and I hope they will never do the like any more. My compliments to Mrs. Renner, and all the family. I remain, &c., W. Fernandez."

The man alluded to in this note, came to Bassia, with Mongè Backe and his people, on the 1st of March, and talked palaver. He charged Mongè Backe to take good care of the missionaries, and to find out and punish those who troubled them, for if not, Mongè Fernandez would defend them. He suggested, to the Bassia people, the necessity of watchfulness against fire inside the settlement, as children were often careless in this way, and much mischief might be occasioned by their inadvertence. He ordered the people of Bassia to let no man pass through their town to the settlement, without making strict inquiry who he was, and from whence he came, and what he wanted there, and that should they consider him a suspicious person, they should send him back and give information thereof to the missionaries.

So far, matters seemed more comfortably arranged at Bassia. At all events the minds of the inmates were a little more assured than they had been for some weeks. Let us now proceed to Canoffec, and see how far the promises of security made by Fernandez protected the settlement from the vengeance of the slave traders.

From the time that their factories were destroyed by the English soldiers, they determined on revenge ; and according to the accounts of the natives who were acquainted with their plots, their first object was to destroy the missionary settlements, and either kill the missionaries, or drive them from the country. Nothing prevented the immediate execution of their diabolical purposes, but the fear of exasperating some powerful chiefs, who took an interest in the schools, on account of their children, who were receiving education there : nevertheless, as we have seen at Bassia, they were on the watch to strike a blow at them whenever an opportunity occurred. The knowledge of these designs on the part of their unprincipled and infuriated neighbours, of course kept the people at Canoffec in a state of the most painful alarm, and of constant vigilance to detect any movement of a hostile nature.

Matters remained in this state until the 11th of April, when a field of dry grass near the settlement was set on fire by the servants of Samuel Perry, a slave dealer, whose place, it will be remembered, was among those destroyed by the military. The grass being highly combustible at that season, consumed rapidly, and the flames quickly approached Canoffee. It was now night, and Wenzel took it upon himself to watch, and allowed the children to take a little rest. Near midnight the fire had approached his house to within about two hundred yards, and he then called up the boys, and a workman who had remained that night, to remove into the middle of the yard a quantity of grass which had been collected for the thatching of the new church, and which lay close to the fence. As, however, a heavy dew was now providentially falling, and the fire, in consequence, began to slacken, the boys and the man were soon able to extinguish it, and the boys retired again to their beds. Poor Wenzel, too, lay down, but rose about two o'clock to see if any spark of fire remained, or the grass had been rekindled. All, however, was safe in the yard; the fire was completely extinguished; the boys were all asleep, and their bed-room in darkness: the only light was in Meisner's room, as he had but just retired to bed, and his lamp was yet burning. Under these circumstances, Wenzel again lay down, but had not done so for above ten minutes, when he heard all the boys in the yard crying out "Master! master!" As he had not taken off his clothes, he instantly sprang up, and went out. The boys gathered about him in the yard, crying that their bed-room was very light. He ran into it, and saw the flames ascending to the roof, and burning rapidly. No means to quench or retard the devouring element were at hand; and not a moment was afforded to save any article of property. Wenzel hastened to his own house, and ordered the most valuable things to be removed in all haste. When he returned to the yard, the whole sleeping-house was enveloped in flame and smoke; the fire bursting out at all sides, and ascending to the sky in one unbroken column, the whole length of the house, and twice its height.

When Wenzel saw that the direction of the flames was upward, and that there was nothing to incline them towards the dwelling-house, he counteracted his orders for the removal of the goods from the latter place, fearing that the people, who had flocked together, would steal more than they saved, as was the case at Bassia, when the house there was destroyed. Every thing of a combustible nature was now removed with the assistance of the boys, from near the burning house, especially the grass, of which there were more than six hundred bundles in the yard; and a large supply of water was soon procured. In consequence of these exertions, the fire quickly burned itself out, and the inmates of the settlement had time to mark the merciful Providence of the Almighty in averting the flames from the dwelling-house, although the heat was

so intense, that it was almost impossible to pass between the two houses. His power was also manifested in the safety of all the inmates, not one having suffered the least injury. When the fire commenced, the children were all fast asleep, and it was the falling of a piece of burning grass from the roof on one of the boys' faces, that occasioned them to awake, when seeing the fire above them, they all quickly made their escape.

Every thing belonging to Mr. and Mrs. Meisner perished, except one trunk and their bed. Mrs. Meisner escaped in a blanket, not being able even to save the clothes she had taken off, on going to bed. Besides their property, all the children's bed-clothes, the tables, benches, chairs, books, slates, and every thing belonging to the school, and suited to children, perished in the flames. Wenzel was obliged to apply to the society for a fresh supply of most of these things. He was, fortunately able to procure some Bibles, Testaments, and slates, from Bassia; but as the rainy season was approaching, and every exertion was needed to roof in the church before it arrived, nothing could be done in the way of rebuilding the schoolhouse. He was, therefore, obliged to erect a temporary house, in which school could be kept. As, however, a bedroom could not be dispensed with, he was forced to set about building one.

That this fire was the work of incendiaries, both Mongè Backe and Mongè Dombia were obliged to acknowledge. They promised to call the people together, and admonish them, in the most earnest manner, not to lend themselves to the designs of the wicked men, who were capable of acting so vindictively.

We can scarcely feel astonished that the minds of the missionaries began to admit some misgivings of the permanence of their present position. The colonial government could not remit its vigilance in detecting and punishing those avaricious men, who were setting the law at defiance, and the consequence would be, that every act of retributive justice would recoil on the missionaries, as the only ostensible representatives of the power which inflicted it. The prospect of a removal was now more severely felt, as the churches which they were erecting drew near their completion, and promised to open a door of utterance, such as they had waited for for nearly ten long years, and which they knew and felt could alone entitle them to the character of missionaries. We cannot help observing, though we would rather decline the invidious office of censors, which we have been compelled, in faithfulness, once and again to occupy, that it is to be lamented that these pious men had not endeavoured, during their nine or ten years' residence in Africa, to engage the affections of even a few native hearts to the glorious cause in which they were engaged—to enlist ever so small a band of Christian warriors from among the countless hosts of Apollyon around them,

upon whose sterling fidelity they might now fall back, in their hour of peril and apprehension, instead of relying on the interested friendship of heathen chiefs, with whom they could not hold Christian counsel in their difficulties, and who could not unite with them, or engage for them in supplication to him who "holdeth the seven stars in his right hand,"* and who has promised an answer of peace to the united prayers of his people. When we speak of what they might have done, of course we will be understood to mean the fruits of such faithful and prayerful labours among the adult population, as God has promised to bless to him that watereth, as well as to those who are watered. It does not appear that converts to Christianity, from among the natives, would, by their conversion, have incurred the hostility of their countrymen; and, humanly speaking, they would now have been of great use, as mediators between the missionaries and those whom the slave-dealers were instigating to injure them. An African Nicodemus† or two might have interposed on their behalf with much effect, in the palavers which were at this time held, to consider the line of conduct to be pursued towards them, and possibly averted the crisis which was now approaching. These, however, are views which a more intimate knowledge of circumstances might considerably modify; and, on this point, we think it but fair to hear the defence of a highly distinguished friend of the mission, who had the advantage of being a cotemporary of the Christian labourers to whom we have been alluding, and who was fully acquainted with all the difficulties of their position. We refer to the Rev. Daniel Wilson, D.D., now Lord Bishop of Calcutta, who, in his sermon before the Church Missionary Society, on November 10th, 1814, says of the West African Mission:—

"The mission was new in its whole character. The measures to be pursued were quite distinct from those which might have been adopted with a civilized or polished people. It was not to be expected that translations could be rapidly produced into the languages of the coast—that numerous assemblages of people could be collected—that converts among the adults could be made. Our national crimes had effectually prevented all this—we had to bring up the degraded natives from the gulph in which British cruelty had entombed them—we had to labour through all the preparatory obstacles which the slave trade had accumulated around us. We had to wait patiently through years of exemplary benevolence, before the people could believe that a white man really intended their benefit—we had to combat, not merely with the danger of shipwreck, which has repeatedly suspended our exertions, or the insalubrity of the climate which has taken off several of our most pious missionaries; but with the ignorance and vice of

* Rev. ii. 1.

† See John vii. 50, 51.

our fallen nature, aggravated by long habits of fraud, and violence, and blood, both as it respected the natives who were corrupted by our crimes, and the slave dealers who were alarmed by our attempts to remedy them."

We dare not enter the lists with so exalted and justly revered a character, but great as the learned and pious prelate is, we think "a greater than he" has replied to every argument which he has advanced. "Verily I say unto you, if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible to you."* And this language, we know, was employed by our blessed Lord, in reference to the very subject before us—the dismemberment of satan's kingdom by the sword of the spirit, which he who had tried its temper and edge with the most triumphant success, committed to his followers to be wielded in his service, with the promise of an equally triumphant result. We cannot, therefore, concede to the opinion that the prince of the powers of darkness could encase his victims in any armour which this two-edged sword would not instantly penetrate, or forge for them any chains which would not melt away before the pure radiance of the Sun of Righteousness.

That England's long and unblushing participation in the nefarious slave traffic threw difficulties in her way when she would approach the poor African, whose every idea connected with her, was that of treachery, cruelty, and wrong, as a moral or religious instructor, none will venture to deny. The unprincipled obstinacy, too, with which other European nations still clung to this infamous trade, proved a great impediment to her efforts, to atone, in some degree, for her own past conduct, by now becoming the protector and reformer of those whom she had largely helped to injure and debase. The occupation of the traders, as we have seen, was far from being gone, and it was not surprising that they should labour to relieve themselves of a surveillance which, however frequently and fully the imputation had been refuted, was too English in its character, not to be suspected of forming a part of the political system which had pledged itself to the guardianship of the long-insulted African. Those obstacles we estimate at their full value, but still we hear a voice which we dare attempt neither to silence nor misinterpret—"Speak to the children of Israel that they *go forward*."† But we return to the narrative.

The British vessels having accomplished their work of destroying the slave factories in the Rio Pongas, sailed down the river, on their return to the colony; on their way they stopped before Mongè Chateo's place, when Major Appleton again invited that chief on board to settle

* Matt. xvii. 20.

† Exod. xiv. 15.

the different palavers between them, but he declined the invitation, insisting on the major's coming to his place for the same purpose. The major, however, replied that he had been twice there already, and would not go a third time.

Meanwhile Renner had returned from the colony, having intreated the governor, that, in the due punishment of the traders, as little offence as possible might be given to the natives, and was rejoiced to find that the armed vessels had sailed down the river, hoping that their departure would restore tranquillity to the settlements.

Mrs. Quast having expressed a desire to return to England, Renner considered that there was now an opportunity for her doing so, and accordingly he accompanied her down the river. On their way they fell in with the British ships, before Mongè Chatee's creek—Renner went on board one of them, and had an interview with Major Appleton, who asked him to carry a letter from a person named Samo, to Mongè Chatee, requesting him to surrender to the major, the slaves that he had left in his charge, amounting to twenty-eight. This Samo had been a notorious slave trader in the Rio Pongas; and had been tried and convicted, in 1812, at Sierra Leone, under the slave trade felony bill, but was pardoned, by Governor Maxwell, on condition of abandoning the slave trade for ever. Renner consented to carry the letter, and accordingly went on shore, and handed it to Mongè Chatee, who said he knew all the slaves, but the greater number of them had fled through fear into the bush; there were, however, five or six with him, and he would send them on board. Renner communicated this answer to the major, and in a short time five of the slaves arrived. As the vessels could not delay any longer, Major Appleton wrote a promissory note, in the name of Chatee, which he told Renner to make him sign, and requested him to affix his own name as witness to the signature. The note ran thus—"I, Whally Chatee, promise to deliver up twenty-one slaves, the property of Mongè Samo, whenever they are called for, and come out of the bush; and also the slaves belonging to Mongè Frazer and Captain Miller, &c." Mongè Chatee signed the note when it had been translated to him, and Renner sent it to Sierra Leone.

This note was afterwards the occasion of great ill treatment to Renner, at the hands of the chief who signed it, who most capriciously accused him of occasioning the demand of those twenty-one slaves from him. When the fulfilment of his promise was required, he refused to acknowledge the contract, and it was found necessary to send an armed vessel into the river to compel its observance. The arrival of the vessel was ascribed to Renner's solicitation to the colonial government, notwithstanding the clearest evidence of his share in the transaction. Having been invited to accompany the captain of the

vessel to Mongè Chatee's place, as he had been a witness to the signing of the promissory note, he did not hesitate to go, knowing that he had acted uprightly, and therefore suspecting no wrong. We shall describe the subsequent occurrences in his own words.

"I and Captain Cooper met Mongè Chatee in his town—he had with him about 200 armed people. The promissory note was produced, and Mongè Chatee had the boldness to deny it altogether. He declared that he had never seen it, nor signed it; and that it was my own production, and consequently that I was a yamfa maker in the business. I had nothing to do but to convince him of his signing the paper, and showed him the man who translated it to him; but he would have no argument, and I was not permitted to speak—a freedom which generally even a slave enjoys. The devil was so at work, that Mongè Chatee frequently requested Captain Cooper to carry me off to Sierra Leone at once, without allowing me to bid farewell to my wife and family, and thus to turn me out of the country. I told him freely and frankly that he could not send me to Sierra Leone—that I was going to Bassia, and not to Sierra Leone.

"He said if he could not send me out of the river who else could do it? I replied, my landlord, Mongè Backe, could send us away from our place, but even not he to Sierra Leone. 'Well,' said he, 'I shall tell your landlord to send away his rogue stranger.' After much abusive language, he declared to all the people present that I was the greatest rogue in the country, and not fit to stay in it, and that every one should go home to his own house. When all went, I consequently went with the rest. But I was stopped in my progress. About half a mile from the town about twenty armed men overtook me, and by force carried me back to Mongè Chatee. I do not doubt, in the least, that I should have fallen a victim to his fury, had he not killed a man before, and solemnly promised the people, on that occasion, and bound himself by cutting off the head of a bullock, never to kill another man during his life. He was pleased, however, to order me and his son Banga to his new town, to be in confinement at his pleasure. On our arrival at the place I expected to have my feet clapped in irons, but it was not done. Banga was very faithful to me. 'If my father kills you,' said he, 'he must kill me too, because you raised me, and were, indeed, a father to me.'

"This palaver was on a Monday. I had a very sleepless night, expecting every minute the message of death. The next day I sent to Mongè Chatee for permission to return to Bassia. He refused it day after day, till Thursday; when I sent him word that I should go to Bassia, and that nothing but force should prevent me. On my sending this message, he was pleased to let me go without seeing me.

“In this manner was I treated by one, to whose son we had given a wife, and who had received many kindnesses from us. That he called me rogue I did not mind. ‘Through evil report and good report,’ is the lot of all Christians. No matter, so long as ‘they say all manner of evil against us FALSELY.’

“The want of liberty produced such a sensation in my mind, as I never, in my life, felt before. What I suffered innocently I thought but trifling; and it was a great comfort to me that *I knew* a Saviour—a secret support of which the world knows nothing. This is the unspeakable privilege of all believers, in all trials and circumstances. I remembered that my Saviour—‘the just suffered for the unjust;’ and that he, the most innocent, had to ‘pay what he had not taken.’”

In the midst of these “fightings without,” the missionaries were not free from “fears within;” the season was sickly, and, at Bassia, both Renner and Wilhelm suffered much from illness—especially the latter, who, towards the close of the year 1813, was laid by for four months, and even when he recovered, a weakness in the head left him unable to engage in any active pursuit, and he could not even write without pain, so that for the greater part of a year his school labours were entirely suspended. Butscher wrote to him, from Sierra Leone, inviting him to try the effect of a voyage thither, and he felt disposed to comply whenever an opportunity occurred; but the troubles at home seem to have prevented him ultimately. One of the children in the school died, while both Renner and Wilhelm were in bed, and each endeavoured to prevail on the other not to go out to read the burial service. Renner, however, insisted on going, and greatly lamented that he was totally unable to address the other children on the solemn occasion as he desired. However, the Lord enabled them to get through the unhealthy season, and gave them strength to sustain the conflict in which they were just then to be engaged.

On this subject Wenzel, writing from Canoffee, says—“I have, by the help of God, made excursions, collected children, suffered many trials and sicknesses, and surmounted great difficulties. I lost my hearing in one ear, two years since; my eyesight begins greatly to decline, especially since a large black snake, in October last, spit into my eyes; and my strength begins to fail, but my God knows how long my day is to work in his cause. But I will hope continually, and will yet praise thee more and more. My mouth shall show forth thy righteousness, and thy salvation all the day; for I know not the numbers hereof. I will go in the strength of the Lord God. I will make mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only. O God thou hast taught me from my youth; and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works. Now, also, when I am old and greyheaded, O God

forsake me not, until I have showed thy strength unto this generation, and thy power unto every one that is to come."

It pleased the Lord now to remove the third and last lay assistant, Conrad Henry Meisner, who had been instructed in the trade of a carpenter, and made himself very useful at Canoffee. Mrs. Quast also who we have seen on her way to England, was called to her rest during the voyage. Referring to those bereavements which the mission had sustained, Renner writes in the summer of 1814.

"With much concern I must finish this letter with the melancholy story that now, in a short period of time, I had to see our lay brethren, Quast, Meyer, and Meisner put into the grave—a watery grave was not their doom, like that of poor Mrs. Quast, who, I understand, died on her passage home to England—but here were committed—'ashes to ashes, dust to dust.' I have been bold, in former times, when a brother or a sister of us died, in making my remarks; but in this instance I have not this boldness. The depth and height of these dispensations of God, are above the comprehension of a poor worm. Am I spared, and still living? My goodness, holiness, and faithfulness have not induced the Lord to preserve my life now for more than ten years in Africa. Alas! my glorifying the Lord, in soul and body, has been but miserably performed; and as for living in 'true righteousness and holiness all the days of my life,' it has never been done—standing, as I do, like a tree that deserved to be cut down a hundred times; but, by the intercession of my dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I am still living. The laymen and their wives, six in number, who accompanied brother Butscher, from England to Africa, were reduced to one within eighteen months. What can we say, 'who are of yesterday?' The Lord is mighty in battle; but we know he is also mighty in truth, love and mercy; and he makes no mistake in sending the messenger of death to Mr. and Mrs. Quast, Mr. and Mrs. Meyer, and Mr. Meisner. 'The dead cannot praise thee;' but the death of the dead must and doth praise thee, thou King over life and death! 'Spare us good Lord, and save thy people,' in a dying hour, 'whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with them for ever.'"

CHAPTER VI.

THE urgent request of Mongè W. Fananders that a school would be opened at his place, Bramia, on the Rio Dembia, was at length complied with. Butscher having, with the consent, as has been mentioned, of the governor of Sierra Leone, gone thither early in 1814, and having made arrangements with the chief, according to the instructions which he had received from the committee, for the purchase of a suitable portion of land, a settlement was erected, and the name of Gambier given to it, as the committee had decided. This settlement was committed to the care of Mr. and Mrs. Klein, with every prospect of their collecting a large school in a short period of time.

While the mission to the Soosoos was beset with accumulating difficulties and perils, which seemed to threaten, as the missionaries themselves began to apprehend, its extinction at no distant day, that to the Bulloms enjoyed, at all events, peace and security. The Rev. G. R. Nylander seems to have felt the necessity of making the adults in his neighbourhood the object of his Christian labours, as well as the children under his charge. He entered freely into conversation with them on the momentous subject of their eternal prospects, and embraced every opportunity to convey that knowledge which alone can make wise to everlasting life.

A consciousness of ignorance, and of consequent inferiority to Europeans, is very observable among the Africans. The Bulloms often made this a plea for not attending to Mr Nylander's instructions. Their general reply to his observations was—"White man sabby (knows) book; dat make him know every ting good; but black man no sabby book, must do all de same he fader do before." Nylander, in a conversation with the king, said he wished to learn Bullom, on purpose to translate the white man's book into that language, and to teach their children to read the book both in Bullom and English: he seemed to be

well pleased with the proposal, and took it up so earnestly, that he frequently afterwards assisted Nyländer in translating.

The superstition of the Bulloms is not only gross, but ridiculous. A crowd of people will often assemble to offer sacrifices to such things as cannon balls, decanter stoppers, &c. &c., and will most devoutly recommend themselves and their children to the favour of the evil spirit, who, they say, is represented by the ball and stoppers; not, as they declare, that these things are devils themselves, but they worship, through them, the devil who resides in the bush.* They sometimes pray to the Supreme Being; but, of course, such devotion is never unattended with superstition. Nyländer mentions the case of an old man, whom he saw kneeling down before his house, with a brass pan before him, in which he had laid some pieces of gold, two rams' horns, a piece of iron, and two swords. On being questioned, he said he had been praying to God, and as God did not require any sacrifices of him, he laid these things down before him, and asked him to bless him and all his people. Nyländer told him that God was well pleased with the prayers of his people, and that he is always ready to do them good; but that he is displeased at being presented with gold and goats' horns. "When you are at prayer," said he, "God does not look upon your gold, but upon your heart. He knows what you think: he knows what you speak: he knows for what reason you put down the horns before him; and does not bless you, because you show him a few pieces of gold." After some more conversation, the man replied—"I know dat; but I no sabby book: dat is de reason I do so: dis my country fashion, and I am too old now for to learn book."

A young man being one day spoken to on the subject of Christ's sufferings, exclaimed with apparent emotion, "Oh, I do not like it at all; dat dey have killed de Son of God, and I do not know him. If he come back again, he will kill all de children of dose people who killed him: he will not bury dem, he will burn dem." After Nyländer had translated the 5th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, he read it for him, and asked him what he understood by "Blessed are the poor in spirit?" "Oh," said he, "dat is good: you say God must do man good; he must give him plenty money, plenty women, plenty slave, plenty every ting; because dat man be poor fellow; he no have money; he no have good pomul; his pomul be poor: God must give him a good pomul; strong pass all." By pomul the Bulloms mean a guardian spirit. Nyländer then said he did not mean to say, blessed is the man who has a poor pomul; but he who is poor in heart, and he then understood the Scripture declaration better. As regards the blessings spoken of,

* It will be observed that African casuistry is nothing inferior to Romish. The fact is, both have one source, and one object—Satan—and strong delusion to believe a lie.

Nyländer explained that God did not promise to the man who is poor in heart to give him plenty of money, and plenty of every thing ; but that he would make him feel good in this world, and when he died, take him to heaven. "Oh," he replied, "I want to go to dat place, when I am dead ; but I don't know book : how can I go dere ?" Upon which Nyländer offered to instruct him, and acquaint him with God and Christ, who is the only way to heaven.

Nyländer told the king that the Church Missionary Society wished him to build a church, and assemble the people to pray to God, and to hear his word. "He said— "Our people go to the lugar (field) every day : dey do not know when Sunday comes ; and if some would come to church, dey cannot hear English." This was also his objection, when it was proposed to him to allow meetings for prayer to be held at his house. He was, however, very friendly to Nyländer, and was anxious that the young people and children should be instructed in the Christian religion.

Witchcraft is a common source of dread, and ground of accusation throughout Western Africa, as we have elsewhere observed ; and the slave trade owed many of its victims in this way to African demonology, which the wicked men who traded in human flesh took care to foster by every means in their power. We have already mentioned that the Bulboms were instigated to practise the greatest cruelties upon one another, from a belief in the mysterious agency of witchcraft, acting through human instruments selected for the purpose. Every kind of sickness is referred to the employment of this fiendish power, and no death is supposed to occur without its malign influence. They say God is too good to trouble men ; it is either the devil himself who troubles them, or bad people whom he employs for that purpose. It is, therefore, to propitiate his favour, and obtain an exemption from his satanic visitations, that the trifles we have referred to above are offered to him. Whoever exercises the office of a witch is supposed to be able to infuse secretly into the system a deadly poison, or to assume the form of some animal, as a cat or a rat, who, in the night, while their victim sleeps, sucks their blood from a small and imperceptible wound, which produces a lingering illness, and finally death. The mode of discovering a witch, by the red water ordeal, &c., has been explained in an introductory chapter.*

* Even in civilized and Christian Britain, we have not much reason to boast of our exemption from the worst features of African superstition. So late as the year 1682, three unhappy women, named Miriam Edwards, Mary Trumbles, and Temperance Lloyd, were hanged at Exeter, for the crime of witchcraft, as usual, on their own confession, and in pursuance of the statute of 1st James I. against witches. This, however, was the last judicial sentence in England under the statute of James, which was repealed by the 8th George II. chap. 5. In Scotland, however, sentence of death was passed, so late as the year 1722, upon an insau-

Nyländer one day asked the king why the people laid down a brass pan, with horns, gold, &c., when they pray to God. He replied "Bullom people old, old too much; pass all people. When Bullom people go for make satakah (to pray in their fashion), dey wash demselves all over, and rub deir skin with oil. When Mandingo man go for pray, he wash his hand and foot. But white man say, never mind for wash: I can pray to God at any time; suppose be day, suppose be night, me sabby pray (I know how to pray): me wash, me no wash; all de same. Now, one time God Almighty lay down in de road all same, man have kraw-kraw and plenty sores (placed a man in the road covered with sores). Bullom man done wash himself, pass by dis way, he see de man lay down in de road; he say, 'Oh, I done wash myself, I can't lift up dis man, and dirty myself again:' he pass by. Mandingo man come, see de man lay down in de road; he say, 'Oh, I have done wash my hand and foot; I can't take up dis man, and dirty myself again.' White man come, he look dis man in de road; he say, 'Ah, poor man, I must help you: by-and-bye, suppose I left you here and pass by, 'tother come behind me, can give me bad name.' He take him up, and carry him to his house. Dat is de reason God give to white man his book, and plenty other things; and because Bullom man pass by, no take him up, God angry: he take away his book from Bullom people, and is gone away from us. When we lay down gold, rams' horns, &c., we beg God he must come back to our country. Suppose we go to see our friends, our country fashion is to bring a fowl or plantains, or rice; now when we go give God service, we can't come bring nothing at all. Dat is de reason we put down dem ting before us, and beg God he must come back again." "That is very good," said Nyländer, "that you pray God must come to you and your people. Pray plenty, God will hear you, and do you good; and he certainly will come back again to his old, old people, and give them his book again. But when you pray, don't put down gold and horns, &c., for all these things belong to God already; he gave them to you for your use, and does not want them back again. Leave all these things away, and then pray plenty: pray every day, God will hear you; and, in some measure, he has heard you already. Look, I am come into your country, not to make trade; I buy things, it is true, but I don't sell them again: I buy things for myself and my children to eat, that is all; and, if you will believe me, God sent me into your country to answer your prayers. God tells us, in his word, in what way he will come back

old woman, belonging to the parish of Loth, by the sheriff-deputy of Sutherland, Captain David Ross. We have reason to believe that the Irish statutes against witchcraft are yet unrepealed, and we know that in that country the crime is considered by no means apocryphal to this day; though, in this respect, there are parts of England and Scotland, especially the latter, where no greater progress has been made in intelligence or common sense.

again to his old people ; and if you and your people will come to hear it, I will read and explain it to you. I am now trying to write God's book in the Bullom language, and teach your children to read it ; then your children can read it to you, and all will learn to serve God." "I glad for dat," replied the old man ; "suppose your house done, plenty people must come here to pray on Sunday."

On another occasion, a man brought a greegree to one of Nyländer's scholars, which he said his mother had sent him to hang before his breast, that no shot might hit him when he went to war. Nyländer was present, and said, "This is a very poor preserver ; if you have nothing else to stop the shot, this piece of leather cannot do it." They agreed to try, and the greegree was fixed to a tree, which was to represent the man to be protected. The boy, whose preserver it was to be, fired at it with small shot, which all penetrated the tree. The man who brought the greegree was delighted because it had escaped injury, and had thus preserved itself. "But," said Nyländer, "the greegree was intended not to preserve itself, but the man around whose neck it was to be hung, and the tree was supposed to be the man." Another shot was then agreed upon, and the greegree was hit. It was then cut up, and a piece of paper was found within inscribed with Arabic characters, and wrapped up in a small scrap of cloth, well rubbed with some sort of grease, and covered with thick leather, which, perhaps, might prevent a shot from penetrating, although on this occasion it was not so successful.*

A Krooman, who was present, said, "Oh, Mandingo greegree no good : me sabby fetish, he pass 'in too much." His fetish was also fired at, and was shot through. The king hearing the firing, was alarmed, and ran to the spot with some of his people, to see what was the matter, when he was informed of the whole. A Mahommedan from the neighbourhood also came inquiring why the shots were fired. Nyländer replied that they had been trying a Mandingo greegree, and proved it to be good for nothing. He said, "The greegree is good ; only it is not appointed to prevent a shot, but merely to preserve the possessor from bad people." He added that he had a greegree, which, if Nyländer ventured to shoot at, it would burst his gun. After a few days, he came to have his greegree tried. "Friend," said Nyländer, "without taking the trouble to try your greegree, I know it is good for nothing ; it is not worth the powder that is wasted by firing at it." "Aha," said he, "you fear my greegree break your gun." "No,"

* Such an amulet as this precisely, only that the language used is Latin instead of Arabic, and the sentence written is taken from the Bible instead of the Koran, is manufactured by Romish priests, and sold to mothers, to be hung round their childrens' necks, as a preservative from all sorts of injury. The writer once followed the African missionary's example, and dissected one of these popish greegrees, which, however, are called "gospels."

answered Nylander, "it is only pity for my gunpowder; however, if your greegree be so good as you say, hang it round your neck, and stand before me; let me fire at it." "I did not come to fight," he replied, "but that you should fire at my greegree, as you did at the other man's. I know my greegree is good; God lives in it." "What sort of a God," said Nylander, "is that who can live in this piece of leather?" "No," said he, "God's name is there." Nylander asked him whether he could read Arabic? He said, "No." Nylander then said, "God forbids us to make any sort of greegree at all, or to depend on anything for help but himself; and he commands us, 'Thou shalt not use my name for nothing, or in vain;' and as you write God's name a hundred times on a piece of paper, and then say, 'This paper is my God—it will keep me from all harm.' God is angry with you; he hates your greegrees. But if I fire at your greegree, and hit the stick it is fixed on, will you then throw away all your other greegrees, and come to me and learn to read God's book, and find the way to heaven?" The man retired to his home perplexed and silenced.

The following is a translation of the greegree above alluded to. The power of the charm is supposed to rest in the mysterious words printed in capitals, which are probably made up of the initial letters of some words or sentences of the Koran. The name in *italics* is probably the name of the person to whom the charm was originally sold:—

"In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

"This is written for assistance, that thou mayest proceed by night and by day; and that the favour of God may be attendant. Any one of living things, either demon, or dog, or son of man, shall not ensnare thee, if God be willing. And this seal giveth tranquillity: BSTSKS, and WFSHKS, BSMFFTA, BSLMLLSFTFS, BSHLLSHL-LFLK. Shall it not overcome them, even when they imagine mischief? And God shall separate thee from men, if God is willing. Security is made known to his name. *Jinalakaki* is his name, the son of Nabar."

We shall for the present conclude our observations on the subject of Bullom superstitions, with Nylander's account of the notions which those poor people entertain of the great object of their dread and veneration—the devil:—

"Kolloh is the name of a great spirit, who is supposed to reside in the neighbourhood of Yongroo. He never comes out of the woods, except on such mournful occasions as the death of a chief: or, if a person has been buried without his relations making a cry for him, then the Kolloh, who has intercourse with the departed spirits, feels himself so much hurt, that he is obliged to leave his abode at nights,

and go to the houses of those relations, to rouse them and to trouble them every night, till they procure rum and palm-wine, &c., and have a good drink, and dance publicly, in remembrance of their departed friend.

“The Kolloh is made of bamboo-sticks, in the form of an oval basket, about three feet long, and so deep that it goes over the man’s shoulders. It is covered with a piece of net, and stuck all round with porcupine-quills on the nose. The mouth and nostrils stand wide open. It is frightful to look at. Children, women, and old people, run and scream at its appearance.

“A certain man pretends to have some very intimate intercourse with this Beelzebub; and therefore he is called by the spirit to take the Kolloh on his head, and to go about with it, to see that the dances, drinkings, and howlings, are carried on regularly through the night; and that all the young people, who are at work through the day, are at the dance at night. If any are missed, he is permitted to enter the houses, and to drive them out by force; and he is a faithful servant of the devil. Some people stay out in the fields through the night, to enjoy a little rest after their daily fatigue.

“The Kolloh-man is naked, has washed himself over with white clay, and has fringes of packing-mats or plantain-leaves round his waist, knees, and ankles. To give notice of his coming, he rings a bell, which is fixed inside of the cap or basket. He has a switch in his hand, to show his authority. If any person pass by his abode, which is near the public road, he sings out, ‘Ee!’ with one tone. If people meet him in the road, they must either hide themselves, or else go back; otherwise he catches them, and carries them to his place, and keeps them there for a few days, teaching them something of his arts, which the people keep very secret. He makes them swear; and tells them, if they discover the secrets, the Kolloh knows it, and makes their bellies swell, and they are dead the moment they divulge any thing of the secrecy.

“After any of the people (chiefly children of ten or twelve years, sometimes young men) have been taught in the mysteries of Kolloh, they engage in his service, and go about with their teacher, beating on a small turtle-shell, and singing.

“He came also to visit me, standing before the door, and sang out his long ‘Ee!’ the children all running to hide themselves. I asked what it meant; and was told that this was the devil, and, as the great headmen of the country were dead, he was much troubled about it, and came out of the woods to make cry for them; and now he came to give me service. I said, ‘I accept of no devil’s services; I am come to drive him out of this country.’

“These Kolloh-people are a set of plunderers, who used to disturb

the natives very much. When the Sierra Leone Company had people here, they have plundered them of every thing.

“It shall be my labour to banish, not only this representative of the devil, but the devil himself, from the Bullom shore. He has great power in this benighted spot; and resists our labours, both in private and in public. May we be enabled to conquer, through Him who has *all power in heaven and in earth!*”

The place where Nyländer erected the missionary settlement, was at first called Yongroo, that being the name of the king's town, where he resided on his arrival, and from whence he dated his communications to the committee. The settlement, however, was formed at a little distance from Yongroo, adjoining a portion of land (about a square mile) formerly occupied by the Sierra Leone Company, and for which rent was still paid to the Bullom king, who granted to Nyländer the place whereon the settlement stood, and the governor of Sierra Leone allowed him also to occupy the ground, for which rent was paid, “till it was wanted for his majesty's service, and for that purpose claimed by any person or persons duly authorized to do the same, on behalf of the crown.” This latter piece of land Nyländer never made use of, but feeling anxious that no claim should hereafter be set up to what he himself had obtained from the king, he invited him and some other headmen together, and begged them to show him the boundaries of his place, which cost him only twenty-five shillings; but they objected to his calling it Yongroo, as they said there could not be two Yongroos; as, however, they considered it to be the child of old Yongroo, they would call it Yongroo Pomoh, that is, Little Yongroo, by which name the settlement was always afterwards called.

Nyländer found, among the Mahomedan Bulloms, a willingness to receive the Scriptures in the Arabic language. Having brought some copies with him, he easily distributed them, and wrote home for more. He presented one to the king, knowing that the Mahomedans were much in the habit of visiting him. On presenting it, he said—“This is the book which makes men wise and good; it is God's word; he speaks to us in this book by Moses, the prophets, and apostles, and by his son, Jesus Christ: this is the book which I wish to translate into the Bullom language, and to teach children and old people to read.” The king was glad to have the book, and recommended it to the first strangers that visited him, saying, “This is white man's book.” Several learned Mahomedans visited Nyländer, and on their reading a few passages together, they were astonished that a white man should have written that book in their favourite language. Some time after, he went to visit the king, and saw about twenty Mahomedans sitting together in deep conversation, and an aged Mahomedan teacher in the midst of them, reading the Bible. This same man went to

Nyländer, and begged for a copy, which was given to him joyfully. He seemed pretty well acquainted with the New Testament, and liked to converse on its contents. He received the Bible with much thankfulness, and said—"When I come home, I shall read this book to all my people." Nyländer said he was the only Mahomedan who understood what he read. The greater part of the Mandingoes admired the Bible, merely as a large book, neatly bound, and written in their favourite language. One of them said to him—"The New Testament is very good; it contains a great many good greegrees."

We must now visit some other parts of the missionary field.

The plan which the committee had suggested to the friends of Africa in England, of adopting the children of negroes, rescued from slave-ships, and landed at Sierra Leone, found many patrons; and in their Fifteenth Annual Report, they were able to announce that a sum of five hundred pounds had already been subscribed towards the fund for maintaining and educating these children, at a cost of five pounds per annum for each. As these children were to receive the names affixed to them by their benefactors, and these were generally their own, it may be interesting to transcribe the list of names, which was published by the society at this time, in which will be found some familiar to our ears as household words, and dear to our hearts as those of kindred and of home :—

African Boys to be named after Clergymen.

Josiah Alport.	Samuel Knight.
Thomas Tregenna Biddulph.	Joshua Mann.
Claudius Buchanan.	William Marsh.
Thomas Charles.	Henry Martyn.
John Clarke.	Joseph Milner.
Thomas Clarke.	Edward March Phillips.
Thomas Clarkson.	Porteus.
Thomas Connolly Cowan.	Josiah Pratt.
Thomas Dikes.	Legh Maddock Richmond.
Henry David Erskine.	Thomas Scott.
William Founereau.	John Scott.
William Goode.	John Shepherd.
John Graham.	Charles Simeon.
Edward Griffin.	James Haldane Stewart.
Hugh Hamilton.	William Tandy.
Garton Howard.	Daniel Wilson.
William Jones.	Basil Owen Woodd.
William Jowett	

African Boys to be named after other Persons.

John Benson.	William Marriott.
John Campbell.	Hugh Milton.
Francis Chasserian.	William Neal.
John Christian.	William Neville.
Jonathan Lovett Darley.	Robert Percival.
Richard Fawcett.	George Perrott.
Stephen Goode.	George Pinckney.
William Brodie Gurney.	Paul Pratt.
John Head.	Robert Raikes.
Henry Henman.	Christmas Ransom.
Thomas Anthony Hutchinson.	Henry Rumley.
Launcelet.	Samuel.
David Llewellyn.	John Baptiste St. John.
Owen Llewellyn.	John Smith.
Morgan Llewellyn.	Walter Taylor.
Evan Llewellyn.	Thomas Thompson.
John Mann.	William Wilberforce.

African Girls.

Adelaide.	Elizabeth Manu.
Catherine Margaret Allix.	Matilda.
Mary Elizabeth Benbury.	Jane M'Dougale.
Anne Christian.	Lois Meeke.
Margaret Corston Cooper.	Esther Merrett.
Anne Clarke.	Mary Moore.
Susanna Cottrill.	Anne Morgan.
Mary Creasey.	Dorcas Newbury.
Frances Dodgson.	Julia Bushy Park.
Lucy Sophia Gason.	Elizabeth Pownall.
Emily Augusta Gason.	Elizabeth Pratt.
Christiana Hope.	Elizabeth Rand.
Judith Hope.	Mary Rhodes.
Anna Bangua Johnson.	Louisa Smith.
Anne Llewellyn.	Elizabeth Squire.
Martha Llewellyn.	Elizabeth Thompson.
Lucy Llewellyn.	Mary Walker.
Sarah Llewellyn.	Priscilla Wakefield.
Letitia Lodge.	Sarah Whitacre.
Mary Lodge.	Hannah Williams.
Mary Longmire.	Hannah Woodd.
Frances Lorton.	Elizabeth Wylie.
Sarah Mackenzie.	

The Church Missionary Society was, at this time, directing its attention to the establishment of Christian institutions, under the protection of British authority, in the most favourable stations, for diffusing the light of truth among the heathen ; and as a grant of land

at Sierra Leone had been made to the society, for that purpose, by the colonial government, it was determined that the first of these institutions should be erected there, and all children of the class above referred to, who should be placed, by British philanthropy under the care of the society, should be received into it. Although we intend to reserve Sierra Leone and its truly interesting history for another volume, yet, having mentioned the subject of these adopted children, we must let the society explain the arrangements which they had made for their future disposal. Our extract is from their Fifteenth Annual Report :—

“ In these institutions it is proposed that provision shall be made for training up the native youth in the knowledge of agriculture and the simple arts, and in qualifying some of them to become teachers of their countrymen, and others, if it shall please God, preachers of the Gospel. These institutions will serve as points of support to the exertions of the society in their respective quarters ; and they may be rendered the asylums of its widows and orphans ; and they will become, in various ways, the source of beneficent influence over the surrounding tribes. Such an institution is about to be established within the colony of Sierra Leone. The society has already four settlements on that coast, in which about two hundred native children receive Christian instruction. These settlements are subject to the caprice of the natives. But the institution in question will be secure, under the protection of the colonial government of Sierra Leone. His majesty’s ministers have, on this, as on every other occasion, manifested the utmost readiness to assist the designs of the society, and to extend the moral and religious influence of this country.

“ It is proposed to receive into this institution the multitudes of African children who are liberated from smuggling slave vessels. Any benevolent person who gives five pounds per annum may have the honour to support and educate one such child, &c., &c.

“ There has been, of late, a great accession to the colony, of Africans of different tribes and languages, of whose moral and religious state no proper care has yet been taken : of these, about 1,000 are supposed to be children. A very laudable regard has been paid to education in the colony, and exertions are now making in this respect ;* but the rapid

* We extract the following from the Report of the African Institution for the year 1811 :—“ At Sierra Leone the number of children who are enjoying the benefit of education, are stated to be between two and three hundred. A most liberal offer has lately been made to the directors by the Institution for promoting the British System of Education—the committee of which institution has undertaken to provide with board and lodging, free of expense, at the Royal Free School in the borough of Southwark, two African youths, to be selected by the directors, Mr. Joseph Lancaster having agreed to superintend their instruction and to qualify them for schoolmasters.” The offer was accepted.

increase of the number of these destitute children, by the liberation of them from slave smugglers, and the large increase which may yet be expected from the same source, demand more energetic and systematic efforts to rescue them from ignorance, and to train them up in the knowledge of Christianity, and of such occupations as may benefit themselves and their country.

“ On whom does this office of Christian charity so naturally devolve as on the Church Missionary Society ?

“ The efforts of the society, in Africa, are wholly directed to the civilizing and evangelizing of the natives. A greater number of these natives, and of various tongues, are brought together in Sierra Leone, than in any other place within the reach of the society, and may be instructed there with more security than elsewhere.

“ As the society’s establishments increase in Africa, Sierra Leone will become more necessary as a point of support. An asylum will be required for them, which may be prepared in the colony with much greater advantage than in England.

“ Children received under the society’s care in the colony, and brought up in Christian principles, would add rapidly to the moral influence of the colony on the natives ; and would become, under the divine blessing, the means of extensively diffusing civilization and Christianity. They should all receive a good English education. Some of them should, at a suitable age, be apprenticed, among the reputable colonists, to useful trades, or placed in service ; others should be brought up within the precincts of the institution, in a thorough knowledge of the gardening and agriculture adapted to the country ; while the more serious and promising youths should receive such farther education as may prepare them for being sent into the interior as schoolmasters, catechists, and ministers. Such as are likely to settle in the interior, should be well instructed in their respective languages, by natives employed for that purpose. They might here receive, under proper teachers, such instruction in Arabic as might render them successful opponents of the Mahometans, and might place them as an effectual barrier to the inroads which they have long made on the natives. Every thing is to be conducted with a view to render them, under the divine blessing, the best friends and enlighteners of their country.

“ A grant of land having been made to the society by the colonial government, and the society having requested a large addition to this grant, the way is prepared for an establishment adapted to carry these plans into execution. Then a schoolhouse should be erected on the national plan for 1200 or 1500 children, with a church or chapel for public worship, and suitable accommodation for the children, for a master and mistress, a missionary and his family ; and, ultimately, pro-

vision should be made for decayed missionaries, and widows or orphans of missionaries, all in a plain and substantial style. On the society's land, such of the liberated youths as are industrious and of good character, and willing to conform to the regulations of the establishment, should be encouraged to settle; allotments of land be made to them for cultivation for their own support; and assistance should be given to them in erecting suitable habitations, on a plan previously determined.

"THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTION OF SIERRA LEONE, established and supported by the British Church Missionary Society, for the maintenance and education of African children, and for the diffusion of Christianity and useful knowledge among the natives, would be an honour to Britain and to the Christian name, and an incalculable blessing to Africa."

It will be remembered that it was found necessary, in the year 1807, to disconnect from the society, one of the first missionaries who went out, in 1804, Peter Hartwig, for improper conduct. After wandering about among the neighbouring tribes for seven years, exposed to severe hardships and privations, he was brought, by suffering, to feel remorse for his past conduct, and an earnest desire to return to the service of that Saviour who had stricken, and who he knew would heal him. He accordingly implored the forgiveness of the committee, and an opportunity to prove the sincerity of his repentance, by labouring in any department of the work which his previous bad conduct had tended materially to retard. The committee declined re-admitting him to the relation of a missionary, until, by a course of consistent conduct, he had re-established his character in Africa, and removed the reproach which his past errors had reflected on the cause. As, however, he had in his wanderings acquired a good knowledge of the Soosoo tongue, of which the other missionaries were deprived, by the necessary instruction of the native children in English, and as he possessed a competent acquaintance with the original Scriptures, he was settled at Gambier, in the capacity of interpreter of Soosoo, and translator of the Scriptures into that language, for which he was to receive the salary of a missionary, as long as he conducted himself well.

His poor wife, who was in England when the news of his repentance and return to the service of the society arrived, immediately determined on rejoining him. She had returned to England in 1806, for the restoration of her health, then in a very precarious state, and having spent a short time there, was, as we have already related, waiting for an opportunity of returning, when the intelligence of his misconduct and separation from the society determined her to remain where she was, and having been provided with a situation, she had supported herself hitherto independently of the society. She now, however, inspired by Christian courage and a deep sense of duty, resolved on sacrificing the

comforts of an honourable and useful station, and to encounter again the perils of a climate which had once driven her from Africa, in the hope of confirming her husband's penitence, and fixing him in the service of the mission. A passage out was soon afforded her.

In the face of difficulties and dangers, the committee determined, relying on Divine aid, to persevere in its efforts for the good of Africa. In the November of this year (1814), seven persons connected with the society embarked at Deal, on board the *Wilding*, Captain Gibson. These were the Rev. John Christopher Sperrhacken, a Lutheran clergyman, and his wife ; Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, schoolmaster and schoolmistress ; Mr. Jelorrum Harrison, a young African ; Thomas Morgan, a native boy, committed to the society's care by Governor Maxwell, and Mrs. Hartwig.

Before the departure of the missionaries they were addressed from the pulpit by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, and instructions were afterwards given to them by the committee, at the house of the society, to which they returned suitable answers. We have hitherto abstained from introducing the addresses which were delivered to the several missionaries on proceeding to their destination, and the replies returned by them, although we have greatly desired to edify our readers with these excellent documents, from an apprehension of swelling this volume beyond its legitimate proportions ; but we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the affecting letter, written by that heroic woman, Mrs. Hartwig, to the committee just on the eve of her embarkation, in answer to the Rev. Daniel Wilson's address :

"GENTLEMEN—Having just arrived from York, in this morning's mail, time will not permit me to say much to you upon the subject of my return to Africa ; nevertheless I am desirous of laying before you a concise view of my feelings and prospects at this important and interesting crisis.

"I desire to express my unfeigned and heartfelt gratitude to Almighty God, who, in his mercy and long suffering, hath been pleased to reclaim Mr. Hartwig, and to bring him back again to the service of the mission. As a wife, I am bound to hasten to his assistance in the glorious work, and although I seem to be going out, more from a sense of duty to him than from fervour and zeal for the cause of the Africans, yet I hope and trust that this spirit will be enkindled in my breast, and that I shall count my life not dear, so that I may be made the honoured instrument of leading them to the Rock of Ages, and to the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world. It is this, and this only, which can compensate for the sacrifice which I have been called to make, in quitting once more my native land, and for dissolving that tender and powerful union which binds and connects the various circles of social and domestic life.

“The many favours which I have received from time to time, and which I am now receiving from the honourable society, demand my warmest and sincere thanks ; and, from past experience, I am constrained to place unfailing confidence in their future friendship and support. May the work of the Lord abundantly prosper in their hands, and may they never want the means to carry on so great and so glorious an undertaking.

“Should sickness, pining sickness, overtake me, as it hath formerly done, on the coast of Africa, it would probably be right that I should return to this country, rather than fall a victim to the unwholsomeness of the climate, as my constitution, I fear, is not better, but rather worse able to sustain repeated attacks of fever than it once was.

“I go, gentlemen, or desire to go forth, leaning only on the arm of Omnipotence, knowing that the Lord is my refuge, and that he will never leave nor forsake me. If I am enabled to assist Mr. Hartwig in any way, and to promote the noble work for which we at first embarked, all will be well ; and while I would humble myself in the sight of my Divine Master, for his having chosen me to be the feeble instrument for diffusing good among the poor dear Africans, I would desire to give to Him ALL THE GLORY.

“That a knowledge of the Redeemer’s name, and of his salvation, may spread from shore to shore, and that all nations may be brought to bow to the sceptre of Jesus, is the sincere prayer of,

“Gentlemen,

“Your obliged, and humble servant,

“SARAH HARTWIG.”

The young African, Jellorum Harrison, mentioned above, left the Rio Pongas in the year 1800, with Mr. Brunton, missionary from the Scottish Missionary Society, and accompanied him, in 1802, to Karass, in Russian Tartary, where Brunton formed a missionary settlement. On the death of Brunton, in 1813, he returned to England, and was committed to the care of the Church Missionary society, by the Edinburgh Missionary Society. He there qualified himself to take the office of schoolmaster in the settlements, and now returned to his native shores, with the settled purpose of devoting himself to the best interests of his country. He was related to W. Fernandez, who, it was confidently hoped, would gladly second the efforts of his young kinsman.

The Wilding left Deal on the 30th of November, and having been detained three weeks at Plymouth, by stress of weather, finally proceeded to sea, from the Cove of Cork, on the 5th of January, 1815. After a pleasant sail of twelve days, she reached Madeira ; on the 17th, passing the Canary Islands, she providentially escaped being run down by another vessel, during a strong gale.

"The Peak of Teneriffe," said Mrs. Hartwig, "was now and then to be seen. Its appearance was truly sublime. The softened and silvery clouds were collected into different masses, and hung like so many belts suspended on the bosom of the mountain. The imagination cannot picture to itself any thing more majestic than the Peak of Teneriffe, with its huge cove tapering to a point, and the summit partly covered with snow. This amazing mountain is said to be almost 4000 feet high;* yet, from the effect of the sea atmosphere, the snow remains on it only for a few months in the year."

The missionaries, and their companions, were detained a week at Goree, and arrived at Sierra Leone, on the 13th of February. During the voyage, the weather had frequently permitted them to maintain divine service on board.

They were received, on their arrival, with cordial affection, by Mr. and Mrs. Butscher, and by Messrs. Wenzel and Renner, who had lately arrived from the Rio Pongas, and the next day by Nyländer, who came over from the Bullom shore. It was arranged that Mr. Hughes should immediately enter on the office of schoolmaster, and that Mr. and Mrs. Sperrhaken should join Nyländer on the Bullom shore, and that Sperrhaken should keep an English school, morning and evening, and that Nyländer should teach Bullom in the afternoon. The relations of Jellorum Harrison were still living. After paying them a visit, he was to enter on his office as schoolmaster, under the society. Mrs. Hartwig was pressed by the settlers to open a school again, for their female children, who stood in great need of instruction, but her afflicted husband, who had just arrived in the colony in an advanced stage of dropsy, engaged for the present her whole attention.

Before proceeding further into the occurrences of the year 1815, it will be necessary to retrace our steps a little, to take up one or two subjects that cannot be omitted. In December, of the preceding year, two memorials were presented to Earl Bathurst, the secretary for the colonies, one by the Church Missionary Society, and the other by Governor Maxwell, on the subject of a church for Sierra Leone; and also an augmentation of the salary allocated by the British government

* This seems to be much under the measurement of this celebrated peak, although travellers have differed considerably as to its actual height. The Spanish writers maintain that its altitude is five miles, which is extravagant. Dr. Halley reduces it to two miles and a quarter. Mongez supposes it to be nine hundred toises or fathoms, and Mr. Johnstone calculated the elevation to be 2023 English fathoms, or two miles, two furlongs, and eighty-six yards; which is near Halley's computation. De la Crene makes it 1742 toises, and Humbolt 12,072 feet. This last calculation is ordinarily followed by geographers. The summit, to which many travellers have ascended, may be considered as an extinguished volcano. The lower declivities are covered with vines which yield the Teneriffe wine, inferior to Madeira, yet of which from 10,000 to 15,000 pipes are annually exported. The chief town of Teneriffe is Santa Cruz.

for the payment of a chaplain to the colony. In reference to the erection of a church, it was urged, that the population of Sierra Leone had reached to nearly ten thousand souls, and that the cost of a suitable place of worship would amount to 5,000 guineas, and that, probably, a second of the same kind would soon be required. "Of the expediency," said Governor Maxwell, in his memorial, "of introducing the offices and worship of the church in a British colony, it is humbly presumed that there can be no doubt; and when it is considered that Sierra Leone has already a numerous population, which is evidently increasing with rapidity, its claims upon the mother country for an establishment, which may secure the exercise and diffusion of religion, and all the incalculable benefits flowing therefrom, appears obvious and indisputable; a claim which is further strengthened by the peculiar situation of the colony, as the principal settlement of Great Britain, throughout the whole extent of the western coast of Africa, and the point from which must issue every attempt to improve the religious and moral condition of the natives of that vast peninsula." The present salary allowed for a chaplain was £300, which, it was proposed, should be raised to £500, "as," it was urged in the memorial of the society, "no reasonable supposition can be entertained, that for an inferior salary, any clergyman of the Church of England can be induced to engage in the important duties required of him in such a settlement, under the circumstances of insalubrious climate, &c." It was further proposed, "that such chaplain, after a residence of ten years, should be permitted to return to his native country, on a half-pay of £250 per annum, provided he is furnished with sufficient testimonials from the governor, (or lieutenant governor in his absence,) touching the manner in which he discharged the duties of his office; and that, during his residence in the colony, he should be provided with a house suited to his office and station."

Besides the above objects of the memorials, there was a third, the continuance by government of the supply of clothing and rations allowed for African children and adults rescued from slave ships, to the same persons, when taken under the care of the society, which proposed, at its own expense, to erect buildings, and provide proper schoolmasters for the moral and religious instruction of these poor little creatures, who, after being provided with useful occupations, and trained up to habits of industry, would, it was hoped, with the divine blessing, soon relieve the government from the expense of such an allowance.

The society prayed, likewise, for "a letter to the governor of Sierra Leone, generally commendatory of the interest of the society, and to afford them his protection."

To these memorials the ministers of the day lent their earliest

attention, and at once acceded to the propositions of the society, placing all the liberated children under the care of the institution, and providing for the erection of a church, and the augmentation of the chaplain's salary.

The contemplated restoration of Goree and Senegal to France, about this time, revived the hopes of the Soosoo chiefs, that the slave trade would be re-established in full vigour by the French, and numerous attended palavers were now held by them, to decide on the best means of protecting the trade. One such palaver was held on the 5th December, the alleged cause of which was an expectation of war with the Foulahs, but more was evidently intended; for the resolution to which the assembled headmen came was, that they would defend themselves against their enemies, "both those to the north," the Foulahs; and "those to the south," the British armed vessels. The missionaries were to be allowed to stay in the country, on condition of selling their tobacco and powder by a larger measure than the present one, and buying their rice by a smaller. These, and other circumstances, induced the governor of Sierra Leone to retain in the colony, for the present, a number of liberated children, who had received the names selected by their benefactors in England, and were destined for the Rio Pongas.

Under the apprehension, in England, of a revival of the French slave trade, eight hundred and sixty-four petitions were presented to Parliament, signed by eight hundred thousand persons, invoking the exertion of British influence for the extermination of the trade; and Lord Castlereagh obtained, from Louis XVIII., a promise that France would abolish it.

The arrival of the Wilding with stores* was very seasonable, as the missionaries had begun to suffer very severely for want of them. The natives at Canoffee attributed Wenzel's refusal to purchase their rice not to its real cause—his want of European articles to exchange for it—but to his becoming independent of them, by the rapid increase, under his culture, of the natural productions of the ground around the settlement; and in the most wanton manner spread before his face ruin and devastation over his flourishing plantations; and soon after, during his absence at Sierra Leone, they carried their contempt and enmity so far, as to build, under the sanction of M. Backe himself, almost close to the church which Wenzel was erecting to the glory of God, a house dedicated to the devil. The following is Wenzel's account of these hostile proceedings:—

* The outfit of the persons sent out by the society, together with the stores requisite for the support of the settlement and the maintenance of the African children, amounted to £3000, it being impossible for the missionaries, in the disturbed state of their respective neighbourhoods, to do anything for their own or their children's support.

“In the morning of September, 29, (1814), as I was on the point of beginning school, about twenty men from Mongè Backe met in my piazza. They all had cutlasses, and one man had a cat, or whip. Two men were actually commissioned from the headman; the others were voluntary messengers. One of the commissioned men brought me greetings from Mongè Backe, and ordered me not to cut any more sticks in the bush (woods) for making fences. I was making a new fence round the settlement, and to enclose a proper place for a churchyard; and this was doing with the consent of the headman. I willingly agreed, because I had cut sufficient for the fence, and had nearly finished it. They told me that I should not enlarge the place for the settlement, but make the fence as it had been before. To this also I agreed. I was asked why I had cultivated so much ground, and planted so much produce. We had said that we had come hither to instruct children; we did not come, therefore, to cultivate ground. ‘Now,’ said they ‘we are come to destroy your produce.’ When this word was pronounced, all the people, like furies, fell upon the trees, plants, and fence, and cut all things in pieces, and took the fruits away with them. My wife cried—all the children cried—and I stood exposed to their cruelties. All wished me to oppose them, in order that they might find a pretext for beating me, as they had determined in their heart. But, the Lord be praised! he gave me grace and wisdom to act in patience and resignation to his holy will. I prayed to him for his grace when I saw what the people were about to do, and I said not a single word.

“After these cruelties had been committed, they had still in mind to harass me; for they said my grumettas must clear a place to build a devil’s house upon, and that I must give them two goats for sacrifices. This, of course, I refused. A house for worshipping the true God had been erected, and a house for the devil should not be suffered. They declared, however, that they would come and build. They went off at length with their spoil, uttering fierce threats against me.

“My wife, who was far advanced in pregnancy, not daring to expose herself to their fury, went into the church, where the carpenter was working, who spoke to her these words—‘This is the consequence of the destruction of the slave factories. John Ormond has sent word to me that I should leave your place, for, as soon as the dry season begins, he will burn Bassia and Canoffee.’”

After this Wenzel went to Sierra Leone, and on his return wrote :—

“When I arrived at home, I heard with the deepest grief that, during my absence, Mongè Backe’s people had built a devil’s house for me, with the constrained assistance of my own people—not, indeed, within the compass of the settlement, but at a small distance. After the house

was finished, the people seized a goat of mine, and sacrificed it to the devil, afterwards feasting on her.

“Three days after my arrival, Mongè Backe came to Canoffee, in order to receive a present, having had neither powder nor tobacco for a long time. I complained to him of the wicked behaviour of his people during my absence, and against him for not having kept his promise to me the day before my departure.* He answered—‘You must have a devil’s house as well as Bassia and the other white people.’ I replied—‘I do not want a devil’s house, and I will not worship the devil: you know I have built a house of God, and I do, and will worship the true God.’ He said he could not believe that we do not worship the devil. I repeated to him the purpose of our coming into the country—that we were sent to preach, and to declare to the people that they must no more worship the devil, but the true God. I had hardly pronounced those few words, when he began confidently and earnestly to warn me, that I should not speak thus to the people, else they would do me hurt.”

But we have now to recount the most daring act of hostility which had yet been perpetrated—the destruction of Bassia settlement by fire. It is thus related by Renner:—

“On Saturday, the 21st of January, about candle-light, the cry of ‘Fire!’ was heard in the yard. I and my wife were in one room. She hastened me to see what was the matter; but I said there could be nothing the matter, and no fire, since the kitchen had been pulled down for some time. However, when I came out into the back piazza, I saw our house on fire on the east side. At first sight, the opening which the fire had made was not larger than a yard in circumference. I soon perceived how rapidly the flame increased, and that there was no hope of extinguishing it. I therefore ordered the female children out of the house, without taking the least of their little property with them, for fear they might delay and come into danger. My wife having been lame for some days, and confined to bed, tried to get on her legs, our oldest boys carrying her trunk before her, and got safe into the field. It was our first concern to save our beds; and the grumettas succeeded in getting them into a safe place, under the immediate care of my wife.

“We had only one door by which to enter into the second story, and the fire soon reaching it, there was no longer a passage to carry things down, and we were under the necessity of flinging over the piazza what came to our hands. The first was a chest of drawers, which fell to

* This was upon the occasion of Wenzel’s complaining to him of the destruction of his crops, when he assured him he loved him, and would permit no further mischief to be done to him.

pieces, the articles scattered about, and were stolen by the natives. Another chest of drawers could not be moved, our heavy book-shelf standing upon it: the drawers went over, and shared the same fate. Trifling things were at last removed, and the most valuable either forgotten or left to the flames by necessity. The confusion of my mind was such, that I had no power to judge at the moment what to do. My trunk—my valuable trunk—partly filled up by the generosity of the society, and partly by my busy wife, was entirely forgotten. I recollect to have stood on it to hand down trifling things, but it came not into my mind to save it.

“At last the danger was so great, that every one forsook me, and there was a loud cry that the roof was falling. I hastened, therefore, down on a mangrove* beam, and left perishable things to their fate. I was not long in the yard before the house tumbled in, and I was now surrounded by the cries of the children, and my wife’s lamentation, at a distance, sounding in my ears. The natives conducted me rather by force to a great distance from the fire. In general, they behaved well, and did not steal anything of consequence, but kept their distance; which was owing, I suppose, to the sharp reproof which they got by the last fire, when they rushed into the rooms, and carried our goods into the town, under pretence of taking care of them; but very few were so honest as to bring back the articles. The boys’ and girls’ Sunday clothes were all burnt; and I thought I had saved nothing but what was on my back; but there were a few old things in the wash, which came well to pass afterwards. Brother Wilhelm’s house caught fire by the mere heat, while mine was burning, being so close.

“After the sighing and crying had somewhat ceased with the fire, we were thinking how to dispose of ourselves during the night. My wife bedded herself on the ground, in the intended printing-room, adjoining the church. The girls, instead of lying on bedsteads, had, like myself, to rest themselves on the ground, most of them without mats, in the church. Brother Wilhelm occupied the girls’ schoolroom. The boys, who slept before in Brother Wilhelm’s house, had to sleep in the schoolhouse; but they got so bewildered by the fire, and, perhaps, were afraid to trust themselves to sleep in a house that was close

* “Mangrove, *Rizophora mangle* of Linnaeus. This tree, like the baobab of the East Indies, is propagated by shoots thrown out from the upper branches; these descend, take root, and become parent trees, throwing out leaves, branches, and shoots in their turn. Hence, a whole forest of mangrove trees are intimately connected with each other, and are thus so firmly rooted as to resist the most rapid tides and most impetuous currents. They grow in wet places, and are generally covered with large quantities of oysters, here called mangrove oysters. They render creeks unhealthy, by retaining the mud and ooze and other putrifying substances among their tangled roots; they also render them dangerous, by affording a secure retreat to alligators. The wood of this tree is extremely hard, and much used by the natives for building houses, as it is not so easily destroyed by the termites (white ants) as other kinds of timber.—*Winterbottom*.

to that where the fire was not yet extinguished, that they spent the night in the yard with the grumettas, who were watching the remaining flames.

"Next day was Sabbath day, but no Sabbath in Bassia. The children and myself had not the least outward appearance that it was the Lord's-day; the clothes left on our backs getting very dirty during the fire. Our minds, also, were so much confused, that we could not sing the Lord's song; and, in truth, not a single book was saved in my house. No Bible, no prayer-book, no hymn-book, no spelling-book was to be seen.

"The influx of strangers was troublesome; some came to pity—others to laugh at us.

"On Monday morning, the cry was again—'Fire! fire!' This I could hardly believe, but jumping up, I saw the schoolhouse on fire, notwithstanding a watch of about twenty people in the yard. This was almost worse than all the rest, I not knowing now where to lodge the boys. But this was an evidence to me that my house was wilfully set on fire, which I at first was unwilling to believe, thinking that it might have happened by the carelessness of the children. It now seemed to be the intention of some enemy that no roof should be left over our heads.

"We had now to put the poor boys into the ruins of our house, fixing some palm-leaves on the standing walls, to shade them from the sun in the day, and in the night from the dew. But what were we to do? No houses! no clothes! no money! no rice! Of course I had no other chance but to go to Sierra Leone, to ask the advice of our friends. Mr. Wenzel went with me. I steadily kept in mind to give up the settlement, and move to Sierra Leone. I found no opposition from any party. But what made a great change in my mind was, that Mr. Wenzel declared that, if I should give up Bassia, he must give up Canoffee."

There was no doubt on the minds of the missionaries that these atrocious acts were committed at the instigation of a slave-dealer, who had publicly threatened to destroy both Bassia and Canoffee. Even Mongè Backe, who was under the strongest obligations to befriend those who had put themselves under his protection, and who, he knew, had come to Africa with the most benevolent intentions towards his countrymen, sent his own people to Canoffee, to destroy the growing crops there, as we have related above; and now his people only mocked at the calamities which had occurred at Bassia, without affording the least help or encouragement to remedy the disaster; not, however, that he desired to drive the missionaries from the country, but his heart, like that of his brother chiefs, was so wedded to the slave-trade, that

he, probably, considered it well to keep a check upon those who were thought to be leagued with the abolitionists at the colony.

Previous to Renner's departure for Sierra Leone, he thought it right to let him know that he was going, whereupon he came immediately. Renner told him he was going to see his friends, and take their opinion whether he should rebuild the settlement or not. His reply was striking and characteristic. "Suppose," said he, "a man has had a wife for many years—that man doth not like to part with her;" and again, "Suppose a man has a wife, and she miscarries with the first child, will that man, therefore, give up his hope that his wife may bring him another child?" By which he meant that he did not wish for the removal of the missionaries, and that they should not, through any despondency, give up the idea of rebuilding their settlement.

A very distressing circumstance occurred the day before Renner set out for the colony, in which he narrowly escaped being cut to pieces. Their head grumetta had recently died at Fantimani's place, and Fantimani sent to inquire whether Renner would bury him; and, as he had been a faithful servant to the missionaries for seven years, Renner consented, and gave him a Christian burial at Bassia. Four weeks after, Fantimani's people came to the settlement, on Sunday night, at ten o'clock, and caught one of the grumetta women, whom they accused as the witch who had killed the man, and began to give her the red-water to drink. Renner ran to the spot, and on inquiring what was the matter, they turned upon him, grinding their teeth, and raising their cutlasses to destroy him. Renner stood firm, and as he had taken the precaution on first hearing the alarm to provide himself with a cutlass, which he concealed under his night-gown, he now raised it to ward off the blows aimed at him; at seeing which, they were providentially seized with a panic, and drew off. They, however, dragged the poor woman away, naked as she was, and administered the red-water to her throughout the night, but she happily threw up the whole.

While on the subject of this peculiar feature of African superstition—trial by red-water—we may relate the following case, which occurred at Canoffee about this time:—A carpenter employed at the settlement had built a canoe for himself, which he was asked to lend on a particular occasion. He willingly consented, and his wife, in kindness, gave the people who borrowed it a kola as they were going away. They ate part of it then, and the remainder in a little time: at the part where they had eaten, it turned black, as it appears is natural, which made them accuse the woman of an intention to poison them. However they went away, loaded the canoe with rice, and got into her. She was overladen, and as their canoes are very narrow, about the middle of the river she was capsized, and two out of the three people who were in her were drowned. The third reached the shore speechless, but he pointed significantly to

the carpenter, whereupon the country people, conceiving he had made the canoe on purpose to drown those who had got into her, accused him and his wife of witchcraft. In the night they were seized, and compelled to drink red-water. The poor man being sixty years of age, died on the spot ; the people knocking him on the head while dying with the pot which had held the red-water ; and having despatched him, they flung him violently into a hole, and threw in stones on his mangled body. His wife, also an aged person, was dragged to a neighbouring town, and compelled to drink red-water ; and as she struggled some time with death, the people took sticks and stones, and beat and bruised her head and body almost to pieces, and cast her also into a hole, where they continued kicking and stoning her wretched body, until they mingled her flesh and bones with the ground. Truly, the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.

On Renner's arrival at Sierra Leone, a meeting was held in Freetown, consisting of Butcher, Nylander, Wenzel, and himself ; and, after some discussion, it was resolved that the necessary buildings at Bassia should be restored ; that Harrison should take charge of the school ; and that Wilhelm should remove to Canoffee, and devote himself to the study of the Soosoo language. Wilhelm had some objections to the rebuilding of Bassia, which were shared by some friends of the society. " But," he subsequently wrote, " after all, as it has been concluded to rebuild, I am quite reconciled, knowing that it is still in the power of God, and in his power alone, to cause his work to prosper ; and that he sometimes manifests that power at the moment when every engine seems to be out of order, and when all those things which men are looking for to work together for good, seem to be thrown into confusion."

A letter from Renner to the secretary, in reference to the foregoing events, will interest the Christian reader. It is dated, Sierra Leone, February 22, 1815 :—

" I arrived here on the 10th instant, and on the 13th I had the great pleasure to see all the missionary friends mentioned by you safe about us. This gave joy to my disturbed mind. From the 21st of January to this day I have been in heaviness, and mine eyes weeping, on account of the burning down of my old residence at Bassia. My heart is too heavy to allow me to write much to you at this time about this afflicting event. I must defer it to another season.*

" I feel humbly desirous to build again, although my brethren seem not much to advise it. Brother Wilhelm will state to you many objections to both the settlements on the Rio Pongas. How shall I clear

* The account which we have given from him was written subsequent to this letter.

myself, I often think, if the result of rebuilding doth not answer the purposes of the society? Yet another thought strikes me—how would it grieve the friends of the society, should the Soosoo mission be suspended at once for this cause? True, the loss by the fire is great, and amounts to about £600; and the materials, with the expenses of working-people, will likewise cost much for the rebuilding. Who is there on my side? Who can give me the best advice in this important matter? Let, then, God lead and guide me in this mysterious affair! It is now in my heart to build again; if God frustrate my intention, it is, perhaps, then not sinful that it was in my heart.

“Humble thanks be returned for the favours now sent by the Wilding, for Bassia: and tears for those sent out last year, not received, perhaps, with a grateful heart.

“I left my poor wife on the ground, with her bed in the intended printing-room; may God bless and comfort her according to the time promised.

“May God bless you abundantly, both in soul and body, for all the troubles and anxieties which the mission and myself cause you, and bless all them who force the precious Gospel to go through fire and water to distant lands.

“I am, sir, your affectionate servant,

“M. RENNER.”

We are brought back again to the case of the returned wanderer, Hartwig, whom we left at the Gambia settlement, occupying the post of translator and interpreter of Soosoo. Renner, who visited that settlement in the latter end of August, 1814, writes thus feelingly respecting his old friend and fellow worker:—

“Mr. Hartwig showed me five chapters of St. John’s Gospel, translated into Soosoo. He is to go on with the work; and if new love to Christ constrains him, he will preach or teach the unsearchable riches of Christ, and the abundant mercy of God, to his fellow creatures, which sparing mercy, and we trust, saving grace, followed him even in his deviating paths, in the rough and crooked ways of the last years, which have wounded and scourged his conscience so severely, that it seems there is no soundness from the sole of the foot even to the head; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores, which have not as yet finally been closed, neither bound up, so as to leave no pains and pangs behind; neither mollified with the holy ointment of the comforting spirit. He labours under spiritual and bodily infirmities. But we know that Christ can cure him; and we will believe that he will cure him of both.”

We have already related that his devoted wife, on her arrival at

Sierra Leone, in the following February, found that the melancholy duty had devolved on her of tending him in the last stage of a fatal disorder; and, as the event proved, of rendering to him the last services of an affection which neither time nor misconduct on his part had been able to subdue. We shall not attempt to deprive the reader of the solemn pleasure to be found in her own touching account of her bereavement. In a letter to the committee, immediately subsequent to the event, she says—

“The event is over, and my partner is no more! A week had hardly elapsed, after his arrival, before he was removed to another, and, I hope and trust, a better world. I thank God that I was brought hither just when I was, and that I was permitted once more to behold his face in the flesh; and though I was brought hither to close his eyes in death, I can never, no, never be sufficiently thankful to that allwise and gracious Providence, which over-ruled and directed things as they were, and that enabled me to contribute, in any measure, to my dear Peter’s comfort for the few last days and hours of his life.

“On Wednesday evening, February 22nd, just after sunset, he was brought ashore, weak and almost helpless; yet I am thankful, and consider it a privilege that I was allowed to receive him even in that state, and to wait upon him, and to render his last days somewhat more comfortable. Our meeting seemed to revive his spirits; and he was very cheerful and happy for the first two or three days, though so weak, (his bones almost cutting through his skin, and his body greatly enlarged with dropsy), that it was as much as a man could do to lift him in and out of bed. He was enabled to converse with me a little, but said, as he could not talk much, he would tell me all when he got well. His appetite was pretty good, and he took nourishment from my hands with a pleasure which he could hardly express; often acknowledging the goodness and mercy of our Heavenly Father, in bringing me once again to this land; and said he thought I was sent as an angel from heaven. Indeed his situation was truly deplorable when Mr. Renner found him, being destitute even of the common necessities of life; so that he rejoiced in God who had sent him a deliverer. At that time he was in the Mandingo Country. He caught a bad cold last August, in the Gambier settlement, the house having a poor roof, and being exposed to wind and rain, from which time he began to be ill; and having formerly derived benefit from a mineral water, in the Mandingo Country, he went thither in hopes that he might again obtain relief. But, alas! he had hardly drank of the water before he became so ill that he was obliged to remain there.

“On Friday, the 24th, a medical gentleman saw him, and said he was too weak to undergo an operation, as he might sink under it; he

therefore gave us a prescription, which he hoped might be of service to him. He was very anxious to live, and desirous, if spared, to redeem the time, and show to the world, that he was heartily sorry for his past offences. On Sunday, Mr. Butscher administered the sacrament to us. It was a solemn time. Mr. Rennet and Mr. Wenzel were present, and a pious old black woman who frequently comes to see me. When the service was over, Mr. Hartwig was a good deal affected, and wept almost aloud. He spoke of his past departure from the faith, yet acknowledged that the Lord had never given him up to a hard heart, or reprobate mind; but that the stings of conscience used to be to him like a hook in his heart. He pointed out to me Psalm cxlii., as having been descriptive of his case and state of mind; and Psalm xxiii. he also requested me to read. Notwithstanding his backslidings and transgressions he could now address God as his Father, his reconciled Father in Christ Jesus; and dwelt on that encouraging passage—‘Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.’

“He died on Wednesday morning, March 1, 1815, and, I have reason to trust, fell asleep in Jesus. However I may feel the loss of my beloved partner, for whose sake I again ventured to this land, yet, I thank God, I am not left to sorrow as those without hope; and I cannot but see the wonderful interposition of Divine Providence, in bringing me hither exactly at the period when I was brought. God doth indeed hear and answer prayer, and he hath long heard the voice of my petition, and hath now granted my request, in permitting me to behold my dear husband’s face in the flesh, and in giving me an opportunity of hearing from his lips what I did hear.”

In scarcely more than two months after this exemplary woman had closed the eyes of her beloved partner, she was herself summoned away from the source of her toils and sorrows; it is humbly trusted, to rejoin him in the land of everlasting rest. Having caught that fatal disease, the yellow fever, she was carried off after only four days’ illness, on the last day of April. On the Monday evening previous to her death, she took tea with Butscher and his wife, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Sperhaken, who had come over from the Bullom shore to purchase some articles, which they stood in need of, in their new house; the next day she was quite well, and on Wednesday morning attended to the school which she had been keeping since her husband’s death, until eleven o’clock in the forenoon. Feeling then unwell, she dismissed the children, and sent for Butscher, who, being engaged, and knowing that she kept school that morning, did not go immediately, but sent his wife, who found her a little feverish, but without any illness to excite alarm.

She had some presentiment, however, that her case would prove fatal, for she said to Mrs. Butscher that she wished to settle immediately all her little temporal affairs, knowing, from experience, that her intellect might become deranged after an hour or two's illness, as was often the case in that country ; and her fears proved but too well founded, for on Butscher's visiting her in the afternoon, the fever had gained such a height, that he could speak but little with her. He urged her to look simply to Jesus, and trust in him whose goodness, mercy, and gracious consolations she had enjoyed for so many years ; but she replied that her headache was so violent, that she was unable to think of any thing. She trusted, however, she said, that the Lord would not depart from her.

Butscher was fortunate enough to procure for her the same nurse who had attended her in an illness ten years before, and he and his wife visited her frequently ; but she continued almost all the time, as she herself had apprehended, in a delirious state. On Sunday morning she or the nurse sent for Butscher, but he was then in church commencing divine service, and was obliged to postpone seeing her until its conclusion. Unfortunately it occupied that day two hours and a half, there being three baptisms after the sermon ; and when he hastened to her, she was speechless, and death evidently approaching. He, however, offered a short prayer for her, and her affectionate spirit winged its way upwards at ten minutes before one o'clock.

Thus departed Sarah Hartwig, who preferred the man whom she had chosen, and whom she had sworn to "love, honour, and keep, in sickness and in health," with all the perils of a pestilential climate, to friends, home, health, and competence, where he was not. May her name ever be associated with those of the loveliest of her sex !

Although she had returned to Africa, to welcome her erring husband back to the paths of righteousness and peace, and to encourage him to continue therein, she was not unmindful of the high and holy objects with which she had originally accompanied him to Africa. She was anxious to make her return a blessing to the poor destitute female children of the colonists, and for that purpose had gathered around her, in the short time intervening between her husband's death and her own, about thirty of these poor creatures, by whom she was greatly beloved : most of them attended her funeral, and followed her to the grave with tears. Her loss to the colony was deeply and deservedly deplored by all.

The above account is collected from Butscher's letter to the secretary, and he little thought, when writing it on the 4th of May, how soon the bitter task would devolve upon him of communicating similar intelligence regarding one united with him by the strongest and tenderest of all human ties. On the 25th of the same month he writes :—

“REV. AND DEAR SIR—In distress of mind I am now sitting down to inform you that my dear wife is no more with me, but is gone to heaven. She died on the 19th instant, having left me and our dear, dear pledges behind—one named Mary, two years old, on the 26th of this month; and the boy, named Charles, who was two months old the day she died.

“Three days previous to her death, she was taken ill with that infectious fever, which was brought hither by a vessel about three months ago, and has proved fatal to so many within a short period. The Nova Scotian settlers call it the ‘bone-broken fever.’ It is attended with pains in the bones, and stupidity in the head. When the black discharge, or vomit comes on, then death soon follows; and this was the case with my dear, dear Catherine.

“A few hours previous to her death, I asked her, ‘My love, can you pray to Jesus?’ She replied, ‘Yes, I can; but I feel stupidity in my head.’ She said to her two nurses—one of them a good old pious woman—‘My good old woman, I never repent that I came to this country with my dear Butscher.’ A few minutes before she died, I prayed again with her, and having finished, I kissed her, and she embraced me with such a force, that one of the nurses was obliged to loose her dear arms from off my neck. Mrs. Davies, the Methodist preacher’s wife, being present, burst into tears, and, a few minutes after, my poor wife expired.

“Mrs. Davies took my Mary to her home, and another good lady, Mrs. Nicol, took the little boy, with his nurse, into her house. Was it not for these two good women, I should not know what to do with my dear little pledges; but I know that they are in good hands. May the Lord reward their present mothers and fathers, for I never can. I wish very much that Mrs. Davies would keep my dear Mary, as it is my earnest desire that my children should be brought up in that sacred truth to which their mother was devoted, and of which their father is a sincere advocate.

“But Oh! my dear wife, what shall I do without thee! I have about forty-five children under my immediate care now, without a mother! Some are laid up with the measles; another is crying and pining away. There is little Rose, a girl about six years of age, whom Mrs. Butscher took last year from a slave vessel to bring her up;—poor little thing, she knows her letters, and can sew very neatly, but is sick, fretting so after my wife, that I expect her to die to-day. O, thou God of Heaven, what hast thou done? Surely, thy thoughts and thy ways are not as my thoughts and my ways?”

Thus, in little more than three years after their union, was this excellent couple divided by him who had joined them together. The cha-

racter of Mrs. Butscher stood very high in the colony, to which she proved a valuable acquisition. An impartial witness of her conduct, writing to the committee, says—"Mrs. Butscher's death is a very heavy loss to the younger part of the colonists—I may almost say an irreparable one, as I do not expect to find another woman here of equal abilities and with an equal willingness to exert them." She was a woman of acute understanding, considerable attainments, and tried piety, the last of which was fully attested in the case of the shipwreck on her passage out, which has been laid before the reader.

Poor Africa! her children groan in chains of darkness, and she has nothing to offer those who would draw near to remove them but a grave. Surely, none but heavenly fires could burn in the breasts of those who would press forward to perform such a service for such a reward. England had much to be forgiven: she had escaped much well-merited judgment: she was expected to love much; and in the sight of that burning sun which witnessed her shame, was she now called upon to offer the sacrifice of her repentance and her faith. The brand shall be removed from the brow of Africa's children; but it must be washed out in the blood and tears of those who stamped it there. The Gospel shall be preached to the long-enslaved children of Ham, and Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God; but first the instruments of their degradation must be arraigned in their presence before Him whose prerogative they dared to assume, and the credentials of their commission from the Friend of Sinners be then examined, and its genuineness authenticated, by their readiness to lay down their lives for the brethren, as he had laid down his life for them.

CHAPTER VII.

IN the committee of the Church Missionary Society's Fifteenth Annual Report, they mentioned "an obstacle, to the advance of the society's designs in Africa, and to the amelioration of that injured shore, in the want of regular and convenient intercourse. Your committee," they proceeded to say, "have earnestly wished that it were in their power to establish such an intercourse; but engaged as the society now is, in very extensive designs, your committee have feared to divert so large a sum to the maintenance of a vessel, as would be, for a time at least, required." This subject had been brought before the society, five years earlier, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D., in a sermon, preached before them at their tenth anniversary. Upon that occasion he said, "The time seems to have arrived when more effectual measures ought to be adopted for the promulgation of Christianity than have hitherto been employed." And, after a few more preliminary observations, he proceeds—"Let ships be prepared to carry the glad tidings of the Gospel to remote nations. There is nothing new in the proposal, if it be not that it is new to us. You have seen with what facility the Romish Church can open a communication with distant nations, by ships of war or commerce. You see with what facility commercial men, at home, can open a communication with remote regions, at a very small expense, sometimes merely on speculation; and if they do not succeed in one country they go to another. 'The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.' Let us follow their example, in conducting the commerce of knowledge. Let societies, let individuals, according to their ability, contribute towards the supplying of ships for this purpose. Much of the expense may be defrayed by judicious plans of commerce, but let the chief and avowed object be the merchandize of the Gospel."

The learned preacher enumerated five special advantages, which would

be secured to the society, by the possession of a vessel devoted exclusively to missionary purposes:—

I.—The conveyance of families and individuals to remote regions, to which it was found almost impossible to secure a passage in a commercial ship, besides avoiding the contaminating influence of offensive language, which is too often permitted on board ships of war and commerce, belonging to the English nation.

II.—Frequency of correspondence between the missionaries and the society.

III.—Regularity of supply, both of the means of subsistence, and of all other necessities which must be procured from home, such as books, paper, &c.

IV.—Facility of returning home, in case of sickness or delicacy on the part of the missionaries or their families, by which they should feel, that while they were sojourners in a strange land, they have not necessarily gone into banishment.

V.—Opportunity for men of learning, prudence, and piety, to visit their brethren in distant lands, without any intention to remain, but to inform themselves of the state and progress of the missionary cause, and to encourage the labourers.

These views of Doctor Buchanan were corroborated by communications received from the Rev. Christian Ignatius Latrobe, secretary of the United Brethren's Society, for the furtherance of the Gospel, to whom the secretary of the Church Missionary Society had applied for information, derived from the experience of the brethren, to assist the committee in their deliberations. He furnished them with a paper, setting forth the "origin, history, and manner of conducting the intercourse of the United Brethren with their settlements, by a vessel of their own," in which he stated that, in the year 1769, some members of the Brethren's Society formed a company to trade with the Esquimaux, on the coast of Labrador,* where they had established a mission, and

* Labrador is an extensive country in North America, about 700 miles long, and 500 broad, lying between 55° and 79° west longitude, and 50° and 63° north latitude; and bounded on the north by Hudson's Straits; on the south, by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Lower Canada; on the east, by the Atlantic Ocean; and on the west by Hudson's Bay. The face of the country is barren and mountainous, with very little of vegetable production. Summer appears about the middle of July, when the weather becomes very hot; but it disappears in September, and the cold of winter is so great, that rum freezes, and rectified spirits becomes thick, like oil, the thermometer descending to 70° below freezing point. The inhabitants are divided into two distinct tribes—Mountaineers and Esquimaux, between whom there exists an invincible aversion. The former inhabit the interior, towards the north, and are a small hardy race. The latter are extremely indolent, their women performing all the labour. Before missionaries arrived among them, the Esquimaux believed in an invisible being, called *Torugak*, influencing both good and bad. Sorcery and witchcraft were universally practised, and every species of wickedness, such as theft, murder, treachery, was common. In 1752, four missionaries, from the Moravians, or United Brethren, sailed from London for this country; but

that for several years a vessel, about 120 tons, purchased and fitted out by means of shares, at £10 each, carried on a barter with these people, which turned out very profitable to the shareholders, and that even a larger ship was subsequently employed with equal success, until, in the year 1784, the Esquimaux were tempted, by the English settlers at Chateau Bay, which lies 200 or 300 miles south of Hopedale, the most southerly settlement of the Brethren, to repair to the settlement for trade. There they were supplied with articles in barter, which the missionaries had kindly withheld from them—spirituous liquors, guns and powder, and many useless trinkets. A desire for these things soon led all the Esquimaux, both baptized and heathen, to resort to the south for trade, and, consequently, the missionaries could no longer dispose of their cargoes, and the agreement between the company and the society was broken off.

Subsequently, and after much deliberation, the society resolved to undertake the whole concern; and in 1797, the company was dissolved, each shareholder receiving the full amount of his shares, and interest upon the same, at five per cent., from the period of cessation of the payment of the dividends. The society thereby incurred a very considerable debt, but from that time it pleased the Lord to bless the undertaking. The cargoes from Labrador increased, so as to afford a sufficiency, not only for the payment of the expense of the outfit, but for the gradual liquidation of the debt; and the average profits of the voyages continued for years to cover the charge of communication, and even sometimes contributed towards the expense of the mission, which, in consequence of the barrenness of the soil of Labrador, owing to the intense cold of the climate, must be supplied with every article of subsistence from England.

The missionary ship supported herself; and, for the management of this department of the mission, the committee appointed a treasurer, and ship's husband, as he was called, he being the acting owner, and taking charge of the concerns of the ship. He made his reports from time to time to the committee, and received from the treasurer the sums necessary for outfit, repairs, &c.; this ship account being kept separate from that of the mission. In each settlement there was a store, supplied with articles useful to the Esquimaux, and to these they resorted for

owing to some painful circumstances, the attempt to preach the Gospel there, at that time, failed. It was renewed with greater success in 1765; and it was in 1770 that the missionary brig alluded to by Mr. Latrobe commenced its annual voyage. The first missionary settlement was called Nain, where, in a little time, the church which had been erected could not accommodate the number of converts. The second was 150 miles north of Nain, and was called Okkak. It was erected in 1775. In 1782, the brethren erected a third, to the south of Nain, to which they gave the name of Hopedale; and in 1827, they undertook a fourth, 80 miles north of Okkak, called Kangertluksoak. The blessing of the Lord has, in a remarkable manner, crowned the labours of these devoted followers of Jesus.

what they wanted of European goods, bringing skins and oil in barter ; but no missionary went among the people as a trader.

The vessel never wanted a captain or crew, as the service was much liked. The crew consisted partly of foreigners, Danes and Germans, who knew the periods of sailing, and came freely to offer their services. Even during the war, which terminated in 1815, when there was a great difficulty in procuring sailors, a sufficient and well-disposed crew was always found to navigate the missionary ship ; so that for forty-five years, by the blessing of the Most High, no interruption of the society's communication with its settlements had taken place.

The advantages of this vessel to the society were such as Doctor Buchanan had suggested—punctuality of communication and supply ; conveyance of missionaries ; freedom from improper associations during the voyage ; occasional visitation of stations by agents from home ; removal of anxiety on the part of the missionaries as to the means of subsistence. Alluding to the season at which the Brethren's ship is expected to arrive, Mr. Latrobe went on to say, "When they (the Esquimaux) see it arrive, their joy is indescribable, and is well worth a year's purchase. Even the dogs in Labrador, by some peculiar instinct, have a presentiment of it ; and, about the time that the vessel may be expected, run up the hills, turn their noses seaward, prick their ears, wag their tails, and stand all day on the look-out, till, perhaps, at an immense distance perceiving the ship's topsails rising above the waves, they give notice by howling, (for a Labrador dog never barks), jumping, and every possible expression of delight, truly partaking in the general joy."

At the annual meeting of the Church Missionary Society, held May 2, 1815, one of the speakers, the Rev. Thomas Connolly Cowen, in moving thanks to the vice-patrons and vice-presidents of the society, introduced, by desire of the committee, a proposition for opening a separate fund for the establishment and maintenance of a regular intercourse, by means of a vessel under the society's control, between Western Africa and England ; and suggested that the vessel should bear the name of a distinguished vice-president of the society, the great and unwearied friend of Africa—William Wilberforce. He was seconded by the Rev. Basil Woodd, who proposed that a collection should be made at the doors in furtherance of the important object suggested. This was unanimously acceded to, and nearly £90 was thus contributed.

This subject was taken up with great enthusiasm by the friends of missions. It was proposed that the African ship should be built at Hull, the birth-place of Wilberforce. The separate fund, called the West African Missionary Ship Fund, in a few days amounted to £1,000. One devoted friend collected in four days £200, a great part of which was in small sums. Before the sixteenth anniversary, the fund had

reached £3,000. It was then announced by the committee, that "A conference was held with some benevolent persons, who, it was found, had previously formed the design of establishing an intercourse twice a year with Western Africa, by a vessel appropriated to that purpose. It is hoped that this design may be matured, and that the society, for a stipulated annual sum, without any mercantile risk, may attain the objects which it has in view. This annual sum will be, it is expected, about £500." We now return to Africa.

The Soosoo settlements, notwithstanding every obstacle and discouragement, were affording a solid education, based on the only sure foundation—the Scriptures—to their 200 children; who, in many instances, exhibited a more than ordinary aptitude for mental cultivation. At Bassia, especially, the work went prosperously on; and if the only labour of the missionaries was to instruct the children of the heathen, the society was here accomplishing its object. The pious men who had them under their charge always contemplated their being one day employed as ambassadors for Christ to their countrymen, and they trained them accordingly. Every Sunday one of the older boys read the church service, to give them confidence in public speaking, and to exercise their organs of speech. Renner then expounded to them, in the most familiar manner, the Gospel of the day, putting questions now and again, to keep their attention alive. Catechising was strictly attended to in the afternoon.

At this time letters were received by the secretary from seven of the senior boys, which proved most satisfactorily to the committee, that these poor African children were not behind the natives of other countries in a capacity for mental cultivation, and that so far their labour had not been in vain in the Lord. The following is a fair sample:—

" Bassia, April 7, 1815.

" REVEREND SIR—I have taken the liberty to write to you those few lines. First permit me to tell you, that we are very glad that you have sent out missionaries to teach us poor African children, in order that our hearts may turn from sin and wickedness; that we may learn the way of truth, and turn to God, and to follow the way of Jesus, and that we may turn to Christian love.

" In learning, I can read any useful book; and in cyphering, I am now in Bills of Parcels.

" And now, sir, I have to say a few words more to you, viz., that I should be very glad, if God please to prolong my life, and would thank God that it may be so, that when I grow up I may be made a missionary, to teach my country people, learn them the way of God, and the way of his Son Jesus Christ; to turn them from the devil and his angels, and also from the greegree; that they may not go to

hell, but that it may please God to take us all into his heavenly kingdom, to dwell with Him and his Son Jesus Christ, who died to save us from hell.

“I was born in Beuna, one of the largest Soosoo towns, twenty miles from Bassia, and eight from Bramia. My father was headman there, and died in the year 1815.”

The 4th of June, this year, was a great day for Bassia; not less than ninety children and one adult were admitted to baptism on that day. The extraordinary circumstance drew together a large number of the neighbouring Soosoos, not more than fifty of whom could be accommodated in the little church: the rest stood outside, and behaved remarkably well. Mongè Backe was ill, and could not attend, but he sent his brother and two of his sons.

The service began with a hymn, which was followed by a few introductory remarks, and then there was given an exposition of the principal doctrines of the Christian religion, with questions to the children, which they answered, in general, satisfactorily. The questions were put in the following order:—

1. Respecting the Holy Scriptures.
2. Concerning God.
3. Concerning the nature and condition of man before the fall.
4. Concerning the redemption of man by Jesus Christ—Christ is God, and was made man—Christ died for our sins—he ascended into heaven, and intercedes for us at the right hand of God.
5. The Holy Ghost is God—The common operations of the Spirit—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are one God—the blessings derived from the Gospel of Christ by the grace of the Holy Spirit.
6. Concerning the duty of man to God—faith, repentance, hope, and trust, love, obedience, submission, honour, and worship in general, praise and thanksgiving, prayer.
7. Concerning the duty of men towards each other—peace and union—justice in general—charity and forgiveness—candour in judging—truth and uprightness.

After these doctrines had been examined, the order for public baptism was read from the prayer-book; Wilhelm, Mr. Meisner, Mr. Renner, and Harrison standing sponsors for the children. They were called one by one, and kneeling down before the table, were baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The boys were dressed in new shirts and trowsers, and the girls in new frocks. Their appearance was very neat and respectable, and greatly excited the admiration of the natives. “My good sir,” writes Renner, to the secretary, “had you seen this little infant congregation, it would have rejoiced your heart. You would have said, ‘Oh, this sight is a

balm on the wounds which the troubles of this mission have caused me from time to time. My pleading for this nation from the very first may, at last, not prove in vain.' ”

When the service was over, all dined on a large bull provided for the occasion, and of which no part was left.

In reference to the above solemn and interesting occasion, the following communication from Jellorum Harrison to the secretary will gratify our readers :—

“ Mr. Renner, on Sunday, the 4th inst., baptized our boys and girls, and several other children, which were brought on the occasion. I never was better pleased in my lifetime, I may say, than to see so many of my countrymen brought so far as to be baptized ; and was delighted to witness the great solemnity that attended the administration of the ordinance, and particularly when I saw a grown-up native come forward for baptism. We had likewise the happiness of seeing our church so full, that some were obliged to stand out of doors. Five or six of the native chiefs were present on the occasion. I had more hopes that day than I ever had, that God will show mercy to those perishing countrymen of mine.”

A list of the names of the first Soosoo children, admitted into the church of Christ, may form an interesting record in future years :—

List of Children Baptized in Bassia, June 4, 1815.

Stephen Caulker.	Peter Griggs.
Jacob Renner.	George Spencer.
George Lancaster.	Anderson White.
Simeon Wilhelm.	John Rhodes.
Charles Richard.	Thomas Lancaster.
Francis Walker.	John Cooper.
Henry Foster.	Jeronimus Shepherd.
William Butscher.	Joseph Peddie.
Josiah Pratt.	Matthew Rayeor.
Frederick Watkins.	Ambrose Bull.
Tobias Smith.	Basil Owen Woodd.
Thomas Morgan.	William Marsh.
Joseph Fernandez.	James Pearce.
Andrew Fernandez.	Henry Brunton.
Emanuel Anthony.	Robert Dogood.
Charles Cummings.	Walter Buchanan.
Dominick Cummings.	Michael Dickson.
William Jeffrys.	James Fist.
John Fantimani.	Charles Samo.
Jellorum Harrison.	Samuel Holman.
David Fantimani.	William Fantimani.
Thomas Fantimani.	William Hudgingson.
David Pearce.	Edward Murray.

List of Children Baptized in Bassia—continued.

James Banna Wilson.	Mary Anne Catty.
Stephen Christian.	Nancy Frazer.
Fantimani Renner.	Mary Botifear.
John Ambrose.	Dorothea Wilson.
Henry Bake.	Elizabeth Garratt.
Richard Sangary.	Cresia Lawrence.
James Welsh.	Mary Anne Fraser.
Maria Botifear.	Elena Fraser.
Mary Anthony.	Jean Botifear.
Sarah Lawrence.	Maria Cockleshell.
Silva Bryant.	Maria Neucl.
Clara Lawrence.	Catherina Garratt.
Sarah Peter.	Margaret Bearing.
Sybella Tobias.	Elizabeth Fantimani.
Sarah Walker.	Jean East.
Mary Small.	Hannah Murray.
Jane Goode.	Mary Jeno.
Esther Tobias.	Elizabeth Membi.
Catherine Shröder.	Nene Fantimani.
Nancy Kerry.	Joanna Lawrence.
Hannah Wood.	Mary Murray.
Susanna Sanders.	

Baptized before.

Sebastian Pearce.	Francis Catty.
James Curtis.	Beggy Peters.
John Ellis.	Elizabeth Frazer.

During the half year, in which the 4th of June was included, there were ninety-six christenings, one marriage, and one burial.

At this time Mrs. Renner wrote to Mrs. Pratt, wife of the secretary, as follows :—

“Bassia, June 21, 1815.

“MY DEAR FRIEND MRS. PRATT—I have taken the liberty to address myself to you, which has not been the case for a long time ; but I hope you will pardon this delay, for it was my wish that you should have a letter from me long before this time. It was somewhat strange that whenever there was an opportunity, I was either confined to my room, by my usual infirmities, or some business in the way to prevent it.

“I am extremely obliged to you and the honourable society for the late present, which pleased me and Mr. Renner very much. I have also to offer you my sincere thanks for the shawl which you sent me by Mrs. Butscher.

“By this time you have heard of the misfortune that happened to us. It was a severe stroke, indeed, which I could hardly stand ; but God

has recovered and strengthened me in this fire of trial. At the time I had been confined a week to my bed, by a lame knee, but was a little stronger the day the fire happened; so that I was able to walk down stairs, the boys carrying my trunk before me, and the other people bringing me the beds. All I had in two chests of drawers was either burnt or stolen by the natives. But I ought not to complain, since still more was left me than ever our Saviour Jesus Christ possessed when upon earth. A room was still left for me to creep into, and a pillow to lay my head on, which he had not in his humiliation. Christ prayed for his enemies; and if our enemies have done this, let me also pray that God may forgive them, for most likely they did not know what they were doing.

“As for ‘Christ Church,’* that has not yet taken that good name—at present it bears the name of ‘Sinner’s Church,’ being occupied with young and old sinners. But we must act as we do in the private circle of a family; the sleeping-room may also be the sanctuary of the Lord, for both man and wife. Thus we keep our regular divine services in a house which, at the same time, affords rest in the night. But this will be altered in a fortnight’s time, when we shall occupy the new house, and leave the church to its original purpose.

“The messenger, death, has made dreadful havoc of late among our friends, at Sierra Leone; Mr. and Mrs. Hartwig, Mrs. Butscher, Mr. Macmillan, and a great many more, called out of time into eternity; and it seems that the complaint in my breast is now and then calling to me—‘Be thou also ready, for thou knowest not when thy Lord cometh.’ Vexation with the children, and much speaking to them, will always renew the complaint. But, Lord, ‘teach me to number my days, that I may apply my heart unto wisdom!’

“As for my children, I am trimming and trimming, day after day, like a gardener his unpolished trees. It is a pity these poor African children want so much reproof and correction. They are naturally stubborn, and inclined to hold up their native way and fashion as long as they can. They inherit a slavish disposition from their parents, and will do nothing willingly, except they are driven to it as a slave must be driven to his work. I think I would rather manage two hundred children, born of Christian parents, than fifty born where the parents are heathen. However, I do middling well with them, and have the hope that I am not sowing seed altogether in vain.

“Among many girls belonging to the place, I had but one that went astray; the rest I keep in good order, and out of vice, but all by a necessary severity. The school-girls I keep in a similar way, mak-

* The name appropriated to the new church, which, since the destruction of the dwelling-houses by fire, had been used as a temporary sleeping apartment.

ing them to sew, to wash, and to iron. No idle persons can live with me; and those that are idle and lazy must suffer for it.

"An African girl hates the needle, because she never saw it used by her mother. Grumettas sew for men and women, and the child thinks it a very low business to handle the needle. But, like it or not, I make them to work.

"Yours, sincerely,

"ELIZABETH RENNER."

This letter affords a fair specimen of African intelligence—Mrs. Renner herself being a native. It moreover proves that there are not wanting, in Africa itself, instruments of moral and spiritual regeneration for that unhappy land, when European faithfulness shall have drawn them from the mine of ignorance and superstition.

We shall place beside Mrs. Renner's letter, the following extract, from one written by Jellorum Harrison, with whom our readers are acquainted, dated June 28, 1815, which will confirm the good impression that hers is so calculated to make. He is alluding to the slave trade, which again obtrudes itself upon our notice:—

"We are very sorry at the grievous news of the French war. But we trust it will not be the means of reviving the inhuman wishes and feelings of the slave traders in this so long disturbed part of the world.

"Give my best respects to Mr. Wilberforce, and assure him I take it upon me, in the name of all the slaves of my unfortunate country, to return both theirs and my own thanks and gratitude for the humane feelings which he has shown towards our injured land. What a happy thing it is to see the peaceable state that this country is now in! Quiet, and free from war and slave vessels! No dragging of families from one another! No innumerable slaves chained together, male and female!—and the enemies of humanity, the slave traders, gradually quitting the country! It has struck me forcibly, that where the Gospel makes its appearance, there Satan's kingdom gradually diminishes. May God give grace and perseverance to his servants to carry on his work, and make them instruments in his hands of bringing it to perfection. And may God raise up some from among us, who will never forget the gratitude which we owe to that blessed shore; and evermore be thankful to our distinguished benefactor!"

Canoffee was not long behind Bassia in furnishing recruits for the ranks of Jesus. On the 7th of August, forty-eight children were admitted into the church by baptism, an occurrence which, as in the case of Bassia, Wenzel desired to render as imposing as possible, for which purpose he invited all the residents of Bassia to be present—

Mr. and Mrs. Renner, Jellorum Harrison, and all the children : Mongè Backe also attended, and about 200 natives. The church was filled to overflowing, so that many stood in the porch. Wenzel delivered an address to those present, from Matthew xxviii. 18, 20. He stood in the chancel, with the boys to be baptized ranged on his right hand, and the girls on his left. On the words, ‘ All power is given to me in heaven and in earth,’ he spoke of the greatness, glory, and majesty of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. When he came to the command, ‘ Go ye, therefore, &c.,’ he dwelt on his love and benevolence to lost sinners ; and, thirdly, from the word ‘ baptize,’ he took occasion to enlarge on the object which had assembled them all together, and which, he said, concerned all nations—Soosoos, and all others in Africa. On hearing the word Soosoos, Mongè Backe and the other natives became more attentive, and after service requested that Wenzel would explain to them what he had said. Many other young children were brought to be baptized, and had the occasion been made more public, it was believed many more would have been brought.

When the address was concluded, Renner, Wilhelm, Mrs. Renner, Mrs. Wenzel, and Mrs. Meisner were called within the chancel, to act as sponsors to the children. Those of riper years had been previously catechized by Wenzel, and directed to answer for themselves. All the children were neatly dressed, and Mrs. Wenzel and Mrs. Meisner had provided clothes for the other children, who were brought in a state of nudity to be baptized. All the clothes provided for the occasion were made by the girls of the settlement, in a few weeks.

Wenzel described the scene as, ‘ indeed, pleasing to the eye ; but far more pleasing to the believing soul, to see, in this dark corner of the earth, a church of Christ, and children therein to be dedicated to him. I am sure,’ he continues, ‘ very many members, friends, benefactors, and aged fathers of our honourable society, would have wished to be present to see the morning star appear, and the day dawn.’ Wilhelm performed the afternoon service ; and when the people were gone, all the children of the settlement assembled in the evening in the church, and sung several hymns ; after which Wenzel concluded the day with prayer.

As we have given a list of the names of the earliest members of Christ’s Church at Bassia, we must not omit those at Canoffee :—

List of Children Baptized at Canoffee, August 7, 1815.

Illorum Andrew.
Charles Andrew.
Joseph Anthony.
George Anthony.

Thomas Babington.
Banna Balla.
Stephen Banna.
Hate Banna.

List of Children Baptized—Continued.

John Bunyan.	William Wilberforce.
Francis Chassereau.	Joanna Banna.
John Cockleshell.	Elizabeth Buchanan.
Immanuel Faithful.	Phillippa Conney.
Banna Fantimani.	Harriet Conney.
William Gambier.	Catherine Conney.
James Grace.	Susanna Cottrill.
David Graig.	Hannah Crowther.
James Happy.	Jane M'Dougall.
Christian Hope.	Joanna Fernandez.
James Johnson.	Anna Benigna Johnson.
Henry Meisner.	Martha Llewellyn.
William Neal.	Lucy Llewellyn.
James Nelson.	Jane Love.
Lewis Pratt.	Matilda
John Quail.	Jane Philip.
Thomas Road.	Mary Rhodes.
John Stephen.	Maria Stephen.
Thomas Thompson.	Elizabeth Thompson.
James Upright.	Catherine Wenzel.

Many of our readers will, doubtless, be anxious to know whether all or any of these children, in both settlements, gave tokens of real conversion "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God." On this subject we are constrained to speak with reserve, for the accounts of the missionaries, which are to be admired for their faithfulness, do not breathe that spirit of exultation which we might look for from those who were achieving victories in the field of evangelical warfare. It will have been observed, on the contrary, that their tone is subdued, and their language almost desponding. Nevertheless, the Lord of the Harvest did not leave them without a testimony of his presence, and his interest in their labours and conflicts. Witness the following prayer composed by one of the boys under instruction, for his own use :—

"O Lord our heavenly Father, almighty and everlasting God, thou hast brought us to see another morning ; grant that we fall not into any kind of sin, but that we may walk before thee all the day long in thy fear and love.

"Let our poor prayer ascend before thy holy throne, and be not angry with us for ever. This we beg for Jesus Christ his sake. Amen.

"There is no other name but Jesus : we come and bow down our humble knees, and beg for forgiveness of our sins. Amen."

To this we shall add an African scholar's meditation on the love of God, manifested in Christ Jesus :—

“We are now redeemed from hell by our Lord, the Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God ; and what is our duty now ? It is our duty now to offer up praises to God for his goodness, that he so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son to die for us. Now, remember how great pain he suffered, when he was nailed on the cross on Mount Calvary, to save us from sin and Satan, and to bring us to God. And now we are brethren by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of peace, and grace, and love.

“God is so good, that he has sent his son to redeem us from the power of the devil, that we should be called the sons of God. Oh ! let us now give up ourselves to prayer and thanksgiving, and be glad that we know that we are partakers of his heavenly kingdom. We have nothing to give God for his goodness which he has bestowed upon us ; but his praise is in our mouth. Let us, then, lift up our humble souls, and be not careless about our souls ; but at all times let us remember God, for all his goodness, and Jesus Christ our Saviour. He will receive our prayer. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all. Amen.

“O Lord Jesus Christ, receive our humble prayers, and pour down thy blessing upon us, for thy great name's sake.

“O God, save us. Thou hast not spared thy only begotten Son. Thou hast not given him in vain to us. Now, shalt thou not give with him all things to those that ask him ? For all this we beg in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.”

Had each missionary only one or two such refreshing samples of God's workmanship to exhibit, surely, even after years of peril and toil, he could not say—“I have laboured in vain ; I have spent my strength for naught and in vain.” Had the materials been, as was declared, unmanageable, or a blessing from on high withheld, not even a single case of success could be produced. However, not one case, but several were provided, to attest that no impediment to the work existed ; and to whatever cause the absence of any signal triumph over the powers of darkness may be ascribed, it certainly was not either that the weapons were insufficient, or the enemy invincible.

On the day preceding the baptism of the children, the new church at Canoffee was solemnly dedicated to the service of the Omnipotent. Wenzel invited the people of Bassia and all the headmen in the neighbourhood to attend the solemnity ; and had it not rained violently, he fully expected many would have been present. However, Renner, Harrison, and some of the Bassia children, with a few other people came. Wenzel commenced the service by singing the 19th Psalm. He then

read the liturgy, and for lessons, the 42nd chapter of Isaiah, and the lesson for the day in the New Testament, the 4th chapter of Acts, which was not inappropriate. A hymn was then sung, and he read the communion service; after which there was another hymn, and Wenzel preached from Luke, ii. 10, 11—"And the angel said unto them, Fear not, for behold, I bring you," &c. After the sermon, the 117th Psalm was sung, and then the Lord's dying love was commemorated by the Christians present at His table, when notice of the baptisms next day was given, and all separated.

On Monday, the 8th, the day after the baptisms, the marriage ceremony was performed between Wilhelm and Mrs. Meisner, in the new church. On this auspicious occasion, Mongè Backe, with some other chiefs, and a number of the natives, were present. The party from Bassia had slept the preceding night at Canoffee, to be in time for the wedding, which seemed to afford much satisfaction to the natives who witnessed it.

It is time that we should notice some other districts of the missionary field, and the labourers therein. It will be remembered that Mr. and Mrs. Klein had formed a settlement on the Rio Dembia, which was called the Gambier settlement. As the headman, William Fernandez, had shown so much anxiety for the residence of a missionary in his place, sanguine hopes were entertained that this would prove a valuable Christian station. However, man's calculation was proved defective, for it soon became evident that few scholars could be obtained; and the distance of the settlement from any native town rendered the situation very inconvenient, so that, after waiting for a short time, Mr. and Mrs. Klein were induced, by the offer of a building on one of the Isles de Los*, which lie off the mouth of the Dembia, to remove thither. Here they remained for six months, and had collected nearly fifty children, when the owner of the premises wanting them for the purposes of trade, gave them notice to quit them. Shortly after, having received an invitation from Mongè Demba, headman among the Pagoes,† on the part of the coast nearly opposite to the islands, to remove thither to Kaparoo, and form a settlement, they accepted the invitation.

Among the persons mentioned as having gone out in the Wilding, which reached Sierra Leone on the 13th of February, in this year, (1815), were Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, who were appointed to act as schoolmaster and schoolmistress at Sierra Leone. They had been only six weeks in the colony, when the serious illness of Mrs. Hughes induced them to set out on their return to England, for which they had engaged a passage in the Wilding, then on her way home. On the voyage to Gorce, Mrs. Hughes's illness became so alarming, that they

* See page 258.

† See page 254.

abandoned the idea of proceeding farther for the present, and they were consequently left on that island, where they were most kindly received by the commandant, who had now become Lieutenant-Colonel Chisholm, into whose Christian plans they entered with ardour; and in a short time, under the Colonel's fostering care, they collected upwards of eighty children in the schools which they had opened. Mrs. Hughes's health became gradually re-established, and there was every prospect, should Goree continue under British rule,* that the field of usefulness thus providentially entered upon by the society, would yield a most encouraging harvest.

Among the missionaries appointed to sail for Africa in the *Wilding*, was the Rev. John Henry Schulze, a Lutheran clergyman; but he was prevented accompanying his companions by the non-arrival in England of a young lady from Berlin, Miss David, to whom he was to be married, with the consent of the committee, and he was obliged to wait for the next opportunity for proceeding to his destination. This occurred by the sailing of the *Kirkman*, Captain Sealy, on the 22nd of June, and he and Mrs. Schulze were landed at Freetown on the 8th of August.

By the vessel which took out Mr. and Mrs. Schulze, the committee forwarded a valuable present, consisting of such articles as would be most useful to him, to William Fernandez, chief on the Rio Dembia, to express their grateful sense of the many kind services which he had rendered to the mission. The presents were accompanied by letters from Mr. Wilberforce and the secretary.

At this time a letter was written by Col. MacCarthy, the Governor of Sierra Leone, who had succeeded Colonel Maxwell, to the secretary, which is interesting, as showing the increasing importance of the society's operations, and the good feeling with which they were regarded by the authorities, both English and colonial:—

“ REVEREND SIR—I had the honour of receiving at Senegal, on the 12th of June only, your letters of the 25th and 26th November; and having returned here on the 18th of July last, I avail myself with pleasure of an opportunity now offering for Europe to answer their contents.

“ I shall be very happy to give every support in my power to forward the views of the Church Missionary Society.

“ Mr. Butscher has received all the boys which he has demanded; and the whole of the captured negro boys and girls will be placed in his hands as soon as he can erect a building for their accommodation.

“ An allotment of one thousand acres of land, in addition to the one hundred acres granted to the society, has since been made. The whole will be duly transferred on the arrival of Mr. Buckle.

* See page 281.

“ Mr. Butscher will have reported to the committee, that in consequence of extreme ill health, Mr. and Mrs. Hughes had removed to Goree. I saw them both at that place last month. They have opened a school for boys and girls, and if they can meet with the support and approbation of the society, I have no doubt that they will be very usefully employed. I have great satisfaction in stating, that from the observations which I was enabled to make during my very short stay at Goree, and from the report of the commandant of the garrison, and of the principal British and native merchants residing there, I have understood that both Mr. and Mrs. Hughes behaved with great propriety and had evinced much zeal in forwarding the important object of the mission.

“ I was honoured on the 8th instant with your letter of the 16th of June. The Rev. J. H. Schulze and Mrs. S. arrived here safe, and I sincerely hope they will forward the plans of the society.

“ I shall with great satisfaction, at a proper time, give into the hands of Mr. Renner, or any of your respectable members, such number of the boys or girls as they may take under their charge. I fear that for a year or two very little dependance can be placed, as to security, in any establishment on the Rio Pongas; and, from the scarcity of Europeans, I cannot help regretting that most of those valuable and zealous missionaries should be placed among a set of people who do not yet know how to appreciate the benefits that are intended for them.

“ Here is an ample field for ten or twelve persons. They would have at their command every assistance that might be afforded by government, and the good which they would do is incalculable. From want of such persons, the settlements formed at Hog Brook and Leicester Mountain are yet in their infancy, and, I fear, without any knowledge of Christianity.

“ I most sincerely rejoice to hear from you that government has acceded to the propositions of the society; and shall, on my part, with the highest gratification, deliver into the hands of the missionaries all the liberated children, being convinced that the plan now adopted will be attended with the most beneficial results. I shall not permit myself to regret that it was not acted on before, but I assure you that my earnest exertions will be used to promote it.

“ I am persuaded that the trust which you have reposed in the hands of Mr. Butscher will be fulfilled with zeal and attention.

“ I have not received any instructions from government on the subject of rations, but that circumstance will not prevent my assistance; being, as I stated before, convinced that the education of these interesting children cannot be placed in better hands.

“ The rainy season has already begun, and, in all probability, will continue for two months longer; during which period very little can be

done towards the buildings intended to be erected. I can only say that all that zeal can do will be done. The intention of the society, of sending schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, deserves my warmest approbation. I would also strongly recommend implements of agriculture.

"I think that the measure of establishing a regular intercourse, by means of a vessel, to be sent twice each year, under the control of the society, will be attended with considerable advantage. It will relieve the society of very heavy expenses, and enable them to give, with limited means, a greater extent to their humane views.

"I am persuaded that the plan adopted, of affixing the names of benefactors to liberated children, will answer most fully your expectations. It will give to these children a prospect in view, and encourage their zeal in following a path of rectitude. I am also satisfied that their education will be better attended to under the care of the society's institution, than in any other place.

"I have here to express once more my sincere approval of the views of the society; and to assure you that I shall look on as the happiest moment of my life, that moment when I can see these children placed under its immediate protection.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your most obedient and faithful servant,

"C. MAC CARTHY."

This correspondence is equally creditable to the society and the governor: it establishes the reality, as well as usefulness, of the great work in which the former was engaged; and it cannot be read without obtaining a tribute of respect for the head and heart of the latter, of whose untimely end we have spoken in another place.*

We are now compelled to return to the hateful subject of the slave trade. For twelve months, ending June, 1815, no slave vessel had visited the Rio Pongas; but in a letter from Renner, dated August 28, 1815, mention is made of the revival of the odious traffic, by the appearance of a slaver in the river, which, in a short time, carried off 220 wretched beings from the coast, who, in consequence of a short respite from apprehension, little expected the horrible fate that overtook them. "For the last twelve months," writes Renner, "the thought naturally occurred, 'Good Wilberforce and his friends, though not known by the natives, have, in that space of time, given peace and quietness to these sons of Africa; they clothed the naked; they fed the hungry: that is, the people became industrious, spinning and weaving their own cloth, eating their rice to the full—no famine in any quarter—no town or individual intoxicated by pernicious liquors, exchanged for the blood of man, which, of course, produced peace and quietness every

* See Page 25.

where. Now, the old evil revives—the new rice is sold for rum—laziness is the consequence, and disorder reigns all over the country.” “Scarcely,” says Wenzel, “were the people returned from our solemnities, and had told what they had seen and heard, when the unexpected and awful news is spread abroad—‘A slave vessel is arrived, with thirty hogsheads of tobacco, many tons of powder, and twenty puncheons of rum!’ We see now the hogsheads of tobacco and the puncheons of rum pass our settlement every day.”

At the date of Renner’s letter, five vessels more were expected, which would inflict the greatest injury on the mission. The missionaries, however, had occasion to rejoice that their friend Mongè Backe had no dealing with the slaver in the river, but was much displeased with the people for holding any intercourse with it, knowing the evils in which the trade had involved them a short time before. They believed that if he held the sovereignty of the whole country, he would abolish the trade. On the occasion of the baptism at Canoffee, he called them into a separate apartment, and said to them—“I see more and more clearly for what purpose you are come into this country—to teach children and old people; and I have no objection to it. You are not traders. Sometimes you have little goods—sometimes none. You go on your way in teaching, which may do us good; but the people reproach me that I can get all the money which I want from you, and that I do not care for my countrymen. I would, therefore, say, is there nobody that will care for our temporal concerns? The Governor of Sierra Leone abolished the slave trade, burnt all the factories, and permits no slave vessel to come into the river, which we can all bear; but would not the governor help in another way, and set up a factory in our land, that we might sell our country produce?” To this Renner replied, that it was not likely the Governor of Sierra Leone would establish a trade; that King George sent him out to talk palavers—not to make trade; but that the society to which he belonged could, perhaps, do something in the business, in an indirect way: that if he would come to Bassia, and tell all his mind, it should be written down, and sent to England. Renner thought that, if all the headmen would agree to give up the trade, something like a trading factory for the whole Soosoo nation might be established with success, and which would soon be found an adequate substitute for the traffic in human flesh.

We gladly turn away our eyes from slavery, to rest them on the encouraging progress of the Bullom mission.

Nyländer, in his communications at this time, regrets that, owing to the engrossing nature of his engagements at the settlement, he had not yet been able to make excursions among the natives, according to the instructions of the committee, which he owns would have been a good means of improving himself in their language, and becoming

acquainted with their dispositions and habits. He long wished to visit the parents of some of his children in the Scarcies, Portloco, Rokelle, and other rivers. These he had never yet seen, although they had been induced, by his good name, to entrust their children to his care.

He had been much occupied in building. As his scholars increased, he found it necessary to erect separate houses for their accommodation, besides a storehouse to lay up rice for the season, or even the whole year, and to put a new roof on his own dwelling-house, which admitted the rain, and induced a dampness, from which he contracted a very severe illness.

He complained of the number and boldness of the leopards, which were constantly making incursions among his sheep and goats, which it was necessary for him to have always at hand.

Although the mission prospered, he was not left without tokens of chastening love. On the 26th of June his wife went over to Sierra Leone, to attend the funeral of her sister, and took their youngest son with her. The latter was there taken suddenly ill, and died in a few days. Nyländer went over to bury him, and got such a wetting from the rain, that he was confined for ten days to his bed. "Otherwise," he adds, with Christian resignation, "we have reason to be thankful to our gracious God for the preservation of our health."

He thus describes their domestic economy :—"We rise at daylight : about seven, all are to meet at morning prayer, in the schoolhouse. At ten the school begins, when brother Sperrhaken teaches reading, writing, and cyphering in English. At two I teach Bullom ; for which purpose, I have selected eight boys and two girls. My scholars seem to have a great desire to learn to read their own language. At six in the evening, English school is held again, especially for those children that have been working through the day. At eight, evening prayer. On Lord's-day, divine service is held at ten in the morning, at two in the afternoon, and at seven in the evening : in this we officiate by turns. It is very pleasing and encouraging, that, ever since the schoolhouse was finished, we have always some Bulloms attending divine service. I hope they will continue so to do."

The son of the King of Bullom died at the settlement on the 8th June, after three days' illness. The people, as their custom was, were proceeding to ask him who killed him, that they might accuse some one of witchcraft ; but Nyländer succeeded, after long reasoning with them, to persuade them that no witch or greegree had killed him ; but that God, who gave him life at first, had now called him home to be with him in a good and happy place ; and he assured them that, if they would begin to pray to God, they would once more meet him in that place, and rejoice with him for ever. Consequently, there was no witch palaver ; and as Nyländer declared God had killed the boy, he was per-

mitted to bury him in white man's fashion. The king gave the missionaries a burying-place separate from their own.

Nyländer presented a Bullom grammar to a young man, from whom he had received considerable assistance in studying the language. Taking it to the king's town, he there read one of the letters, and one of the fables, to some of his friends, who would not be persuaded that this "could live in the book." One of them marked the place, and coming to Nyländer, requested him to read what he then pointed out. "I believe," said he, "the man been tell me some lie." Greatly, however, was he surprised, when he heard the missionary read Bullom out of a book, and the same thing, too, which his friend had been reading to him. Several others were present, and much admired Nyländer's composition, saying, "Never any white man do this before."

One day Nyländer was at a festival, where there were several hundred natives looking on at a kolloh (devil) dance. At his feet sat a little boy about seven years old, who, touching his foot, and looking up at him, said, in Bullom—"Father, I want to go with you." "Why?" asked Nyländer. "To learn book," he replied. Nyländer was affected, the child appearing to him to reject the folly and noise which he saw and heard, and to yearn after something better. He spoke to the king and the parents of the boy, and took him home.

"Another boy, about twelve years of age, had been sent into the Soosoo Country, to learn Mandingo book, but he refused to be instructed in it, saying he wished to learn white man's book. As his relations insisted on his becoming a Mahommedan, he ran away, and came to Nyländer secretly, and begged to be taught English book. After speaking to the king and his relations, Nyländer succeeded in retaining him.

"Two girls, who had frequently visited the settlement, observing how the school-girls were dressed, and always busy—sewing, ironing, cooking, &c., conceived a strong desire to be admitted. One of them, too bashful to speak to Nyländer, watched an opportunity when his wife went to the brook, with some girls, to wash. She begged to be taken into the school, as she wished to learn to sew, wash, cook, &c. The other girl intreated her mother to speak to Mrs. Nyländer, and her father to speak to Nyländer, that she might be received into the school. Both were admitted.

James Tucker, a respectable headman in the Sherbro', having heard that a missionary was settled at Yongroo, sent to Nyländer to enquire if he would take his son into the school, and he would pay for his education. Nyländer, of course, consented, and the sum agreed on was £10 per annum. At this time there were 45 children in the school.

Besides keeping school, Nyländer was most assiduously employed in compiling books, in Bullom, for the use of the natives. In a surprisingly

short time, he transmitted to the committee a Bullom vocabulary, of 2,000 words, together with copies of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, the Epistles of St. John, and the morning and evening prayers from the liturgy in the Bullom language.* In the Gospel some words were necessarily borrowed from the English, and some from the Soosoo languages, for which there were no corresponding terms in Bullom, but these were very few—not more than a dozen of the former, and three of the latter.

The society had always expressed their desire, that whenever it was practicable, their missionaries should give some attention to the cultivation of land belonging to their settlements, both for the improvement of the children, and to assist in their maintenance ; but Nyländer found this a more difficult matter than they had anticipated, especially in the case of the free children committed to his care, whose parents could not, just then, be made to comprehend the advantage of agricultural instruction, but who might think that Nyländer was employing their children for his own profit. One man plainly told him he did not send his son to the school to work, but to learn book. Another said, “ You have been here now a long time. We have been watching you all this while to see what you were going to do with our children ; but we see you do them good ; you do not make them work ; you take much trouble to teach them. We now begin to think that the people who sent you hither must be good people, pass them which come to Sierra Leone before.”

* As a specimen of the Bullom language, we extract the following translation of the fifth Psalm, by Dr. Watts, from the Missionary Register :—

Foy ko ësho n hun tuieh
Lum me trank ko tukeh
Yah wum ramlin me ko ko moa
Ah lehly hallë moa.

Ko kick atook loa Krist kon kull,
Hallë foh cheerah hë,
Hallë trunky ke papah woa,
Trum hë oh tehlëng hë.

Foybatukeh mun moiky ke,
No bang boaehn u sem,
Ko moa ëboll kë tunkah tre,
Challahn kë pëah moa.

Kereh a koh kë kill moa tre,
Nemmlo umarr moa tre,
Yah cheh loa koh lokoh o lokoh,
Nuchum moa woa pëah,

Nnghah pomul moa yuck më tëbeng,
Kë naë keleng tre,
Nnghah naë më ngho chol trooloong,
Nu cheh mbull ko ko më.

In the previous year, however, Nylander had given every boy a piece of ground to cultivate for his own amusement and advantage, and they were much pleased when they came to have ground nuts, cassado, corn, and akra of their own.

Land was easily obtained, and Nylander seemed to think, that with a little expense, in clearing some of it, it might be planted with coffee, cotton, rice, &c., which would encourage the natives to follow the example set them, and the children might then be employed in clearing and cultivating more. The re-captured children did the work of the settlement; of these, Nylander had thirty-six boys and seven girls. The former assisted in building, making fences, planting yams, cassado, corn, rice, &c. They laboured by turns, so that their mental improvement might not be interrupted; but sometimes necessity required that they should all work together during the day, after which, they attended the night-school, the latter were taught to sew, wash, and perform other domestic offices, for which, otherwise, servants should have been hired; but neither was their instruction in better things neglected.

Meanwhile death continued its havoc among the missionaries. In little more than a month after Mr. and Mrs. Schulze had reached Sierra Leone, the latter was seized with fever, which carried her off in eleven days, on the 21st of September, after being delivered of a boy, which also died the next day, and was buried in the arms of his mother. Her afflicted husband, writing on the 23rd September, says—"She concluded, that if it pleased God to take her away, she would be glad to be the first of us, and this was her desire from the day of our marriage. Now has the Lord fulfilled her wish, to my great sorrow, in such a very short time, that I do not know what to say. I can do nothing else than lay my hand on my mouth, and endeavour to keep silence; for it is His doing, and not man's. May an Almighty and most merciful Lord give me grace and strength to bear this great suffering patiently, as it is His will that I shall bear it!" Those whom God had joined together, however, were not long separated—poor Schulze's bereavement so preyed upon his mind and body, already enfeebled by fever, that after a fortnight's conflict with disease and sorrow, his spirit was mercifully called away to be re-united with those who were not lost, but gone before. Butscher performed the melancholy task of committing his body to the ground, on the 5th of October; and in a subsequent letter, communicating the sad event, testified that "his mind was truly devout, whenever the fever left him a little; and even when under the power of the fever, his talk was of Christ his Saviour, which was a blessing to those around him."

The bills of mortality for this year are not yet complete. Before the end of October, the Rev. J. C. Sperrhaken was numbered among the

martyrs of the African mission ; he had been appointed to assist Nyländer at Yougroo Pomoh, where he had laboured, with faithfulness, in the English department, since February. In a few days his little infant followed him into eternity. " News like these," says Butscher, " may rather seem discouraging to the well-wishers of Christ's cause ; yet did we but understand the gracious designs which our Divine Master has in view, we should probably call them 'GOOD NEWS ;' but as we are ignorant respecting His mysterious ways, submission to His divine will is the call to us, His children."

The enemies of religion and humanity, in the neighbourhood of the Rio Pongas, seemed determined that the Christian work should not go forward there. On the first Sunday in Advent, the new church at Bassia was set on fire, between six and seven o'clock in the evening, as Jellorum Harrison was engaged with his singing-class in the adjoining room. The roof was entirely consumed, and there was no doubt that this was the act of an incendiary outside the settlement, as it was set on fire on the north side, which the children were afraid to approach at night, on account of the burying-ground on that side. As, however, it was common for the natives to ascribe these diabolical acts to the children, Renner thought he ought, for his own satisfaction, to call upon them for a solemn protestation of their innocence. Accordingly, on the following Sunday, after he had performed divine service in the piazza of the new house, he strictly examined them as to their knowledge of the fire ; and, in conclusion, asked them if they would each and all, before God, lift up their hands and say, " Not guilty." As soon as he had done speaking, one after another rose up, and lifting up his or her hand, pronounced the words, " Not guilty," which, he said, relieved his mind.

The actual damage sustained was not so great as the apprehension inspired, that the work of destruction to the Christian cause would not end here. It was evident that the expulsion of the missionaries from the country was determined on, and that every effort of malicious ingenuity would be made to effect it. This was the more to be deplored, just at this time, when the work was assuming a new and encouraging character. After the opening of the church, many of the adult natives had been persuaded to attend divine service, and many more joined the re-captured children at the night-school which was kept by Renner, to learn reading, &c. ; adult women, likewise, attending Mrs. Renner's school for the same purpose, and to listen to her exhortations. To contemplate the expediency of abandoning a field in which the blades of long-cherished hope began to appear, after years of labour and discouragement, was peculiarly painful ; but even in this crisis of trial and perplexity, the faithful men who had hazarded their lives for this day of promise, received grace to say, " At all events, the Lord's will be done."

A chaplain for the important colony of Sierra Leone was at length found in the person of the Rev. William Garnon, who was appointed to that post by the British government about this time. He was represented by the committee as "anxious to co-operate with the society in every practicable measure for promoting the good of the colonists and natives." The effect of Mr. Garnon's appointment was, that Butscher, who had hitherto acted as colonial chaplain, would be at liberty to devote his attention to an object which the committee had much at heart, and to which we have already alluded—the establishment of a Christian Institution for the education of native children at Sierra Leone. The site selected for it was Leicester Mountain, part of a long range of hills which rises behind Freetown, the capital of the colony, about a mile and a-half from the town, and of considerable elevation, on which account the situation was considered salubrious. Butscher having selected this spot, proceeded to erect three houses: one for the boys, and one for the girls; each sixty-four feet by twenty, with piazzas in front, and a small room attached for the schoolmaster and schoolmistress. The third house was intended for the superintendent: its dimensions were to be thirty feet by fifteen. Besides these, there were to be erected kitchens, and other necessary buildings.

Poor Butscher was again visited by the hand of death, which snatched from him his youngest child, who had been in a very feeble condition since the loss of its mother. Nevertheless, his removal was felt as a severe blow, for the bereaved father had cherished this infant with much and anxious care, doubtless because his heart whispered to him that he should soon surrender the gift to Him from whom it had come. "Sometimes," he writes to the secretary, while smarting under this new visitation, "I think that God is rather hard upon me, although I know I deserve hard treatment; but it appears to me he does not deal so severely with many. Does he take my wife and child to heaven, that I might have more leisure to erect the society's Christian establishment on Leicester Mountain? Has he no other way? Yes, he has; I am sure of that. Well may I cry out, 'When wilt thou come unto me, when wilt thou comfort me, O my God. Oh for an humble resignation to thy divine will, and faith to lay hold on these promises which are laid down in thy word also for me! Grant me these, O my God, for I have them not just now. At present I do not consider myself thy missionary, for I want a good missionary for myself; and who can be a better one than thy Holy Spirit? Let him, therefore, lead, guide, and comfort me, O Lord my God.'"

At this time Butscher had under his care thirty-seven boys, and six girls, who had all been rescued from slave ships. These were to compose the first inmates of the Christian Institution, when it should be completed, and upon them the hopes of many Christians in England

were set for future good to Africa. As we have before given a list of the names appropriated to the African children, who were indebted to the separate school fund for being taken under the care of the society, by their benefactors, who contributed to its formation, we shall subjoin a list of those who were admitted to the benefit of the fund since we last adverted to the subject :—

African Boys to be named after Clergymen.

Miles Atkinson.	Richmond Turvey.
Cornelius Bayley.	William Gurney.
Edward Bickersteth.	Charles Sleech Hawtrey.
John Boutflower.	John Hensman.
David Brainerd.	Thomas Martin Hitchens.
Martyn Buchanan.	Robert Housman.
Thomas Burnet.	Miles Jackson.
Hans Caulfield.	John Kempthorn.
Richard ^c Cecil.	John Newton.
Andrew Cheap.	Gerard Noel.
Robert Cholmeley.	Edward Hathern Phillippis.
Daniel Corrie.	Buchanan Pratt.
Connolly Thomas Cowan.	Martyn Pratt.
Charles Day.	Melchior Renner.
William Dealtry.	William Richardson.
William Stephens Dusautoy.	Peter Roe.
Fountain Elwin.	Henry Gloucester Ryder.
John Eyton.	Henry Ryder.
John Fawcett.	Thomas Spencer.
Henry Gauntlett.	Marmaduke Thompson.
Craddock Glascott.	John Venn.
Christian Frederick Swartz.	

African Boys to be named after other Persons.

Nicholas Alexander.	Stephen Knight.
William Angelus.	John Macauley.
Thomas Babington.	Hananiah Marsh.
Matthew Blakiston.	Abdool Messeeh.
James Challicom.	John Morten.
Henry Christian.	Garrett Neville.
Isaac Cooke.	Robert Rochfort.
Andrew Cowper.	Thomas Secker.
Richard Enville.	John Shorland.
George Fry.	Benjamin Solomon.
William Hey.	Robert Walpole.
John Hollist.	Robert Barron Walton.
Herbertus Ilkley.	Lewis Way
John King.	William Wilkins

African Girls.

Jean Babington.	Millicent Beattie.
Mary Babington.	Mary Belcomb.
Lydia Rose Babington.	Sarah Bickersteth.
Lucinda Blacken.	Richenda Gurney.
Margaretta Anne Bridges.	Sarah Hartwig.
Rhoda Brown.	Anne Hensman.
Mary Buchanan.	Mary Heseltine.
Mary Clapham.	Elizabeth Jowett.
Anna Maria Coote.	Lucy Mann.
Elizabeth Corrie.	Hannah More.
Emily Corrie.	Sarah Shears.
Lucinda Martha Cowen.	Sarah Whitacre.
Catherine Elizabeth Cowen.	Anne Wilberforce.
Sarah Evans.	Sarah Wilkins.
Anne Guinness.	Dorah Willian.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE affairs of the West African mission had arrived at a crisis, when it was absolutely necessary that some decisive step should be taken by the committee, either to place their settlements outside the colony, on some more secure basis than the caprice of either the slave-dealers or the natives ; or, should that be found impracticable, to abandon them altogether. Desiring, however, before they took any step, to be fully informed as to the actual state of things in Africa, they resolved on sending thither a friend of the society, in whom they could repose entire confidence, that he might examine into every part of its concerns there, obtain accurate information, apply a present remedy to any evils which might have arisen, form on the spot his own judgment in respect of future proceedings, and return to assist, by his counsel, the deliberations of the committee. Such a friend the committee happily found in the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, to whose exertions the Church Missionary Society had already been largely indebted. With a mind deeply impressed with the importance of missions, and a most entire and hearty love to the society, Mr. Bickersteth accepted the office of assistant-secretary to the society. Having been admitted to holy orders by the Bishop of Norwich, he most readily agreed, under circumstances of personal sacrifice, which must endear both Mr. and Mrs. Bickersteth to the society, to proceed to Sierra Leone, in execution of the wishes of the committee. A special meeting was held at the house of the society, on the 26th of December, 1815, to furnish him with instructions.

On the 24th of January, 1816, Mr. Bickersteth left Portsmouth, on board the Salisbury, Captain Cready, having been detained there about three weeks, by contrary winds ; and, after a passage of twenty-nine days, reached the island of Goree, on the 22nd of February, in perfect health. He represented his feelings, on his first view of Africa, with characteristic animation and seriousness.

“We are now within sight of Africa!—Africa! the subject of so many hopes, of so many prayers! The land of the curse, which is yet to be exchanged for the blessing of the Gospel. This will, indeed, be the great triumph of redeeming love; when the chains of sin, the worst of all slavery, shall be broken off by the power of the cross of Christ from the nations, and countries which have worn them for ages—led captive by satan at his will.”

Four Sundays were passed on board the Salisbury, during her passage out: on two of these the weather rendered public service impracticable; on the other two Mr. Bickersteth assembled the passengers and crew, and after service, preached, on one, from James, iv. 14, and on the other from John, iii. 16.

We shall now introduce this intrepid soldier of the cross, as the narrator of his own Christian adventures, assured of the interest with which they will be perused, and praying for a blessing upon them to those who care for these things. The following extracts are from the journal which he kept during his absence from England. We have confined ourselves, for the most part, to such as refer to the work going on outside the colony, although the interests of the latter were not overlooked, as we hope to prove on another occasion:—

“PASSAGE TO GOREE.

“Mr. Pratt and Mrs. Bickerteth accompanied me to Deal, on the 29th of December, 1815; and left me on the 2nd of January, 1816. I embarked on board the Salisbury, Captain Cready, the next day. The ship was driven by contrary winds into Portsmouth on the 5th, and detained there till the 24th.

“The goodness of God provided full employment for me, in the work of my ministry, at this place. I preached eight times at St. John’s, Portsea.

“We left Portsmouth with a favourable breeze on the 24th; but on the 28th it changed, and we were much tossed about by contrary winds, for nearly a fortnight, off the Bay of Biscay. I suffered a great deal from sickness, but nothing worthy of observation occurred.

“I kept a lingering eye fixed on the Lizard, the last point of land in England which we saw; and committed all that I held dear to Him, who was able to keep them and me in perfect peace.

“Feb. 6, 1816. *At sea.*—About two o’clock this morning, we were awakened by a storm. The wind blew tremendously, and quite against us. With some difficulty the sails were taken in. All was in a bustle. The sea rushed in torrents over the deck, and through a port-hole which the waves had forced open. The boat at the stern was swept away. I had been considering, the day before, that passage, ‘Whosoever

believeth in Him shall never perish, but have everlasting life;' and I found this text now peculiarly refreshing to my mind. I felt, whatever was the result, that I could safely repose in that promise. The wind somewhat abated as the day advanced; but even now the sea runs very high. It is an awfully magnificent sight. At one time, the ship is rising to a great height in the air, and then sinking, as it were, down an immense declivity into the deep. The scene is most accurately described in Psalm cvii. 23-27. From the deck we can see nothing but the sky, and these mountainous waves, to a short distance round the ship. The howling wind, scudding over them, whitens their tops, and gives the whole a dreary appearance. It affords me a new view of the power of that mighty Saviour, who said, 'Peace! be still! and there was a great calm'—who walked on the top of this tumultuous sea!

"Feb. 16, 1816. *Off Teneriffe*—I rose this morning at four o'clock, to see the magnificent mountain on this island. We were only about six or eight miles from it, and the sky was quite clear. It was a very delightful object, particularly to us, who had not seen land for three weeks. Its towering height and 'sober livery,' at this time in the morning, reminded me of scenery which had often delighted me about the lakes in Westmoreland. The sight of this island enabled the captain to correct the longitude. It appears, that, in the storms which we had off Spain and Portugal, we were much nearer land; and, therefore, as the wind blew directly on shore, in more danger than we calculated upon. Thanks be unto God for all his mercies!

"Feb. 21. *Off Senegal*.—We are now within sight of Africa, and approaching fast to Senegal. The land is low and sandy, with very little wood. We past Portendick, formerly an English settlement; and at half-past six came within three miles of Senegal.

"An African canoe met us from the town, with four blacks (Jaloofs), asking us for letters. One of our passengers was to have left us; but it being dark, and dangerous to go on shore, he proceeds with us to Goree. I was much interested with the blacks. Their canoes are very curious; they are very slight, and seem unsuitable for navigating the ocean; but are, as I was informed, well adapted for the dangerous bar at this place. The poor Jaloofs could not speak English, and very little French; and after staying with us a short time, they went on shore with the letters, and we proceeded on our voyage.

"Senegal appears, from the sea, to be a very neat town. There is a tall palm-tree rising far above all the houses, and forming a very prominent object at a distance.

"STAY AT GOREE,

"Feb. 22.—This day, through God's mercy, we reached this island,

about half-past five in the evening. I met Mr. Hughes on the shore, and took up my abode with him while I stayed.

“The island appears to be in a most deplorable state, with respect to morals and public instruction. Indeed, I should have thought as much, from the appearance of the people. It seems to swarm with inhabitants; and many of the poor blacks have but little clothing on their bodies.

“I hear that Mr. and Mrs. Schulze, and Mr. Sperrhacken, are dead; and Mrs. Sperrhacken ill. I appear going indeed into the land of death; and it is not only possible, but probable, that I may never return. The will of the Lord be done! Whatever it be, I repent not that I came.

“Mr. Hughes seems to be here in a situation of great usefulness. He has above eighty children under his care.

“Feb. 23.—I, this morning, called upon Colonel Chisholm. He spoke very highly of Mr. Hughes, of his general good conduct and steadiness, and particularly of his attention to the children under his care. An officer who was with him, said, ‘I have this to say of Hughes, that you know nothing of him, and see nothing of him, but in his school; and I think him one of the most useful members of society on the island.’

“I offered my services to the colonel, in any way in which I could be useful; and, particularly, that I should be glad to go through public worship on the ensuing Sunday, which he accepted.

“Colonel Chisholm, and all the officers who were with him, spoke of the great want of a minister of the Established Church in this place; and the good which a pious and useful man might effect here.

“I was informed that the population of the island amounts to above 5,000 souls, consisting chiefly of blacks. I never was in a place that appeared more populous. The small straw huts (built in a cluster, in yards surrounded with walls) are numerous, and seemed each filled with human beings; some, especially the children, almost naked; others with a piece of cloth about them; and others more decently habited. Indolence seems their general character: they are lying about doing nothing, or chattering to each other in Jaloof. I do not find that either English or French is much understood by the natives. The idea of all these having immortal souls, and having no knowledge of a Saviour, is truly awful!

“It is, however, a pleasing thing to see a Christian school, of eighty-seven children, in this land of darkness and shadow of death.

“The slave ships, under Spanish colours, come in numbers to the coast. Two have been captured in the Gambia, and one near this island. The profit is so immense, that if one ship in four escapes, it is

said to more than indemnify the owners ; and several persons join in fitting out five or six vessels.

“ I had further conversation with Colonel Chisholm respecting this island, as a station for an English clergyman. He said it would be very easy to build, at a small expense, a church that would hold six or seven hundred people ; but government should be applied to for the ground, and for encouragement. An English clergyman, if pious and able, would have an extensive sphere of usefulness.

“ The first thing, of course, is to ascertain whether we retain the island. If we do, I think something may, and ought to be done, for the religious instruction of Goree, more than has hitherto been attempted.

“ Mr. Hughes’s house is cool and comfortable. It is built of stone, plastered over. There are two or three families of household slaves living under it. His house is on the general plan of better houses—all on one floor—no glass windows—with a piazza in front.

“ Feb. 24, 1816.—Being informed of the death of the chief medical man of this place, Dr. Lardner, and that he was to be buried this evening, I prepared a sermon suitable to the occasion. I found, however, that circumstances would not admit of my preaching ; but I read the burial service before a large company, who seemed serious and attentive. It was an important and suitable admonition for me to be ready.

“ Colonel Chisholm very obligingly asked me to breakfast and dine with him every day, during my stay on the island.

“ Feb. 25. *Sunday*.—I performed divine service in the government house. The soldiers attended and some of the inhabitants. Mr. Hughes’s children were there. The whole seemed serious and attentive. I told them, after the sermon, that there would be divine service and a sermon in the evening, at Mr. Hughes’s. I overheard one of the soldiers say to his companion, how glad he should be to go to hear the Word of God : it was long since he had heard it. I returned to Mr. Hughes’s house, and administered the sacrament to him and his wife ; and was glad of this opportunity of remembering the crucified Saviour.

“ Mr. Hughes’s room was full at evening service. I read prayers, and preached from Eccles. xii. 14. There was a serious spirit in the congregation, but a great noise without.

“ This seems the head-quarters of Satan. Just as we came out from the morning service, we met the natives going to a dance, in a kind of procession ; some of them in masquerade, grotesquely and absurdly dressed. This exhibition was much calculated to destroy any effect which the sermon might have produced. In the same way, in the evening, the natives made such a noise out of the house, as tended much to distract me and the congregation.

“ After evening service, I informed the people, that Mr. Hughes would regularly read part of the Liturgy and a discourse to the children, twice each Sunday, and that I hoped as many of them as could would regularly attend. I had previously asked and obtained Colonel Chisholm’s permission.

“ Feb. 26.—The commandant takes great pains to increase the number of Mr. Hughes’s scholars, by going round to the parents, and telling them to send their children; giving cakes to the children when they come on Sunday; and, in many other ways, taking an active interest in the school.

“ Goree does not produce any thing itself; not even water, excepting from one very small spring. The inhabitants are supplied, partly from the main land, and partly from England and other places. The natives live chiefly on a small grain, called kouskou, which they beat in wooden bowls, with a large wooden pestle. They easily procure fish; and the water in which the fish is boiled serves as sauce to the kouskou. It is not unpalatable food. Rice and beef are brought from the main land.

“ I examined the two head classes of the boys, and also of the girls; and gave tracts to those whom Mr. and Mrs. Hughes recommended as good children. I afterwards collected them all into one room, and explained the Lord’s Prayer to them as simply as I could. I then told them a story of a good English boy and girl. Those who could understand me seemed interested; but Jaloof being their native language, and they at present little acquainted with English, many of them could not comprehend what I said.

“ Feb. 27, 1816.—The natives are nearly all household slaves: most of them were born in the island. Some natives, and the descendants of Europeans, are free. They spin their own cotton, and make their own cloth. It is evident that they might, if they would, clothe themselves more decently; for most of them have gold ornaments and beads, which would more than pay any additional expense of clothing.

“ The island is not unlike a shoulder of mutton, in its shape and appearance. It has a mayor, before whom its civil affairs are decided: it abounds with rats, flies, and insects; and it is almost impossible to keep the provisions from them. Mr. Hughes’s sugar-cask was daily overrun with large ants.

“ From the hill, the houses have a singular appearance: they are almost universally covered with thatch, composed of long grass; and the appearance is something like a collection of English farm-yards, with stacks of old hay. All the better houses have piazzas, in front and behind.

“ The religion of the natives seems to consist in superstition; such as, deference to witches—wearing greecrees about their necks—and re-

taining some relics of Popish ceremonies. They are neither Papists, Protestants, Mahommedans, nor heathens ; but seem to have something of all these. Many of them consider themselves to be Catholics, but seem to know nothing of the subject.

“ The Jaloof language extends from above Senegal to near the Gambia : it has many dialects ; and the language spoken here would hardly be understood in some other parts. They have incorporated with it French, English, and Portuguese words, for articles and things which were introduced by those nations respectively.

“ The Mandingo language is considered much superior to the Jaloof and much more extensively used. They are in general, also, men of much more intelligence.

“ An officer mentioned two instances of persons to whom the Arabic Scriptures had been given, who returned them after they read a part ; as if offering the books to them had been an insult.

“ Goree seems universally considered as the most healthy place on the coast ; one said it was the hospital for Western Africa. A treaty has been made with the chiefs about the Gambia, for an island at the mouth of it, very productive, and said to be healthy : on this it is proposed to build a fort and establish a colony. It is near Banyan Point.

“ Feb. 28.—I dined with Mr. Carew’s son, and Mr. Hiddle, who is a considerable merchant at Senegal. He informs me that the Jalooffs do not extend to the north of Senegal. The Moors begin there, and they speak Arabic. Mr. Hiddle, who has long lived in Senegal, says, the population is 7000 at least. He stated, that the morals of the lower classes there are even inferior to those in Goree. Senegal has no school of any kind, and appears to be involved in the grossest darkness.

“ It is a general opinion, that the gum trade cannot be carried on at any place in the Gambia ; and that if we have no settlement at Senegal, or northward, this produce must come to us through the French. A settlement at Portendick, a place to the northward of Senegal, would, it is said, be the most favourable spot for this trade.

“ There is a good and safe passage by land from Goree to Senegal ; which takes about three days, going and returning.

“ March 1.—Having been above a week with Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, I may now state my views respecting them.

“ I think they are both sincerely aiming to do good in their day, and to advance the kingdom of Christ ; and are likely, I trust, to prove a great blessing to Goree ; and are, in some respects, peculiarly adapted for the situation.

“ They appear to have conducted their plans respecting the school with considerable ability, and Mrs. Hughes has paid great attention to

the decent clothing of the girls. I certainly think that they ought to be encouraged, as much as circumstances shall allow.

“Set sail this day for Sierra Leone.

“March 5, 1816.—I read the account of the Sierra Leone Company. What great difficulties good men seem always to have met with in benefiting Africa! Let me prepare for disappointments in my undertaking, and yet hope in God. It is not my cause and glory, but his own; and, therefore, in his own time and way it shall succeed.

“March 6.—I cannot but feel deeply interested on approaching that country where so many servants of our crucified Master have been labouring long, amidst many difficulties, to establish his kingdom among the Gentiles; and where so many have fallen in the glorious cause. Glad shall I be, as much as in me lies, to cheer the faithful labourer, and, if need be, to strengthen the weak and raise the fallen, and animate all; but, *who is sufficient for these things?*

“What a comfort is that last injunction of our Lord, in all undertakings of this kind!—‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.’ It is so plain and full, that we are sure we are in his way, and doing his will, in our endeavours to make known his truth among all nations.

“March 7. *Thursday*.—Last night we had a tornado; the first which I have seen. The weather became very close and sultry in the evening; and about 11 o’clock, the tornado approached us. The gloomy darkness, and the rumbling noise which the wind made over the waves, were truly awful. Having heard much of the tornadoes, I felt somewhat alarmed, till I remembered my refuge. All the sails were immediately taken in, and we were driven for some time with the wind. As the tornado approached, the wind blew boisterously, the rain descended, and the lightning flashed far more vividly than I ever saw it in England. The worst of it lasted only for about an hour; and, at length, some sails were got up. We were driven about ten miles out of our course. It is a great mercy that tornadoes almost invariably blow from the land, as this diminishes the danger of shipwreck; and there are always sufficient symptoms of their approach, to guard against the danger. A good deal of rain fell with this tornado, which, I am told, was far from being a violent one.

“ARRIVAL AT SIERRA LEONE.

“We are now (9 o’clock, A.M.) in sight of Sierra Leone. We can hardly see the Bullom shore, but the high mountains above Free Town are very conspicuous.

“The approach to Sierra Leone forms as interesting and picturesque a scene as I remember ever to have seen. The high mountains, their lively verdure, the lofty palm-trees, and the change of scene arising from

our gradual progress up the river, with the sight of the ships, the town, and the Kroomen in their canoes rowing toward us, renders the whole scene novel and animated.

“ We arrived before Free Town at five o'clock in the afternoon.

“ On my arrival, I waited on Colonel M'Carthy, the governor, who politely offered me a bed in his own house, should I find any difficulty in procuring one. His Excellency heartily welcomed me to the colony ; and sent his servant with me to Mr. Butscher's house, who was truly glad to see me. He had just had a slight attack of fever, and was delirious yesterday, but is, thank God, now recovering.

“ Mr. Wenzel, from Canoffee, has been staying here for three weeks. We spent the evening in conversing on the great work of the mission. Mr. Davies, who is intimate with Mr. Butscher, and the pious and useful Wesleyan missionary in this place, came in ; and we united in calling upon God to forward his work, and to bless me in my labours here.

“ Mr. Butscher appears to have far more missionary work before him than he can possibly get through by himself. His chaplaincy alone would be enough to take up his time ; but he is obliged continually to go to Leicester mountain, to superintend the buildings and schools of the Christian Institution. Six or eight of the boys came in about eight o'clock, and we had family prayer.

“ I sent this evening over to Mr. Nyländer, to inform him that I was come, and hope to see him to-morrow.

“ The thermometer, just before we came on shore, was 88°. The atmosphere feels close ; and, on any exertion, I perspire abundantly.

“ March 8, 1816. *Friday*.—After getting my luggage on shore, I returned to Mr. Butscher ; and had soon the pleasure of seeing dear Nyländer join us. He seems a truly humble, devoted servant of his Master, though labouring under much depression, from the greatness of the work before him, the difficulties attending it, and a weakly constitution.

“ I dined with the governor at four o'clock ; and, after dinner, walked with him. He strongly objected to our settlements at a distance from the colony, on account of their insecurity, the want of influence, the character of the natives, and the much greater sphere of present usefulness among the captured negroes in the colony. His representations have much weight.

“ There are many settlements of the captured negroes in the colony : one especially at Hogbrook, where government have built a church, and would gladly have a minister to preach to them. The governor thought it, therefore, much more important that our missionaries should be settled here than in the country.

“ Mr. Butscher has been able to perform service only once a day here

on Sundays. The climate and his constitution prevent his doing more. Mr. Nyländer had two services, till it brought on spitting of blood, and he was obliged to desist.

"I and Mr. Davies conversed with a Krooman who wore a greegree, as they almost all do. He said it could help him sometimes against the will of God :—'God say, Man die—greegree say, Man no die ; and greegree prevails sometimes.' We endeavoured to show him the vanity of this, and he left us.

"I spent the evening in conversing with the brethren Nyländer and Butscher, on the various missions. We sought God's direction and blessing, and it was late in the evening before I got any rest.

"It appears desirable to take Mr. Nyländer with me on my visit to the settlements ; for the advantage of his judgment, the comfort of his society, and the benefit of his health, which a sea-voyage would probably recruit.

"March 9. *Saturday*.—Mr. Butscher seems to think that the most promising way of going among the heathen is to go as a beggar, and live among them. I am very much of his opinion.

"March 10. *Sunday*.—The room in which public worship is performed is very small, and, including the piazza, seems capable of containing but two or three hundred people. The governor and the rest of the Europeans, a part of the soldiers, with some black people and children, composed the congregation. I preached in the morning, from Acts, xxvi. 18 ; and, in the afternoon, from Ecces. xii. 14. The congregation in the afternoon was equally crowded, and there were no soldiers. Mr. Davies arranged matters so that most of his congregation could attend. There was great silence and attention, both morning and evening.

"After a short rest, I went with Mr. Butscher, about two o'clock, to the gaol ; and saw, indeed, a miserable set of beings, about thirty in number, chiefly Kroomen, in irons. Mr. Butscher addressed them at some length ; and, after him, I endeavoured to explain to them the only way of salvation. One European seemed impressed : he was a soldier, and had killed another in a quarrel. He could read, and I sent him some tracts.

"We had a slight tornado last night. The heat is very debilitating, and much indisposes the mind to exertion. I find this painfully in devotional exercises.

"March 11, 1816. *Monday*.—We had a heavier tornado last night, about twelve o'clock. The wind shook the house, the lightning flashed, and the rain descended in torrents.

"I have been, this morning, to see two slave-ships ; one taken lately in the Gambia, and the other in the Rio Pongas. Truly distressing deas were necessarily suggested to the mind.

“One was a small two-masted vessel, about the size of an English pilot-boat, but not half so well furnished. It contained, when taken, seventy-three human beings, sixty of whom were slaves. They must have been literally crammed together under the deck, on the top of water-casks, which were put under them in the hold. There were wooden gratings to keep them down. In other parts of the vessel, there was rice sufficient to feed them on the voyage.

“The other vessel was much larger, and was intended to contain about three hundred slaves. Only one hundred and twenty had been taken into the ship when it was captured. Many of these had since died from the previous close confinement. Five had died even in coming from Goree.

“The captured slaves were standing or sitting on deck, and seemed happy in their deliverance. They had been partly clothed, and are now regularly provided for by government.

“The settling of the captured negroes in the colony is likely to promote its rapid improvement; and, probably, will ultimately prove greatly subservient to the extension of the Gospel. They form an assemblage of all the neighbouring nations; and from their liberation, and the provision with which they are furnished for at least a year, they will naturally feel indebted to their deliverers. They soon learn something of English, and can easily be gathered together, for public worship and instruction. These things seem so many leadings of Providence, to induce us to make our chief attempts within the colony.

“March 12. *Tuesday*.—I went to see the Colonial Boys’ School, which is now under the care of Mr. Turner, at a place which was formerly the barracks. There are above two hundred boys on the list; about one hundred and twenty attended, and seemed in good order. I examined the first and second classes in the Bible and Testament: they read well, and answered my questions tolerably well.

“I have been to several persons to hire a schooner, and found some difficulty in getting one at a reasonable rate; but have, at length, engaged one, for sixty pounds for a month, to sail on Thursday. It appears most desirable to proceed to the settlements without delay; as it is expected, on account of the tornadoes, that the rains will be very early this year.

“The Colonial Boys’ and Girls’ Schools are on the plan of the British and Foreign School Society. I was told that the Madras system would not answer in those schools, from the divided state of religious opinions in the colony.

“I and Mr. Butscher dined with Mr. Kenneth Macauley. He thinks the colony has been gradually improving. The Kroomen attend to the hard labour; the settlers (Maroons and Nova Scotians) to trading; and the recaptured negroes to agriculture.

"There seem to be many sects in the colony. The lower classes attend black preachers of different denominations.

"March 13. *Wednesday*.—I went over the house built by Mr. Renner. It is a small neat house ; and possibly may be so useful as to be retained on account of the society, for the occasional accommodation of the missionaries, and for the reception of stores for Leicester mountain. It would answer better to let than to sell it.

"Seven recaptured boys have just been sent by the government to Mr. Butscher.

"The governor spoke strongly of the good that was likely to arise from such a visit as mine, in encouraging the missionaries, and promoting the cause of morals and religion. He stated that the missionaries evidently wanted something of this kind, to show that the people of England really felt interested for them. His excellency said—' Send several such men as Butscher, and we shall be able to do good ; but no delay must be made. The captured negroes are ruined by this delay ; for when they come, there is no one to instruct them.' He urged the necessity of those who came out determining to stay a certain number of years in Africa, and not to be frightened at a head-ache or fever.

"It appears very important to mark the indications of a providential leading. Among these, I consider the protection of an established government, the facility and safety of intercourse with the people, the economy attending a mission, and the number that may be easily collected together. In the absence of supernatural inspiration, such circumstances may be considered as the call—' Come over and help us !'—and all these things speak strongly in favour of our exertions in the colony.

"The seven new boys came in to family prayer—two naked, the others in cotton shirts. It was, however, highly interesting to see these poor children gathered from the heathen, and brought into the way of obtaining Christian instruction.

"March 14, 1816. *Thursday*.—I rode with Mr. Butscher and Mr. Davies to Kiskey Town, a settlement of recaptured negroes, about three miles from Freetown, where the governor proposed that one of the missionaries should be settled. There may be there, and within a short distance of it, about 400 inhabitants. A tolerably large room is already erected, in which school could be kept, and public worship celebrated. The people seem well disposed to receive religious instruction ; and I think it a very desirable station for one of our missionaries.

"I called on the governor, and conferred with him as to fixing a missionary or schoolmaster at Kiskey Town. He said a schoolmaster would not answer his purpose, as he wished for a clergyman, who could marry, &c. He promised, if I could send one there, to build him a house and chapel, and to prepare immediately a temporary house,

previous to the rainy season. This appeared so important, that I agreed that I would do all I could to have one of our missionaries settled there.

"I talked with his Excellency on the establishment of an Auxiliary Bible Society. He promised to patronize such an institution, if I would preach a preparatory sermon, to which I readily consented.

"A meeting for united prayer was held at seven o'clock. The brethren, Butscher, Nyländer, and Wenzel, with myself, were present. At nine o'clock, Mr. Nyländer, Mr. Wenzel, and I went on board the schooner *Nancy*, to proceed on the voyage to the Isles de Loss and the Rio Pongas.

"March 16, 1816. *Saturday*.—It was near eleven o'clock at night when we arrived. We expected to reach the Isles de Loss this morning; but it was late in the afternoon, and the vessel could not be brought, on account of the tide, nearer to the Gambier settlement than two or three miles; the captain assuring us, that there was no danger in going on shore in the yawl, as the men were well acquainted with the coast; and we being anxious to spend a quiet Sunday, we set off as it was getting dusk. We had left the ship scarcely a quarter of an hour, before it grew quite dark; the men lost all idea of the course that we were to steer, and neither land nor ship was to be seen. The yawl leaked considerably, and we could not find any thing to bale out the water. We were thus in the wide ocean, in a dark night, and ignorant whither we were going. Providentially it had occurred to me that it would be useful to have a lanthorn, as it would be dark when we got on shore. I had also in my pocket a compass, of which we soon found the value. We were now truly glad to possess these things, and found by them that we had been going from land into the open sea. We changed our course immediately; and, after some little time, found a calabash to bale out the water. Our minds were kept in a calm reliance on God. The candle soon burning out, we had a difficulty in lighting another. At length, after rowing some time, we got near to land; but it was several miles from the place to which we were bound, and the men had a considerable distance to row along shore. Instead of getting in at seven o'clock, we did not reach this place till near eleven. Mr. and Mrs. Klein were retired to rest; but we soon called them up, and they were truly glad to be so disturbed. We sat some time in conversation with them; and having brought our beds with us in the yawl, we went to rest, thankful for all God's mercies to us. We slept in the schoolroom, which is something like an English barn; but the toil and dangers of the day made us glad and thankful in our present comforts and safety.

"March 17. *Sunday*.—I read the 84th Psalm to the children this morning, before family prayer, and made a few observations upon it,

which Juliet (of whom Mrs. K. speaks well) interpreted to them in Soosoo. Nylander's boy, who knows English and Soosoo, said that she did it very well. She seemed, indeed, to follow me with feeling and propriety. I had much comfort in praying for these poor children. I do not find it quite easy to speak by means of an interpreter ; but it will be more so by-and-bye.

"We had public worship about eleven o'clock. Mr. Klein calls the people together by a rattle, having no bell. The Gambier settlement is within a few yards of the town. Several of the natives attended worship. I first read a hymn, and Juliet interpreted it to the children and people, and we then sung. Nylander read prayers, and I preached from John iii. 16, while Juliet interpreted. As simply as I could, I explained to them their lost state by nature, and the salvation provided in Christ Jesus, telling them that our friends were sent into the country to declare these good tidings to them. It was to me most interesting, to be preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the heathen in the midst of a heathen land. They seem attentive.

"In the afternoon we pursued the same plan. One or two natives only were present. I addressed myself more particularly to the children, on Eccles. xii. 14, and endeavoured to describe the appearance of a bad child before a holy God. Few of the children yet understand English ; but Juliet interpreted.

"In the evening, the headman, Mongè Zeaca, came. We ought to have waited on him immediately on our landing, according to custom ; but, as it was so late at night, we did not ; and when we called this morning, he was gone to the lugars, or rice plantations. He said, having heard that strangers had arrived, he came to see us. Mr. Klein then explained to him why he had not first called upon him, and that I was come from England to visit them. He replied, that when he arrived from a long journey, he was glad to get quiet and rest before he saw people. I then told him, through an interpreter, that I had come from England to visit our friends who had settled here. He replied, he would take care of them, so as that no harm should come to them, but what God should send. I replied, I hoped he would : they came to teach white man's book, and white man's ways. He soon left us.

"Our first meeting was in what they called a Devil's Bush, two of which they had permitted Mr. Klein to destroy, to make room for his settlement.

"March 18, 1816, *Monday*.—In the afternoon, Mongè Demba, the headman's headman, who had several towns under him, and who claims the Isles de Loss, visited us, in pursuance of an appointment. After some general conversation, I stated the objects of the society to be, not for trade ; but that some good men in England, who loved God, prayed for and loved Africa ; and that they had a book given them from God

himself, which taught them who made all things. I then went briefly through the leading subjects of the Bible, and dwelt particularly on redemption by Christ. I told him, that those good men who loved Africa thought the best they could do was to send persons to teach this book to those that lived in Africa, that they might be happy in this life, have their sins pardoned through Christ, and go to heaven when they died. He seemed to wish to get away from this subject, by saying—‘Yes: white man teach the law of England.’ I told him that that was not our object, but to teach the law of God. He said, ‘You must not use force.’ I replied, ‘Our object is to tell you what we know, and to invite you to believe it.’ He then observed, ‘We must all answer to God when we die.’ I afterwards showed how all had done wrong, and how our book pointed out a way by which even those who had done wrong might yet obtain pardon, and thus be able to answer for themselves. He said something which showed satisfaction at this reply. He told me he would take care of our friends; and that they should have a hundred children to educate, if they wished it. I told him of that peace within, and quietness of mind, which our religion gave those who rightly received it. I also showed to him that there were two kinds of white men—good men and bad. He stated that he knew the missionaries came to do good, and that he was glad to have them. They and traders did not suit one another. He said, if any man came to trouble white man under his protection, it would be like beating his wife before his face.

“I was glad to find that the missionaries seemed to have a high character in the country.

“Mr. Wenzel left us to-day, in a small boat, for Canoffee, in order to apprise our friends that we were on our way.

“March 19. *Tuesday*.—Mr. Klein says that they could sometimes with advantage use small books, such as Scott on Repentance, among the traders; and Arabic tracts, of two or three pages, among the chiefs and natives. Biographical books would also be interesting and useful.

“I feel that great consideration must be had of the peculiar circumstances of our missionaries—deprived of Christian society, and the comforts of their own country—having almost every thing to do for themselves—with a large family of children to take care of, which increases their necessities, and obliges them to lay in great stores against the rainy season, which they are often not able to procure—while they are situated in a climate which, from its debilitating effects, calls for more than an ordinary attention to health.

“March 20. *Wednesday*.—Kapparoo contains fifty-nine houses, and nearly four hundred people, and is larger than most of the native towns. The inhabitants are generally Bagoes, but they all speak the Soosoo tongue.

“ I examined all the children, and was much pleased with the answers of some of the girls, particularly Juliet, Betty, and Sally ; and could not but hope that they knew something of real religion. I was, on the whole, much satisfied with those children who have been here some time. They do Mrs. Klein credit. I distributed prizes among them.

“ I have thought it may be right to baptize the three girls just noticed, and talked a little with them on the subject. They seemed to understand it, and their hearts were full. Juliet said, she knew she was a sinner, and she sometimes lost her good thoughts ; but she much wished to be a true servant of Jesus Christ. Betty (who is a slave sent to take care of some other children) said, ‘ Sir, I should like to go with you.’ I asked why : she said, ‘ To hear about God.’ I told her she might do that with her kind friends here. ‘ Yes, sir,’ she replied, ‘ but I am afraid I shall be taken away, and made to sin against God ;’ alluding to the licentiousness of slave masters. I replied, ‘ Pray much to God, and he will take care that you shall not have to sin. He has promised not to suffer us to be tempted above what we are able.’ She sobbed a good deal while I talked with her.

“ King Demba and Mongè Zeaca came, and I had a long conversation with them. I gave the king an elephant-gun, and Zeaca an Arabic Bible. I urged upon them the importance of reading that book, and of observing its instructions, as the only way to bring us to the knowledge of God. Demba said that he had sent his child for instruction ; and he should be glad to receive it himself, and would attend sometimes Mr. Klein’s prayers. He stated that a stranger coming made a king great ; and, therefore, how pleased he was with Mr. Klein’s settling with him, and promised to protect and take care of them.

“ March 21, 1816. *Thursday*.—King Demba came soon after ten o’clock, when I pressed on him what I had before stated. He said, he knew ‘ Missionaries came to do no harm. Traders did a deal bad—missionaries do no bad’—he knew it. I then told him, that we might never see each other again in this world ; I hoped, therefore, that he would attend to what I had said, and then we might meet in heaven. I endeavoured to illustrate their state, by that of men having lost their ship at sea, and in danger of drowning ; that we, white men, stood on firm ground on the shore, and, loving black men, and seeing them in such danger, we could not but send them boats ; in other words, we sent teachers, to save them from being condemned at the last day.

“ Mongè Zeaca, Mr. Klein’s headman, came, according to the custom, to see us embark. I took an opportunity of reading some of the Ten Commandments, and telling him the things which we wanted to teach, and which I hoped he would get his people to hear. He said, they were very good, and he should be glad to know more of such things as white men knew.

" I felt on parting with the dear children. The elder girls sobbed a good deal.

" The change that appears to be made in three or four of the Gambier girls is worth all the labour and expense that has been bestowed on Africa. Their minds seem renewed, and their hearts made soft and tender by Christian principle. It was truly interesting to find feelings which mark and distinguish the real Christian, in those who were born heathens, and who, in all probability, would have continued such but for our society, as God's honoured instrument.

" Mr. Nylander thinks that my visit may tend to the security of Mr. and Mrs. Klein, as showing the interest which Englishmen take in their missionaries.

" LAND AT THE ISLES DE LOSS.

" March 22. *Friday*.—We set off at half-past five this morning, in a boat, for this island. I have just been breakfasting with Mr. Leigh. Mr. Samo and Mr. Hickson came in. They united in expressing a good opinion of Demba and Zeaca. Mongè Demba's influence, it appears, is very extensive—about ninety miles along the coast, and near two hundred inwards—and his character better than usual. They had found him faithful to his promises.

" Kapparoo is too near Sierra Leone for the slave trade; and, on that account, missionaries will be more secure there, because they cannot be charged with interfering with that trade.

" The view, on rowing into Crawford Island, is very beautiful. The islands are hilly, and filled with palm and other trees. The sea was calm and clear. I sang, with Nylander, the morning hymn.

" SAIL FOR THE RIO PONGAS.

" We left the Isles de Loss before mid-day.

" The mosquitoes are very troublesome. I have been much stung by them in the hands, face, and feet. Indeed, our cabin is a complete nest of mosquitoes, ants, rats, and cockroaches; so that I am able to sleep but little at night. The heat, also, is oppressive, and brings out what is called the prickly heat. I find it needful to call to mind such injunctions as, 'Endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.'

" The captain, and the crew, consisting of six men, are all blacks—Timmanees. They see us, at our morning and evening worship, together on deck; at which Mr. Nylander, and three of the society's boys who accompany us, attend. We explain what we read. Mr. Nylander talked with the captain this evening, and told him why we did so—to thank God in heaven for taking care of us, and to ask him still to do so. The captain said, 'O yes, it is very right; but never saw white man do dis fashion before.'

“ We are now approaching the bar of the Rio Pongas. Our vessel is too large to pass what is called the sand-bar, and we have, therefore, to go many miles higher up towards the north, to pass what is called the mud-bar.

“ The natives eat their rice in a singular way. They have a large dish of boiled rice, but no spoons. Each takes a handful out of the same dish; and thus they keep dipping their hands in, till they are satisfied. It reminded me of the expression, ‘ He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish.’

“ The difficulty of procuring a cheap, strengthening, and palatable drink, which will not expose to the evil of intoxication, is very great. Table-beer will not keep well; neither will barrelled porter; and bottled porter is too dear. Wine and water is the general beverage; but wine cannot always be had, and then there is a temptation to drink rum, or spirits and water. Malt, and essence of hops, were once sent to the missionaries, which would probably have answered very well; but they did not know exactly how to make it, and had no scales or weights. Spruce-beer does not strengthen. The climate is very relaxing. To counteract this, men at first drink sparingly; but, by degrees, are tempted to indulge more and more, till they are insensibly drawn into intemperance, unless great care and self-denial be exercised.

“ March 24, 1816. *Sunday*.—We were not able to get over the mud-bar yesterday, but probably shall be to-day. We had hoped to pass the day at Bassia, but submit to the will of God.

“ At half-past ten I assembled the crew, consisting (captain, men, and boys,) of ten black people. I first told them about the Bible, the creation, and God’s setting apart one day in the seven—and then I said that, among many good sayings in the Bible, there was one that I would now take, to talk to them upon:—‘ It is appointed unto men once to die, and after that the judgment.’ I dwelt on death and judgment, and the way of escaping condemnation by Jesus Christ, and then prayed with them. I told them they had probably never heard these things; but God had sent us into this country to declare them; and, as they might never have another opportunity of hearing them, we hoped they would attend to what I said.

“ About two o’clock we crossed the Rio Pongas mud-bar, and have since (now seven in the evening) been slowly advancing up the river. The banks are low, and lined on each side with mangrove trees. There is no open ground till we come to a small village, called Charleston, of six or eight houses, belonging to Mr. Samo. Here was once a slave factory. The view was very beautiful, and became more so towards evening, when the burning rays of the meridian sun ceased to have power. I could almost fancy myself on some parts of the Thames; but here were no towns with churches for the worship of God—no

cheerful and hospitable mansions—no birds refreshing us with their songs—but a deathlike silence! I could not but attribute it to the slave trade, that no towns are built here—and then, at once, rushed into my mind all the scenes of cruelty, tyranny, rapine, and oppression, which have passed in this river; and the still greater tyranny which Satan exercises over benighted millions! I felt happy in coming on a different errand, and grateful that my beloved country had renounced that sinful traffic.

“There are several fires on the land, which is not uncommon at this season of the year, when they burn the grass and trees before the rains.

“About half-past eight o’clock we came to anchor, not being able to proceed further this tide. We then got the men together; and dear Nylander began to preach to them, in a very simple and interesting manner, from ‘Go ye, and teach all nations.’ He showed them the love of God to them, and his wish to make them happy; and, therefore, that he charged us to preach the Gospel. He then stated their sinfulness, and the only way of escape by Christ. His boy Peter interpreted both my sermon and his. The men seemed particularly attentive this evening, and the black captain said he was very glad to hear such things.

“March 25, 1816. *Monday.* We reached Lawrence’s factory last night, with the tide. The captain not liking to take the ship higher up, we must now proceed, by the next tide, in the yawl.

“Lawrence’s factory was formerly for slaves, but is now fallen down, and the town is used for regular trade. There are buildings on the opposite side of the river; and both together may have twenty or thirty houses.

“The nights are the worst time on board the ship. The musquitoes are perpetually singing in our ears, and depriving us of rest; so that it is almost impossible to sleep till toward morning.

“ARRIVAL AT BASSIA SETTLEMENT.

“At ten o’clock we left the ship, and proceeded in the yawl; and, after a long and sultry sitting in the boat, reached the settlement a little before three. Mangrove-trees lined the banks nearly the whole way, and produced a uniform appearance. At a place called Hell’s Gates (the names mark the characters of the men who have frequented the rivers), a branch opens to Bangalan. When the tide comes up, there is here a strong current. We passed at low water. About six or seven miles below Bassia was a small town, built but a short time before we got to Bassia. The slave trade seems to have depopulated, as well as demoralized Africa.

“At length we got sight of Bassia. It is situated just above a bend

in the river. As soon as the boys caught a glimpse of the boat, they all ran down to the river side, and strove who could shake my hands first ; so that, for a time, I had nothing to do but to shake hands. I then met Mr. and Mrs. Renner, and Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, from whom I received a kind and hearty welcome. I saw the girls soon afterwards.

“ Poor Bassia is in ruins—the school burnt to the ground, and the bare walls of the church standing—the former dwelling-house almost in decay. The present dwelling-house is, however, in a very perfect state, having been recently erected. There are two dwellings of boys who have been educated in the schools, and Mr. Harrison’s house. School is kept in the remains of the church. It was pleasant to hear the boys and girls, in the evening singing the praises of Jesus, and joining in prayer to him. In the evening, Mr. Renner prayed, in an interesting and suitable spirit.

“ VISIT TO CANOFFEE SETTLEMENT.

“ March 26. *Tuesday*.—I went up with Mr. Nylander, to Canoffee ; and had soon the pleasure of meeting Mr. Wilhelm and Mr. Wenzel, with their wives and children.

“ Canoffee settlement is perhaps three miles higher up the river by water, and two by land. It is pleasantly situated. There is no town immediately near it, as there is close to Bassia ; and, in this respect, it appears more suitable as a settlement for children. There is a large building for the dwelling-house for the whole family. The church has a more respectable appearance than many in England. There was the building—but, alas ! as yet no living stones of converted Soosoo—no spiritual house yet gathered from the heathen ; for none, or very few, of the natives even attend.

“ Bassia church was burnt about four weeks before Christmas. The account had not reached home when I left England. It is generally believed that the fires were wilful. This is another reason why Bassia should be abandoned.

“ Mr. Wilhelm showed us the beginning of his Soosoo grammar and dictionary. He evidently bestowed much labour on them, so long as he had Richard Wilkinson with him. His labour is at present suspended, for want of assistance.

“ I had a good deal of conversation with Mr. Renner about the schools. The care of them appears to have been one great cause why preaching had not been attended to. He said, ‘ We do, it is true, as yet see little fruit ; and when the children leave us, they may, as children are apt to do, run wild ; but, after all, here are a great number of children instructed in Christianity, taught to read the Bible, and restrained from open sin for a time. Who can tell what effect this may

have on their subsequent lives? Would so much have been accomplished by preaching in the towns of the Soosoos, degraded as their minds were by the slave trade? I do not think that our labour has been in vain, therefore, among these children; and to them I have almost exclusively (and, as I considered, with the sanction of the committee) confined my attention.' I urged, however, the superior importance of preaching the Gospel to adults.

“RETURN TO BASSIA.

“Returning to Bassia, I was much interested in the evening, in meeting the school of boys and girls, containing ninety children. It was delightful to hear them sing the 72nd Psalm—

‘Jesus shall reign where’er the sun, &c.,’

which they did very well. I then talked with them, at some length, on the objects which we had in view in coming to Africa to teach them, and the love which white men had to them, proceeding from the love of Christ. I afterwards explained part of the sermon on the mount, and prayed with them.

“When it is considered that, a few years since, these boys were chiefly naked, idling away their time in the sun, and trained up in African superstitions, I cannot but see and rejoice in the consideration that something is, indeed, done for Africa.

“March 22, 1816. *Wednesday*.—I went through family worship with the Bassia children this morning. We first sang the hymn—

‘Jesus who liv’d above the sky.’

I then explained part of the sermon on the mount, and asked them questions on it, which they answered well. It is very pleasing to hear so many black children, with the grumettas (servants), join in praising Christ.

“I have since called on Mongè Backe, the headman of the country in which the settlements are situated. He is an old man, but has the chief power in this neighbourhood. I told him that I had come from England to visit our friends. ‘They are sent hither,’ I said, ‘from the love which white men have to you, and to teach you and your children our book.’ He said, ‘All white men do not love black men, for some take them away out of the country, and make them work; and that does not show love.’ I answered, ‘There are two kinds of white men—good and bad. Now can you say anything against Mr. Renner, Mr. Wenzel, and our other friends whom we send? Have they not taken trouble to teach your children?—have they not paid you for all that they bought?—have they ever done wrong?’ He said, ‘No: you may see they teach children; and you may be sure to believe what Mr. Renner says, for he always says true.’ I then spoke about the fires,

and asked, 'How is it that those who came into the country to do good, could not live quietly?' He replied, 'It is not my fault. I do not know of it. Try to get to see the people, and bring them to me, and I will punish them.'

"This being an introductory visit, I did not say more. As I have to speak through an interpreter, with many pauses, it is very difficult to get a clear understanding of all that passes.

"I have just been walking in a Soosoo town, with Mr. Nyländer.

"Before one house was a long stick stuck up, with a piece of string and paper at the end. We inquired what that was good for. The owner said, it stood between him and God! We asked him to let us take it away, assuring him that it was of no use; but he was not willing, nor will he be, till he knows and believes in the true Mediator, the Lord Jesus Christ, who does indeed stand between God and the sinner.

"A little farther on, we saw a place erected for the spirit of one who had died. It was a straw hut, with a mat, wood, a calabash, plate, and jug, and all that might be necessary for a black man, on awaking from sleep.

"By the water-side was a devil's house, or place erected for the evil spirit, to take care of the town. It was a little straw hut—with a jug, in which they occasionally put palm-wine, and a broken plate—a miserable temple! If 'such as the temple, such are the people,' surely they in this place are sunk indeed!

"The grass grows here to an amazing height; it was considerably above my head; the blades being, in general, at least twelve feet high.

"It is common, Mr. Renner says, for the people to sacrifice a cock every morning, in order to have a prosperous day; and to sprinkle the blood about the house. The notion of sacrifice seems universal.

"I continued to explain to the children, this evening, the sermon on the mount. Some Grumettas attended. We sang

'From all who dwell below the skies.'

"March 28, 1816. *Thursday*.—I wrote to Mr. Fernandez, at Bramia, to apprise him of my intention of visiting him on Tuesday or Wednesday evening.

"In the morning I gave the boys a Moravian hymn for children, beginning—

'Out of love and boundless grace,
Thou hast brought us to a place,
Jesus, where we oft may hear
Of the sufferings thou didst bear.'

"They soon copied it—got it off by heart—and, in the evening, sang it together in family worship.

“ March 29. *Friday*.—I have been engaged the whole of this morning in examining the boys separately, and have been much gratified. No school of English boys that I am acquainted with would have answered the questions so seriously and so feelingly. Surely the labour of God’s servants has not been in vain ! Surely God’s Spirit has striven, and is yet striving, with the hearts of these children ! I already feel a great love for these children.

“ A Mandingo man came from a neighbouring town, with many greegrees on his arm, and beads in his hand. I asked him what they were good for. He said they helped him as to God. I then talked with him at some length on the subject, and showed him the vanity of his greegrees, when he should come before God in judgment ; and set before him the way of salvation through Christ. At last, he said, ‘ Greegrees—fool palaver ;’ that is, would not help him ; but he insisted on the virtue of his beads. I asked him, ‘ Why not throw away your beads also ?’ He said, “ No ! people take me for a pray-man, and I get easily through the country.’ After further conversation with him, he said, ‘ You say very true—a good palaver ;’ but he went away, keeping his greegrees and his beads. I said to him on parting, ‘ These things not only do no good, but they do harm. God is angry with those who wear and trust in such things. Trust in Jesus Christ, God’s own Son. No way but that to save black man or white man. I have thought of all ways—that is the only good way.’

“ In the evening, the children and grumettas were collected in the church. I took the text, ‘ He was wounded for our transgressions’—and talked to them about the love and sufferings of Jesus Christ, and the many lessons which we might learn from it. We sang the hymn—

‘ How condescending, and how kind ;’

and Mr. Wilhelm prayed.

“ I went this afternoon to Canoffee. About nine o’clock, we came back by water. All the rowers but one were Mr. Renner’s school-boys. It was a fine star-light night, as all the nights seem to be. The lightning occasionally flashed over the heavens ; and fires were burning here and there, previous to the rainy season ; but we were in peace and safety, in the midst of heathen nations. It was a suitable time for meditation, on God’s care and love to us, on the perishing condition of the heathen around us, and the certainty of the fulfilment of that promise, that they will be given to Christ for his inheritance. I could not but think I had seen the first-fruits of its fulfilment in these quarters, among the dear children whom I had examined in the morning at Bassia. It is, indeed, a day of small things ; but we must not despise such a day. The little leaven may yet leaven the whole lump.

“ We soon reached Bassia, where the children, with Mr. Renner

and Mr. Harrison, were waiting on the banks of the river to receive us.

“March 30, 1816. *Saturday*.—I have had some conversation with Mr. Renner about the future conduct of this mission. He thinks he could soon translate the New Testament, and preach to the natives in Soosoo. From having lived so long among them, he has obtained something of their language, and a good deal of their confidence. He was willing to go among them, and tell them what he could. He would cultivate the Soosoo in the rains, and begin next dry season. It was not, he thought, necessary, in order to preach, continually to make presents to those who came to hear. A present must be made to the headman and then you may talk with the people of his town as much as you please.

“The continual preaching of the Gospel appears to me of the first importance, on every account; and Mr. Renner is so much accustomed to the climate and people, that, if he does but lay out his strength among them in the public exercise of his ministry, I am persuaded that his labour will not be in vain.

“Mr. Renner thought it might be useful, had I had time, to see Mr. Pearce on the Rio Nunez, and converse with him about his son, who seems well adapted for a school-master and teacher in a native town.

“I am going through the Lord's Prayer in family worship; and this morning I explained, ‘Hallowed be thy name.’ The children well understand what it is to have a good name. I took that view of it—that they should, by their life and conduct, not give God a bad name, but a good name.

“The brother of Mongè Backe came, in his stead, to pay me service. I told him our idea of removing from Bassia. He said any man had a right to do that in this country; and if he knew a place where he could improve his condition to go thither.

“Having my wife's portrait with me, I showed it to him and his attendants. I was much amused by their observations on it, when they knew that it represented my wife:—‘She lives there—he can say, “It is my wife”—she no trouble him—white man clever—it is as good as if he had her with him!’—I did not quite think with him.

“Mr. Renner proposed that, by-and-by, boys should be stationed in native towns, as schoolmasters. I doubt the expediency of this step, till their characters are so fully established, that there may be good hope that they will be superior, by the grace of God, to the temptations by which they will be surrounded.

“I examined some more of the dear children, with much comfort.

“VISIT TO UPPER BASSIA.

“I went this evening to a Soosoo town—Old, or Upper Bassia.

“Every town has a house of spirits, or devil’s house—being a nest of Termites, with a small straw hut over it, and a broken plate, and jug or bottle, far worse than the meanest hovel in England—so degraded are the natives in their worship. In every respect, as it regards religion, they seem miserably low.

“We went, as customary, to the headman of the town, and sat down with him on their curious wooden stools.

“These stools are about six inches in height, and thus serve to elevate the body a little from the ground.

“We informed the natives, that the next day we should worship God, and hoped that they would come to hear us. They then, as usual, when strangers go to a town, made us a present. It consisted of some kolas, plantains, and two fowls; a return being always expected, when they visit us. My heart felt for the poor people who gathered about us. We had not a competent interpreter, or I should have rejoiced to preach the Gospel to them.

“Near Bassia, in a creek of the river, is a rock, to which the natives offer sacrifices; esteeming it the residence of a spirit, and asserting that the rock sometimes moves. They had a superstitious notion that it would be death to any one to put his foot on this rock. I determined to undeceive them, and mounted the dreaded rock; but on my return, they had their subterfuge ready:—‘Greegree no hurt white man!’ Some of the boys were much alarmed at my supposed rashness; and the people said, ‘He die before he go home.’

“RETURN TO BASSIA SETTLEMENT.

“I gave the children another hymn to learn, beginning—

‘Though but a little child I am,
Yet I may praise the slaughtered Lamb;’

and they got it off, and sung it very sweetly this evening. I afterward explained to them, ‘Thy kingdom come: Thy will be done.’ They seemed very attentive.

“I begin to be much attached to these dear black children. I suppose whilst I stay with them they are in their holyday or best dress; but, indeed, I cannot but hope that God has owned the labours of our missionaries among them.

“March 31, 1816. *Sunday*.—The children sang the hymn which begins

‘This day belongs to God alone,’

very sweetly; and I afterward talked to them from Isaiah lviii. 13, 14, showing them what they should not do on this day, and what they should do; and that if they attended to this day as they ought, how God would bless them.

“ I cannot look on these dear children without much interest. It is, indeed, pleasing to see ninety children—the offspring of slave traders, and of headmen and other natives—gathered out of the midst of the heathen, and entirely entrusted to us, to teach them white man’s book. Surely we should discern in such a sight, a favourable sign of the times for poor Africa; and though we have gained as yet but little, yet this should keep alive our hopes of more.

“ The heart sighs when it feels, that, perhaps, among these little ones, many, possibly most, may fall into their country customs and sins: yet some may be so touched and affected, that they may become blessings to Africa.

“ The Foulahs are come down in such numbers to Mongè Backe’s town, that the people are afraid. They are probably come for the presents which they occasionally demand from the Soosoos.

“ I believe there is little more personal danger in a white man’s living in a native town than there would be in living in England. He would only be exposed to continual begging. Probably there might be, and would be persecution, where the Gospel began to prevail with them, to turn from their native customs. A man settling in such a situation, must also be content to go without many European comforts. Are there not, however, numbers of Christians in England, who would be content to do this for the love of their Saviour?

“ The Canoffee children, with Mr. Wilhelm, and Mr. and Mrs. Wenzel, came to attend worship at Bassia. The Grumettas, and some of the natives assembled with us. I preached from Mark xvi. 15, 16.

“ The outline of this address may give our friends some idea of the manner in which we endeavoured to interest them. It was as follows:—

“ *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.*”

“ I will tell you how white man’s religion began:—

“ In the beginning, God made heaven and earth, and one man and one woman; and all was very good.

“ He told them that they might do every thing but one thing.

“ That one thing they, being tempted by the devil, did.

“ God was angry with them, and they deserved to die; but God being very kind and good, he promised that, in time, his only Son, Jesus Christ, should come into the world to save lost sinners.

“ After this, men grew to be very many, and very bad also.

“ But God kept his promise. Jesus Christ came.

“ I will tell you about

“ His glory before he came—

“ His history on earth—

“ His death for us—

“ His resurrection from the dead—and

“ His charge to twelve of his followers. They, and those after them, brought it to white men in England. The same charge is given to us, his ministers.

“ ‘What, then, is the Gospel?—

“ ‘Good news for lost man.

“ ‘Can any of you tell me, when a man has done bad, how God can pardon him?

“ ‘The Gospel tells us this. Is it not good news?

“ ‘To whom does it belong?

“ ‘To every man—black, white.

“ ‘Some learned men (men that know books much) say we must not come to teach black men: but God teaches us better.

“ ‘I speak in the name of the Great God.

“ ‘It is not the headman of Sierra Leone, nor of England; but God that sends us to you.

“ ‘Children! I speak to you.

“ ‘Headmen and Soosoos! to you.’

“ Mr. Renner’s head grumetta seemed to interpret very well. The natives were attentive; and I cannot but think, that it may be very easy to go among them, and thus preach the Gospel of Christ through an interpreter. He mistook the ‘story,’ however, and translated it ‘a lie.’

“ In the afternoon I took the outlines of a sermon on Prov. iv. 13. and preached from it, at some length, to the children, through the grumetta; there being some who did not understand English, and I being anxious to habituate both the missionaries and grumettas to this practice.

“ *Six o’clock.*—I am now sitting in my bedroom, in the midst of heathen nations; and yet hear, on every side, the praises of Jesus! The boys in the church are singing psalms together; and the girls are doing the same with Mrs. Renner. I have written out the morning and evening hymns for them. When, ah! when will the adults around us, the poor heathen natives—when will they receive and embrace the truths which they allow us to teach their children?

“ In the evening, Mr. Renner conducted family worship. He explained those words in Isaiah, ‘He shall feed his flock like a shepherd, and gather the lambs with his arm,’ in an interesting, plain, and edifying manner.

VISIT TO BRAMIA, CHIEFLY BY WATER.

Mongè Fernandez, being the most powerful headman in this part of the Soosoo Country, and having always protected the missionaries and taken an interest in the mission, Mr. Bickersteth felt it of importance to see him before he decided of any questions respecting the settlements.

He accordingly proceeded to Bramia, chiefly by water; but returned by land.

“ April 1, 1816. *Monday.*—At eleven o’clock this morning, Mr.

Wilhelm, Mr. Harrison, and I, with eight boys and five grumettas, set off, in a large canoc, on a visit to Mr. Fernandez at Brania. After rowing three hours, we came to Domingues, the place where Lawrence factory was. Here our ship lay, and we dined. We went ashore to see the place. There are a few houses and people, under the care of Jena Lawrence. The children ran away screaming, at the sight of a white man. I think the people would be glad of the occasional visit of a missionary, for religious instruction ; some of the family having been in the school.

“ REACH GANDIA.

“ Between three and four in the afternoon, we set out for Gandia. The men had a hard and long pull with the oar ; and worked all day in the sun, and then in the evening, with a patience, perseverance, and cheerfulness, deserving every praise. We came nearly to the mouth of the sand-bar, and then turned off up a creek to the left. At seven, our fresh water was exhausted ; and the grumettas said, in broken English, ‘ We pull away, or we die now. No water live here.’ And so they continued rowing till eleven o’clock, when we arrived at Gandia. We purposed to pass the night here. The headman was absent ; but some of the natives procured for us an empty hut. The boys made a fire in the middle of the hut, to warm themselves ; and after taking some of our cold provisions, we got to rest, wearied with the voyage, but thankful for the mercies of the day.

“ A NIGHT PASSED AT GANDIA.

“ I could not but be somewhat amused by the novelty of the situation. In the midst of a heathen town, and in a small mud hut, hung about with greegrees, we laid ourselves down round the fire ; some on mats, and some on the mud floor. My bag was my pillow. I had where to lay my head : the Saviour, in his own world, had not. We felt safe in the protection of God.

“ Mr. Wilhelm says, that the Mandingoes, who are Mahommedans, are very fond of arguing in favour of their religion ; objecting to Christianity, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, as though we made two gods ; and urging that Mahomet is the promised Spirit, and that sacrifices take away sins. This Mr. Harrison once effectually answered, by saying, ‘ All things belong to God : shall I take what belongs to him, and get pardon by offering that to him ? ’ They think, also, that we are very impure and sinful, in eating all kinds of animals. Most of them understand Arabic. A short Arabic tract, adapted to their circumstances, might be useful. The Arabic tract written by Mr. Brunton, formerly sent hither, is too severe.

“ REACH KAMYA.

“ At half-past four we arose. It was yet dark ; but no time was to be lost, on account of the tide. We had, however, some difficulty in getting the men together, so that it was near six o'clock before we were able to set off.

“ The rivers and creeks look rather dreary, from the sameness and want of habitations. The mangrove tree rises on each bank to a considerable height, and intercepts all other prospects.

“ The Kamy Creek became narrower and narrower as we proceeded along, till at length the mangrove trees on the opposite banks met, and intermingled their branches. Just before we reached Kamy, the men could not use the oars, but pulled along the banks by taking hold of the roots on the side. Kamy is at the end of a branch of the creek up which we came. We arrived here at ten o'clock. There is a devil's house at the entrance, and another at the end of the town.

“ Every thing appears strange around us. The children and people running about half naked—the speaking through an interpreter—the sitting on the country stools, under a thatched piazza—the salutation, ‘*mama*,’ and shaking of hands, and the return, ‘*ba*’—the people collecting together to gaze at us—and the discord of a foreign language—all is strange !

“ There appears to be perfect safety in travelling. We have been in various places, and have, as yet, met with no difficulty of any kind from the natives.

“ There were plenty of parrots and monkeys among the trees, at the side of the river. The chattering of the monkeys was a new sound to me.

“ The grumettas have a peculiar song in the Bago language. They do not themselves know its meaning ; but they sing it as they go along, and so cheer up and encourage one another.

“ The natives of Kamy brought a basket of plums for our refreshment. The African plums are inferior to the European. They make a drink of them, something like sweet beer.

“ The house in which we rested was hung round with an abundance of greegrees ; and, among others, a Portuguese greegree, or a crucifix. Surely papists do not know how nearly they approach to African savages, in their confidence in relics, and such lying vanities. I talked to the headman about this crucifix, telling him Christ was the only Saviour.

“ I was amused by the remark of a grumetta. When we asked him how far it was to Kamy, he said, in reply, ‘ We soon all be canoes ; ’ meaning that each must soon exert himself in walking the rest of the way.

“ WALK FROM KAMYA TO BENNA.

“ We set off from Kamyá at two o'clock. There are no carriage-roads here, but paths, in which only a single person can walk. I was interested by the novelty of an African walk. Sometimes the thick grass rose considerably above our heads, and prevented us from seeing any thing except the man immediately before. Sometimes there was a thinner kind of grass, with which they thatch their houses. In many parts it resembled an English shrubbery of evergreens. Large plum trees, locust trees, and a variety of other native fruit trees, grew here and there. At a distance, we frequently saw the mountains on the south of the Rio Dembia.

“ We arrived at Benna, a comparatively large town, in about an hour and a-half. The natives were busily engaged in dancing. There were two dancing-girls, most singularly dressed, or rather merely ornamented, with beads, and gold and silver ornaments, and bells. It is said they are obliged to go through this dancing before they are given to their husbands.

“ We received the Kola, as usual, in passing through towns, as a token of peace and friendship.

“ ARRIVAL AT BRAMIA.

“ After resting a short time at Benna, we proceeded. The ground became very rocky, but the path was good, only occasionally sandy, till we got near to Bramia. We sometimes found brooks, in which was a small supply of water; and the water was very refreshing, as the thirst occasioned by walking in this climate is excessive. We saw a deer, a bull, several birds of different kinds, and traces of the wild hog.

“ The entrance to Bramia is more respectable than any other town in which I have been. We arrived about half-past six, and met with a kind and hospitable reception from M. Fernandez.

“ I had some conversation with him, this evening, on the objects of my mission. He expressed himself sorry that Mr. and Mrs. Klein left the Dembia, and still wishes to receive missionaries: he would protect them, and he thinks the Soosoos would soon embrace Christianity. He is very willing to assist Mr. Wilhelm in translating the Scriptures, and will be glad to render all the aid in his power; Mr. Wilhelm translating at Canoffee, and coming to him for assistance in correcting his translation.

“ I suggested to him the idea of bringing before the headmen, at a general palaver, the plan of visiting the native towns, and preaching the Gospel to the inhabitants: and he thought it would be very proper.

“ He seemed to think Bassia had been so troubled with fires, that it might be better to give it up, and to confine ourselves to Canoffee.

" April 3, 1816. *Wednesday*.—I walked out early with Mr. Harrison to view the Rio Dembia. There is a fine prospect from some rocks close to Bramia. The river, interspersed with islands covered with trees, flows at your feet ; and the mountains on the other side, and at a distance, form a fine back-ground. Shrubs and trees grow in every direction.

" In returning, we examined a burying-place. It was covered with bamboo leaves, on which, in one part, was placed the hair of the two deceased persons who had died.

" There seem to be no devil-houses or greegrees at Bramia. Mr. Fernandez, I was told, does not allow of them. There is a person who acts as priest, and understands Portuguese ; so that the nominal religion of some here must be considered as Catholic.

" Mr. Fernandez wishes for some Arabic Bibles, which he thinks he could distribute to advantage in the country.

" I stated to him, that the simple object of the society was to benefit Africa, and that I was glad God had given him the power, and I trusted the inclination, to assist us. He said, ' Every thing that lies in my power I will gladly do to help the society.'

" That great act of national justice, the abolition of the slave trade, has materially abridged the power and wealth of the headmen, and they say it has spoiled the country. But, indeed, it appears likely, ultimately, to be the greatest of all blessings. Trials for witchcraft are greatly diminished, and personal security and mutual confidence are more firmly established. Population will now increase, and that dreary aspect which the country every where assumes must soon be changed, and cultivation and civilization rapidly advance. And now, I am persuaded, is the critical time, in which we should exert all the means which God gives us to introduce Christianity.

" SET OUT FOR BASSIA BY LAND.

" April 3, 1816. *Wednesday*.—We left Bramia, at a quarter before three, on our return by land to Bassia.

" WALK FROM BRAMIA TO MALLAKOURY.

" Mallakoury is half-way between Bramia and Bassia. We arrived here just past seven. The distance is supposed to be fifteen miles, and we had walked quick. The country is thinly peopled : we met but one person on the road.

" About four miles from Bramia we came to a village called Mania, which had recently been burnt down, and is now uninhabited, a new village being built elsewhere. At a quarter past five we reached Oleah, a small village ; and, after taking some refreshment, arrived at Malla-

koury, weary with the toil of a walk, much of which was in the hot sand and under the burning sun of Africa.

“The road, or rather path, is chiefly sandy, rocky, and open. We met with no brook (it being the end of the dry season) till we came to Oleah, when we gladly refreshed ourselves with water. There were marks in the sand of the feet of wolves, or some other large animals; and we heard a rustling among the trees, in passing through a thicket, as of some animal escaping from us.

“I thought it better to walk all the way; being, on the whole, as little fatiguing as going round by water, and requiring less time.

“Our friends would be amused could I draw the picture now before me—Mr. Wilhelm lying on a mat in one corner—Mr. Harrison and the boys holding lighted canes for me to write by, having no candle—a native sitting in silent astonishment at my writing—a little wood fire burning before us—and greegrees hanging about the hut.

“The native was amused by my long hair; and cried out, in his own language—‘How frightful!’

“As soon as we had got some refreshment (plantains and cold chicken), we assembled the boys, and sang Watts’ Evening Hymn—

‘Dread Sovereign, let my evening song’—

I read and explained the Twenty-third Psalm, and then prayed with them; and I trust we could say of our mud hut, ‘This is no other than the house of God!’ The natives, till then, had been talking and making a noise, but were silent while we were at worship. We laid us down in peace on our mats, with coats for our pillows, and our fatigue soon sent us asleep.

“PROCEED TO GAMBIA.

“April 4, 1816. *Thursday*.—We rose as soon as it was light, and left Mallakoury. The bug-a-bugs, or termites, had taken a fancy to my hat, and devoured a good deal of the leather in the inside. I found it covered with mud and ants when I rose. We set off about half-past five. In walking in this hot climate, early rising is essential, if you would make any progress; for it is dangerous for an European to walk much in the heat of the day, from ten to two.

“There was a brook a little beyond Mallakoury. The bushes were quite wet with the heavy dew. Some of the trees were of an amazing height and size—much larger than any that I have seen in England.

“We met, several times, troops of ants crossing the path in countless numbers: some were large black ants, and others brown. They marched in regular order, and the line was probably of great length.

“We came to a large brook just before we reached Gambia, by the banks of which we sat down to breakfast. There was a wooden bridge,

formed of slight sticks, and of a great height ; but it had been broken down. I had observed a similar bridge over a place now dry, but which is a full stream in the rains. The water comes in great quantity and with much force down these brooks, in the rainy season. Where we were sitting, there was another bridge for the dry season ; but the middle of it was so much under, that it is of little use. The grumettas carried us on their backs through the brooks ; and it is chiefly for this service that they are necessary on journeys of this nature.

“As we sat at breakfast, a woman came from Gambia to draw water. It reminded us of Him who made use of such an opportunity for the conversion of a sinner. How welcome is the recollection of a Saviour ! His presence makes every place a home !

“Another woman came down to wash clothes. They merely put them in the water, and knock them hard against a rock or stone which may be near. This practice must necessarily wear out the clothes fast.

“After a short rest, we were carried over the brook, and reached Gambia a little after eight. It is a small village of mud huts, with a devil’s house, or house of spirits. They think a town would be unfortunate without such a building. They suppose the termites’ nest to be either the spirit, or the seat on which he appears. They give here, as service to the spirit, a few drops of palm wine, or sprinkle a few drops of the blood of a cock or goat before it. When will poor Africa be delivered from this bondage ?

“About many of the brooks we found cane trees, with bamboo and other African plants. We met also with plenty of plum trees, and some tamarind trees. The fruit of the tamarind is inclosed in a black husk : it has a pleasant acid taste. We also found some locust trees, the fruit of which is yellow, and inclosed in a shell, like beans. The fruit is pleasant, and eaten with honey (Mark i. 6). The seeds are sown in the ground, and then boiled for palaver sauce for rice.

“The bushes were occasionally cut down, and prepared for burning, previous to planting the lugars. In these lugars, or rice fields, they have usually a solitary hut, in which some one lodges, to watch against the birds. It brought to my recollection the passage—‘ Like a cottage in a vineyard, (Isa. i. 8) left solitary and desolate.’

“We saw many guinea-hens, monkeys, pigeons, and various other birds.

“The appearance of the country was frequently not unlike an English orchard, which had been neglected and deserted. The villages are generally surrounded with bushes. Thanks be to God, they can now dwell more in safety, free from the dread of being seized and carried into slavery ! The slave trade used formerly to take away multitudes from these parts ; and I was told I could not have walked this road formerly without meeting several companies for the slave ships.

“ REACH KAKOURRY AND BASSIA.

“We arrived at Kakourry about nine. It is another small village, perhaps half-way between Gambia and Bassia. After ascending a rough hilly road for a short distance, we had a declivity all the way to Bassia, which we reached about ten o'clock.

“Kamya is reckoned to be distant from ten to fifteen miles from Bramia; and Bassia from twenty-five to thirty miles from Bramia.

“The mercies of God in the whole of this short excursion call for my warmest gratitude. I had many reasons to fear the effect of the walk in such a climate; but I have been much less fatigued than I expected. We met with every kindness from the natives.

“Mr. Fernandez was particularly attentive and hospitable, and furnished us amply for our journey back.

“If a missionary should be settled with or near Mr. Fernandez, he should be an Englishman, if possible; but in any case, a man of good sense and decided piety, with some attainments.

“On our way, we found many bee-hives, made of grass, in the shape of a cask, fixed in the trees. Honey is generally used as a substitute for sugar. It was so at Mr. Fernandez's, who had no bread, butter, tea, or wine, but used rice-coffee. Water is the general beverage.

“Mr. Fernandez said he was satisfied that there was a visible improvement in the appearance of the whole country in the last seven or eight years; and attributed this, in some degree, to the exertions of the missionaries in educating the children. Probably much is also owing to the abolition of the slave trade. The land is more cultivated, and the manners of the people are become less savage.

“ AT BASSIA.

“April 4, 1816. *Thursday*.—I selected, with Mr. Renner's assistance, nine of the elder boys who had been longest in the school, and four of the girls, to converse with them on the Lord's Supper. I thought it better not to take any under fifteen. Having, when that age myself, found the benefit of receiving the Lord's Supper, (though I did it in much ignorance), I cannot but hope that this season may be profitable to them. I went through the questions and answers in the catechism on the subject, and explained them. I then told them that they should each do what seemed right to their own minds. It was a privilege and a command of Christ, and they were now come to years when I thought it right to bring it before them. I then prayed with and for them.

“In the family worship, I explained ‘Forgive us our trespasses,’ &c. We sang Bishop Kenn's evening hymn, which I had given the boys to learn.

"After worship seeing light in the town, we went to ascertain what was the matter. They were burning some country pots of earthenware. In the same yard there were some children who had been circumcised, according to general custom here. They came out from their huts naked, to dance and make ridiculous antics, as is usual, by moon-light. It was a striking contrast to the peaceful scene of Christian worship, which we had just left.

"April 6, 1816. *Saturday*.—We had a heavy shower of rain, with much thunder and lightning, for about three hours, this morning. The rain came into the church, in which we have usually met; and we had worship in the piazza of the house.

"I examined the boys, and then distributed prizes among them. It would have pleased their English friends to see the joy that was expressed in each countenance. Handkerchiefs went off first, and then knives.

"I afterwards examined one class of girls, but was interrupted by the arrival of Mr. Fernandez.

"The afternoon has passed with him in general conversation. He came too late to hold a palaver meeting this day, and it is necessarily put off till Monday.

"Mr. Fernandez seemed struck with the idea of English children contributing to maintain these schools.

"The Foulahs, who had been very troublesome to Mongè Backe, (being near four hundred in number), when they heard of the arrival of Mr. Fernandez, hastily got together their effects, and marched off in much alarm.

"His coming to Bassia to attend the palaver meeting is an act of great kindness. He has not been here for sixteen years, though he was at Canoffee once a few years since.

"April 7. *Sunday*.—Mr. Renner explained, at family prayer, 'There is no other name,' &c. I preached from Acts xxvi. 18, and the head grumetta interpreted. He made some egregious mistakes, as Mr. Fernandez informed me. 'A change of mind,' he called, in Soosoo, 'chaining the mind.'—'Two classes of men,' he called, in Soosoo, 'two glasses.'—'For ever,' he could not explain.—'Written in a book,' he said, 'written with the foot.' This made some confusion; but the man will improve, and it appears better to do the thing imperfectly than not at all.

"I have already seen the good effects of this practice. A Soosoo man, who came from a neighbouring town, told me, through Mr. Fernandez, 'Your words live in my heart. You told us God came from heaven into white man's country, and now he would come to us. Stephen,' meaning the interpreter, 'made us know it.'

"Having heard from several quarters of the favourable disposition of

Mr. John Pearce, on the Rio Nunez, toward the mission, I wrote to him on the subject of a settlement on that river; but he was not immediately able to answer my inquiries respecting the countenance towards it of the headmen.

“So far as the Gospel has been preached to the Soosoo people, it has, doubtless, had its full effect. I trust many of the children’s hearts are broken, contrite, humbled for sin, and looking to Christ for salvation.

“PALAVER MEETING AT LISSA.

“April 8. *Monday*.—About one o’clock I was called to attend the palaver at Lissa, which is Mongè Backe’s town.

“It was well for our cause that Mr. Fernandez was there, and we may mark the providence of God in inclining him to attend. He had prepared the way for us, and yet there was abundant difficulty.

“We went ‘to pay service,’ as it is called, to the king; and then the people came together. There might be one hundred and fifty or more, seated under the piazzas of the different houses, and on mats on the ground near Mongè Backe. Any one is allowed to be present, and to speak at these meetings, though only one speaks at a time. It was a singular and interesting scene, to see so many black heathen people gathered together.

“One then rose, and spoke in Soosoo at some length. I was informed that the object of his address was, that I was to say what I wished before them, and they were ready to hear.

“I then made an address somewhat as follows:—

“I told them I came from England to visit our missionaries; and to talk with the headmen about them, and about the objects which the good men who supported them had in view.

“And, first, I would tell them why we had done what we had done. I need not tell them that there were good white men in England. They knew it. They had seen it in the country. Good white men might be known by their attention to a book, which they know was written by the direction of God. That book tells them how the world was made—how men sinned against God—how their sins may be forgiven—and what they must do to please God. I then went through some plain principles, precepts, and hopes of the Christian religion; and, among others, the command of Christ, to go into all the world, and to preach the Gospel to every creature.

“Good men then feel constrained by this command, as well as by the good which their religion gives them, to come and teach the Soosos.

“‘This alone,’ I said, ‘has caused us to be at such expense in building settlements, and in taking care of your dear children.’ And

here I cannot but say something about these children—I have talked with them all, and I think our hopes will not be disappointed with respect to many of them. I think they will be a blessing to the Soosoos and to Africa.

“ ‘But I find it has been mistaken who sent out missionaries here ; and I must tell you, that it was not the headmen of Sierra Leone, nor of England, but good men in England, who fear God and desire to do you good. I know this, because I live in England, and have myself helped to support our missionaries. You must know this. Have not our missionaries paid for all that was sold to them? Have they not taken great pains in teaching the children? What harm have they done? They have lived here many years now, without getting any money by you.

“ ‘Now I will tell you what further we wish to be done.

“ ‘You know how Bassia has been troubled with fires—I do not blame any one here. I do not and will not believe that you did it ; but I think it right that Bassia should be given up. Mr. Wenzel is wanted at Sierra Leone, and Mr. Renner must take Canoffee. We wish more land for this purpose—land up to Kacara—not now ; but when we want to use it, can we have it? Our boys grow up, and must have places to live in. This is one thing that we want.

“ ‘Another thing we want also—that our missionaries should have full liberty, without expense, to come into your towns, when they find it convenient ; and to teach those who like to hear them the same things that they have taught already to your children.

“ ‘I am sure these things will be for your good.’

“ ‘This was the substance of what I spoke. There was some difficulty in interpreting. First Stephen tried ; then Richard Wilkinson ; and, at last, Mr. Fernandez undertook it.

“ ‘According to the custom, I did not address this to Mongè Backe, but to the person who opened the meeting, and he to another, and so it came to Mongè Backe. He made a long reply, the substance of which, after he had finished, was communicated by Mr. Fernandez. Its purport was, that the missionaries professed to do good to the country ; and yet they gave them no guns nor powder to help them against their enemies, the Foulahs ; and they do not make trade, nor do good to the country.

“ ‘What a display of those feelings, which, as might indeed be expected, at present fill their minds! Not a word of all that respected the instruction and improvement of the soul!

“ ‘I then stated expressly, that our object was not to help them to fight against their enemies, nor to make trade with them, further than that we would always pay for what we wanted. Our missionaries were sent to teach them white man’s book, that they might be happy here

and after death. They quite mistook, if they supposed that we had any other object in view.

"A man then started up, and made a long speech against the missionaries; the substance of which was much like the former—that they did no good—gave no rice to the poor—and did not provide guns for them against their enemies.

"I asked him to name any instance in which they had done wrong. He said, that they did not pay proper respect to their landlord. (I found afterwards that this, probably, alluded to the present that had been sent to Mr. Fernandez by the society, while none had been given to M. Backe). I then referred this charge to M. Backe, and he would not support it.

"I believed Richard Wilkinson was accused of spreading evil reports against the missionaries. He then rose and made a long address in Soosoo, speaking some things which were, as I afterwards learned, much calculated to excite the people against the missionaries. The heart of this ungrateful youth seems full of rancour against his best friends. I had not to answer his charge, as Mr. Fernandez did this as he made them.

"At length Mongè Backe said, we might have more land if we wanted it. No one made any opposition to preaching in the towns; and it was understood that this would take place in future.

"The meeting lasted about four hours; and would probably have lasted as many days, had not Mr. Fernandez been present.

"Mr. Wenzel was asked if Mr. Renner was not 'making yamfa,' that is, acting deceitfully, in getting Mr. Wenzel away to Sierra Leone. He stated, that the society wished the missionaries now to go and preach in the towns, and he could not do that on account of his weakness; and therefore it was his own wish to go to Sierra Leone. Had he not stated this, there would have been a new palaver on this subject.

"This meeting has strikingly shown the state of these poor heathens. Idle tales against the missionaries, which relate to any thing that seems to affect their temporal interest, are listened to with eagerness; while the evidence of facts for years, as to the conduct of those who are spending their lives in promoting their highest advantage and happiness, is disregarded. Perhaps all this was to be expected, considering the influence of the slave traders who have lived here, and the darkness of superstition in which they are enveloped.

"They said, in the course of the meeting, 'We do not object to white men having a place to sit down in our country; but they must not say, "The country is sold to us; we have bought the land."' This charge had been brought against the missionaries, but could not be supported.

"Brother Renner was told, that he must not bring Bassia fashions

to Canoffee; he must leave them at Bassia. The fickleness of this people is remarkable. Once Wenzel was not approved: now he is going, they praise him. Renner said, 'I take Bassia fashion to Canoffee. Such as I was at Bassia, such I will be at Canoffee. If a poor man come hungry, I give him rice. If a man come to trade, if I want, I will buy it: if I do not want, I do not buy: if he is saucy, I will send him away.' This firm reply silenced that objection.

"Mr. Fernandez was the life of the meeting—answering every objection for us, generally without translating it, and often stopping it by the boldness and energy of his manner and expressions.

"I can only give a general outline; much of what passed being unintelligible to me. I see, however, that a palaver meeting is not a suitable occasion for preaching the Gospel.

"The description of the above meeting will strikingly show the character of the Soosoos, and the difficulties of our missionaries in labouring among them.

"Mr. Fernandez remained all night with the headmen of Lissa, endeavouring to set before them their true interest; and his efforts seemed to have some success.

"STAY AT CANOFFEE.

"April 9, 1816. *Tuesday*.—Mr. Fernandez returned from Lissa this morning. He had, he said, to continue the palaver until four o'clock this morning. They cast in his teeth the present which he had received; and stated that it was that which made him so active in defending the missionaries. They did good to him at a distance, and did none to their own king and landlord at home. Besides, Mr. Wenzel had made no large present for rent and protection whilst at Canoffee. They came at last to this conclusion, that seventy bars must be paid to Mongè Backe before Mr. Wenzel went away. They had large presents from the slave traders who lived among them; and they, therefore, expected presents from the missionaries. There used to be six factories between Kacara and Bassia, and several immediately below. At these the natives received a supply of all their wants for the slaves which they sold. Now this resource is taken away; the headmen are poverty-struck, and the missionaries are their only resource. They are what might be expected under these circumstances. What an instance will it be of the power of the Gospel, when they are raised from this state!

"I asked Mr. Fernandez if he could give me a list of towns in his country, where missionaries might sit down to instruct his people under his own protection, without having settlements. He named Benna, Yonia, Kanya, Yonkea, and Bramia. The size of the towns is in the order in which they are named, the largest first. He should prefer English-

men, and should wish to have one settlement with children. They might be perfectly secure in his territories, and teach all the people who would hear them. He said he thought himself of building a church at Bramia, like that at Canoffee.

"The natives are continually coming with rice, fowls, plantains, and othes produce, to sell.

"I saw one with a greegree about his neck, and asked him what it was good for. He said, 'For nothing.' I asked him, 'Why then wear it?' 'For ornament.' 'It looks dirty: throw it away.' He said, 'No; it is good for shot.' I said, 'Let me fire at it: hang it up on a tree.' He seemed ashamed, and refused. I then said, 'That is nothing to trust to—it do no good at all—God made heaven and earth—trust in him—pray to him—he will hear you, and do you good.' He turned away, and said, 'I come to trade, and not to talk.'

"In the afternoon I walked with Mr. Wilhelm to Kacara, a small village about a mile from Canoffee. We there saw Mr. Fantimani, and conversed with him. He has been talked to by Greig, Brunton, and our missionaries, and knows something of English. We told him our missionaries now intended to go from place to place, to preach to the people; and then Wilhelm spoke to him, in a plain and simple way, on the value of the soul, and the importance of eternity. He approved of what was said, as they do in general, and then disregard it all.

"We met with several things which they call Satyka (sacrifices). They were pieces of stone, wrapped round with thread, and laid near the path. These are offerings to a spirit, which is supposed to visit there.

"April 10, 1816. *Wednesday*.—Mongè Backe came about breakfast-time for his seventy bars. I thought it a good opportunity of declaring to him, that just as he treated our missionaries, so should we act. If they could not live quietly, without being troubled with fires and continual demands for presents, the patience of their good friends in England would be wearied out, and they would all be removed to Sierra Leone. They came here only to do good, by teaching those things which would make people happy in this life and the next.

"He said, they must do good by telling the men of war to stay away, and selling guns and powder to help them. I told him we had nothing to do with the men of war, and could not prevent them from coming; and I must again tell him, that we did not come to trade, but to teach white man's book.

"I told him, that as a proof we only wished to do them good, by teaching them in their own towns, I had agreed to give the seventy bars.

"He said, 'I love the white people missionaries, and have never done them harm, but defended them as well as I could.' I believe he has sometimes strenuously defended them.

“He then said that it had been settled in the meeting what the missionaries might do as to teaching, and he did not wish to talk more upon it. He came about the seventy bars.

“Displeasure and vexation are ready to rise in the mind, when we witness this state of feeling; but the love of Christ tells us that we ought the more to pity this people. Much firmness, however, and wisdom, will be still needful in dealing with them, to resist that encroaching spirit which they manifest.

“Before dinner, the elder boys came from Bassia. I set them to read the first and second part of Mr. Wilson’s address on the Lord’s Supper, explaining what appeared difficult.

“I then took a walk with Mr. Wilhelm to Sumbia, a village about a mile and a half distant. It consists only of a few houses; but about ten or twelve persons soon gathered round us, and seemed glad to see us. I told them Mr. Wilhelm would come frequently in the friendly way in which we now came, and talk with them the same things that we taught their children. They said they were glad to hear it, and should be happy to see him; and that they had heard about it at the meeting. They seemed very friendly.

“One of the men rather gave us a sermon, telling us money was nothing; but if we learnt to please God, he would bless us, and give us money. He had a child at the school. They told us that the people had thought of sending all the missionaries away; but they had been convinced at the meeting that we meant only good. He then repeated part of my address at the meeting, about honouring our father and mother, and obeying our superiors, and said I was very good. I told him I was glad to hear him talk so, and hoped he would attend to what my friend would speak to him; and he would show him the way to please God, and go to heaven.

“I was as much pleased and encouraged by this communication as I had been discouraged by that with Mongè Backe.

“An alligator this day seized and carried away one of the goats belonging to the settlement. The alligators are very troublesome; but God has hitherto protected the children. One of the girls narrowly escaped once. Her head and neck, I was informed, were in the jaws of the destructive animal, when it was frightened by the screams of the children.

“I again conversed with the dear Bassia boys in the evening, on the Lord’s Supper.

“I had a great desire to fix a yearly sum for rent with the chiefs, in lieu of presents; but there is much doubt whether they would not come just the same for presents, and expect the rent also. The presents, on the whole, are lower than taxes and rent would be, under any civilized government.

“April 11, 1816. *Thursday*.—This morning I examined the children at this settlement. They are not so forward as the Bassia children, but perhaps nearly as forward as those who have been an equal time at Bassia. It is a laborious task, to go through each class, and then each individual separately; but I believe and hope, that it may fully answer; and, perhaps, make an abiding impression on some of the children.

“In the afternoon, I walked to Jesulu, Mongè Tomba’s town. He has the character of a plain-dealing man. He was not well, or he would have come to the meeting. His town is about two miles from Canoffee, on very high ground. We had an extensive view as we ascended the hill. The general appearance of the country was hilly and bushy. The Rio Pongas could be seen, winding at a considerable distance. The grass grew in some places to an amazing height—I think nearly three times my height. They were cutting it down, and used cutlasses for this purpose.

“Jesulu, like most native towns, is surrounded with thick bushes. Into these the inhabitants used to run on the approach of their enemies, in the time of the slave trade, when they were afraid of being captured. It was their only resource—their fortification. Jesulu seems a larger town than most I have seen. It appeared fully as large as Kapparoo.

“After the usual compliments had passed, and I had told Mongè Tomba that I had come from England to see our missionaries and talk to the headmen, I stated to him that we now intended that our missionaries should come about once a week, and talk with the people the same things as we taught the children at the settlements; and I hoped they would hear them attentively, and receive them kindly. He answered, ‘I am glad to hear it.’ I gave him a present, at which he seemed much pleased. He then said, he would take care to call the people together to hear Mr. Wilhelm; and he bid me ask Mr. Renner, whether he had not sent back any bullocks or other things that had strayed, or redeemed children who had run away. It appears he had done this; and I thanked him for his attention to them. I then assured him we were at great expense with maintaining our missionaries, only for their good, and because we hoped to please God by it. Mr. Wilhelm said, ‘Perhaps you will not understand, at the first or second time, the good that what I shall say may do you; but if you continue to hear attentively, one and another will begin to see that they are things of great importance.’ They expressed a willingness to hear. As it was getting late, I thought it better to leave matters in this state.

“When I returned, I got the dear Bassia boys together, to talk to them on the Lord’s Supper.

“In preaching the Gospel, it appears desirable to take a few of the younger boys, who can sing well, and to begin by singing a Soosoo psalm or hymn, then preach, and, if practicable, conclude with a Soosoo prayer.

“ I view the mission at different times in very different lights. Sometimes there appears reason to hope every thing ; at other times things appear more gloomy. I am reminded of that text, Zech. xiv. 6, 7, ‘ And it shall come to pass in that day, that the light shall not be clear nor dark,’ &c.

April 12, 1816. *Good Friday*.—The consideration of so many Christians throughout the world meeting this day, to commemorate the dying love of our crucified Lord, was very refreshing. When shall all that bear his name be crucified to the world, dead to its honours and comforts, and spending their strength for him !

“ April 13. *Saturday*.—At breakfast time about twenty natives came for small trade, some bringing chickens, others bees’-wax, ropes, palm oil, mats, country cloth, &c. Frequently numbers attend in this way. It is desirable to give them religious instruction. They come chiefly from Kacara, Jesulu, and the neighbouring villages. I talked with some of them.

“ One had many greegrees about his head. He said they were good to keep harm from his head. I asked, ‘ How can they do it ? If any thing falls on your head, they will not stop it. A sword may hit your head, or a bullet go through, in spite of all your greegrees.’ He said, ‘ It is country fashion—white man his way, black man his way.’ I told him, ‘ One God made black man and white man, and there is but one way to please him.’ He said, ‘ Yes, that true.’ I said, ‘ We come into this country to teach it. We have taught it to the children, and we now want to teach it to all black men. Mr. Wilhelm will come to your towns to talk about it ; and do you come to-morrow, and you may hear it here.’ He said, ‘ We do not know God—white man know God, and we be glad to hear it.’

“ I told another, of our teaching good words on Sundays. He lived near, and might always come on Sundays, when he heard the bell toll. He said he had heard, but thought the palaver would come and catch him, (*i.e.*, he would get blamed) ; I said, ‘ O no ; come as much as you please, and they will always be glad to see you.’ He said he would, and kept his promise on the following Sunday.

“ It must be observed, that many promise and speak fair, but are backward in keeping their promise. They speak things which they think will please you, but do not what they say.

“ CONVERSATION WITH THE ELDER BOYS IN PREPARATION FOR THE LORD’S SUPPER.

“ I then called the boys together, to converse with them for the last time on the subject of the Lord’s Supper.

“ Those whom I admitted stated, in answer to questions which I proposed to each, separately and by himself, that they wished to go to

the sacrament. 'Why?' 'Because it is Christ's command. 'What do you feel about your sins?' 'Sorry for them.' 'How shall you come to the Lord's table?' 'As a sinner.' 'What do the bread and wine represent?' 'The body and blood of Christ.' 'Why do you eat or drink them?' 'In remembrance of his death.' 'Have you examined yourself?' Four said, 'Yes;' others, 'No.' 'Do you really resolve to strive against every sin?' 'Yes,' after a pause, from most. 'On what are you depending for forgiveness of your sins?' Three said, 'On Jesus;' the others said, 'On prayer;' but, afterwards, 'On Jesus.' 'Have you ill-will against any one, or any one against you?' Two stated instances; others said, at once, 'No.' Some answered these questions more readily and directly than others.

"When I asked one, 'Have you any thing particular that you wish to say?' He answered, 'I have nothing particular to say; but I see if I take the Lord's Supper that I must mind my heart.' I told him that was his great work.

"When I asked another what he thought about his sins, he said, 'All the week long my conscience has been so troubling me for my sins! I have nothing in my mind but to pray to God to forgive my sins.'

"When I asked another if he was in charity with every one, he said, 'I have forgiven all, but I am afraid — has not forgiven me.' He then told me the particulars of the quarrel, when it appeared that his offending was accidental.

"I asked another if any thing particular was in his mind; he answered, 'I should like to pray more to God.'

"One at first said, that he should go as righteous; probably meaning, that he should do right in going; for when I examined him further, he said, 'I have done plenty wrong, sir.'

"April 14, 1816. *Sunday*.—This has been an interesting and important day for the dear elder children at Bassia.

"Soon after ten o'clock the Bassia children came. Before service I called the whole thirteen, with whom I had talked on the subject, into my bed-room, and told them that there were several good children among them, whom I thought it better not to admit, because they did not fully understand the nature of the ordinance, or were not in a suitable disposition. By the time the Lord's Supper would be again administered they would know more about it, and might be fully prepared to be admitted to it.

"The church was quite filled with children, grumettas, and some natives. They seemed attentive whilst I explained the doctrine of the resurrection of Christ, and the benefits which believers obtain thereby.

"I afterwards administered the Lord's Supper to Mr. and Mrs. Renner, Mr. and Mrs. Wenzel, Mr. and Mrs. Wilhelm, Mr. Harrison; Stephen Caulker, Jacob Renner, Simeon Wilhelm, George Lancaster,

William Butscher, and Jane Welsh. It was truly pleasing to see the children receive it with a serious and humble spirit; and I pray and hope that their souls may be strengthened by it.

“The natives and the other children stayed during the Communion Service.

“I asked him who came according to his promise, if he understood any thing? He said he did a little—it was very good.

“In the afternoon Brother Wenzel preached a farewell sermon, from 2 Tim. ii. 8.

“After we returned, I assembled the children who had received the Lord’s Supper, in order to give them suitable counsel and admonitions. I reminded them, that now the eyes of others would be upon them; that they would disappoint our hopes, and incur great guilt, if they walked inconsistently with a Christian profession. I then said, ‘I will give you two directions:—Be regular in private prayer, morning and evening—and read your Bible daily.’ I then enlarged on these duties, and prayed with them.

“An affecting incident, which took place among the children, will awaken hope respecting them.

“The elder boys often choose and repeat the psalm which is to be sung in family-worship. One of the boys having behaved perversely, was reprovèd by Mr. Renner, who told him the evil and danger of sin. The boy seemed much affected by the admonition. It was his turn to choose the psalm, on the evening of the day in which he had been reprovèd. He chose the Fifty-first Psalm, beginning,

‘Have pity, Lord! O Lord, forgive!
Let a repenting rebel live.’

He repeated it evidently under great depression, till he came to these words—

‘Though sudden vengeance seize my breath.’

The poor lad here paused—he could go no farther—he burst into tears; the whole school sympathized with him, and were evidently deeply affected. We know who has said, ‘A broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.’

“April 15, 1816. *Monday*.—It was thought expedient that I should leave Mr. Renner and Mr. Wilhelm in Mongè Backe’s hands, and give him a present according to country-fashion. I went up to Lissa this morning for that purpose.

“I told him I was now going to England, and was come to take leave of him.

“He said he took it kind. He wished we would send more goods to Mr. Renner, that when people came to him with country produce, he might not have to turn them back for want of goods.

“ I again endeavoured to impress it on his mind, that we dwelt among them not for trade, but to teach what we knew would be for their good. He must have seen that God had blessed white men with a knowledge of many things, of which black men knew nothing; and, among other things, God had given them his word, to shew them the way to be happy here and after death. I then said, ‘ We send our missionaries only to teach you and your children this book, because God has commanded us to do so : what things the missionaries buy are only what they want to live upon. I hope you will do them good, *i. e.* protect them.’

“ He then told me he had done so. White men and black men had all said missionaries made yamfa (acted deceitfully), and brought men-of-war to burn the factories; but he did not think it. He told them, ‘ If so, why give them your children?’ Thus he had been their friend. He seemed gaatified with his present; and told me, that Mr. Renner had said he had friends behind who supported him; and he found Mr. Renner’s words good and true by my coming.

“ I then said, ‘ We told you that Mr. Renner and Mr. Wilhelm would come to teach you white man’s book—the same thing that we teach the children. Now I have to say, Mr. Renner will come as soon as he can get time. Will you like that he should come and teach you once a week?’ He said, ‘ Yes; only I do not say that I will like all he says.’ ‘ No,’ I replied, ‘ I do not expect you to promise that; only hear, for some time. You may not like it at first, or see that it is good; but I think one and another will, in time, find that it is good for them. I assure you, that if you receive his words, I know that it will make you happy here and for ever.’ He asked if I should see him again. I said, most likely never in this world; but, if he attended to and received Mr. Renner’s words, we should meet in heaven. He said, ‘ God bless you, and bring you safe home!’

“ There are said to be ten or twelve natives who are entitled Mongè, because they possess slaves. There are others who are freemen; and others, runaway slaves, who are protected. Those who can maintain them have more wives than one. Brother Renner says, that if any are truly converted to the faith, it is not likely that they would be allowed to settle near Canoffee. His idea is, that if any considerable number should be brought to see the importance of Christianity, they would adopt it nationally as their religion, and build prayer-houses as the Mahommedans do; at which places it would be easy for the missionaries to assemble the people frequently together.

“ In the evening we took a walk. The boys carried us over the brook, and we came to a Mandingo town. Two Mandingo men, one after the other, came to meet us, with their beads in their hands. I talked a good deal with them, through one of the boys. I asked, ‘ What

are those beads good for?" 'To pray with to God.' I replied, 'God looks at what our heart asks. He is a spirit, and we must worship him in spirit and in truth.' One said, 'Our book and your book the same.' 'No,' I said, 'it is not so; our book long before yours. I will tell you what a Mandingo man said to me the other day: "My book lets me get money by lies."' He then burst into a laugh, but did not deny it. I continued: 'Our books says, liars go to hell; and I am sure our books says true. Would you not like to have it in Arabic?' He said, he should. I told him I would think of it, whether I could spare one for him.

"SET OUT ON THE RETURN TO SIERRA LEONE.

"April 16, 1816. *Tuesday*.—Having now, in some measure, gone through my work at the settlements, we met in order finally to commit one another in prayer to God. The missionaries, Renner, Nylander, Wenzel, and Wilhelm, with Mr. Harrison, and their wives, met me for that purpose this morning. We knelt together before the Throne of Grace, and found it good to pour out our hearts before our God! May it, indeed, please the Father of Mercies, ever to unite these his servants together, in entire devotedness to his work!

"I felt pain in leaving the children. The boys and girls crowded round us, and several asked to go with me. They kept their eyes fixed on the boat till we were out of sight. Mrs. Renner and Mr. Harrison accompanied us to the ship, which lay in the river many miles below Bassia.

"About eight o'clock I got our large family together to worship—the sky our canopy, and the deck our prayer-house. Mrs. Wilhelm, Mrs. Wenzel, and the girls, had possession of the cabin; and we slept in the hold, on trunks and casks, amidst innumerable cockroaches; having with us William Wilberforce, William Marsh, Basil Woodd, and other boys. They often brought pleasant recollections to me of the honoured men whose names they bear.

"April 17. *Wednesday*.—We are now at anchor near the sand-bar, waiting for the tide or wind.

"We assembled about seven o'clock for prayer, when I explained the parable of the marriage supper. We first sing, and the children enable us to have a full chorus. Altogether we are thirty-three in number.

"What a comfort it is that the Saviour is ever present, and to be found of them that seek him! I am sometimes disposed to use Goldsmith's lines in this view:—

'Where'er I roam, whatever realms I see,
My heart, untravell'd, fondly turns to thee—
Still to my [Saviour] turns!'

"We went on shore to visit Debora, a small Bagoe town. I have

never been in a place where I saw so many marks of superstition—devils' houses, as usual; but a superabundance of greegrees on every house, and several images of devils, to which they offer sacrifices. The people were very kind. A man went up the palm tree to get some wine for us; and they brought in palm wine, fish, and a cock, as presents. I gave them a dollar in return. Brother Nylander said to them, 'Many good things in this place; but one thing bad I see here—people not know God, and therefore not love him, and not go to him when they die.' They said those were true words. I then said, 'Would you like that white man should come, and tell you about God, and teach his book to you?' They replied that they should like it very much—those were good words that I had said to them. I asked, 'Would you be kind to him, and give him a place to sleep in, and take care of him?' They said they would. There were about twenty houses, and it might be a suitable place for occasionally visiting.

"I cannot but think that the willingness of the natives to receive our missionaries must, in part, arise from the character which they have attained; though the desire of trade is, probably, the prevailing motive.

"About half-past eleven we set sail to get over the sand-bar. It was more difficult and dangerous than we had expected. The water was shallow; and, as the wind was against us, we were obliged frequently to tack. Perhaps few who have not been in danger can conceive the feelings which naturally arise when soundings are taken, and they come down to four, three, two, one and a half, and even one fathom—when our vessel could only just float and the bottom of the sea was hard, and we expected every moment the ship would strike. For my part, my only comfort in such a situation is in having a **DIVINE SAVIOUR**, whose blood is of powerful efficacy to cleanse from sin, and whose almighty power can carry through all danger.

"CALL AT KAPPAROO.

"The wind being favourable for us after we had got over the bar, we came to anchor about ten at night, not far from Kapparoo.

"I explained Mark iv. 35-41, to our family on deck.

"April 18, 1816. *Tuesday*.—Mongè Zeaca came about an hour after we arrived, to give service, as usual. Much of their time is spent by the natives in this way. Would they pay as much service to God, as they do to one another, it would indeed be well. Mr. Klein complains of his being much exposed to begging amongst them. I told him to be firm in resisting this: we could not undertake any thing beyond a reasonable compensation for protection, and rent for the ground. The fact is, that all around is wretchedly poor; and as the natives see the missionaries in possession of rice, fowl, goats, palm oil,

and other necessities, they imagine that they are rich, and can supply all their wants.

“Mongè Demba came afterwards. I told him the result of the palaver meeting on the Rio Pongas, with respect to the ready allowance to the missionaries to visit the native towns, in order to instruct the people; and that he wished Mr. Klein to do the same in and near Kapparoo.

“He said, that he should be glad that Mr. Klein did go, and he would protect him in doing so. ‘We do know,’ he said, ‘a little about God—that after we die, we come before him, and answer our cause to him; and we want to know more.’

“It seemed so desirable to reach Sierra Leone before Sunday, that I thought it better not to stay and baptize the elder children—Julia, Betty, and Sally; but I talked with each of them separately, and was well satisfied with their answers. I asked them, for what baptism was intended? They said, to show that they were given up to God. I asked, why water is used? To show that the blood of Jesus washed away our sins, and the Holy Spirit gives us a new heart. I asked them, if they did feel sorry for their sins? Yes, they knew they had a bad heart; when they ought to pray to God they could not. I asked them, on what they depended for forgiveness—how they hoped to get to heaven? They replied, by trusting in Jesus. One seemed not to have clear ideas on the difference between faith and prayer. I have had several opportunities to observe this indistinctness of views; yet, I believe, it has consisted with right feeling. I told them, that they appeared to me in a proper state to be baptized; but as I came upon them suddenly, I thought it better they should wait till Sunday, when Mr. Klein would baptize them.

“Julia told me, she wished to go with me, that she might have time for school; she had so much work where she was. This seems to be the general case, probably quite of necessity, as to all the redeemed children. I told her what St. Paul said on this point—‘If any man will not work neither should he eat;’ and that this was the time for toil and trouble. Wherever she might be, she would find this true. It was only hereafter that we should rest from our labours, and be with our Lord. She seemed contented with this reply.

“Mr. Klein told me, that some Mandingo men had been with them, who seemed very teachable and willing to receive information; and that they had much encouragement to persevere, from other circumstances. Several of the natives had attended worship on Sunday, and King Demba had himself been once.

“In the evening, I explained the seventh chapter of Revelation; and told them that I should probably never see them again, till we met at that day which would decide who of them would be with God for ever.

“ LEAVE KAPPAROO.

“ We left them at ten ; having lighted a fire on shore, as a signal to the ship to send the boat. We got on board in good time for the tide, which was to carry us out of the bay.

“ April 19, 1816. *Friday*.—We passed the Isles de Loss early this morning, and are now sailing with a south-west wind to Sierra Leone. I read Psalm ciii., and endeavoured to show from it what should be the habitual state of the Christian’s mind towards his God.

“ We had a good deal of rain in the course of the day, and began to see more clearly what mercies we had enjoyed in having fine weather. The rain came through the deck ; and there was scarcely a dry spot to be found. The wind enabled us to keep our course till evening. We saw the mountains of Sierra Leone, and expected to reach it this day, but the wind failed us.

“ In the evening the weather cleared up, and we had family worship as usual. I explained part of the first chapter of Revelation.

“ ARRIVE AT SIERRA LEONE.

“ April 20, 1816. *Saturday*.—Through the mercy of God, we landed in safety about half past eight o’clock. The Echo is not yet come. The Olive Branch arrived four weeks ago. By coming in the Salisbury, and not in the Olive Branch, as I endeavoured to do, I have saved so much time as to enable me to visit the Rio Pongas before the rains come on. Here, I would acknowledge the kind providence of God, and thank him for all the mercies showered down upon me.

“ While the goodness of God has preserved me hitherto, I have seen the graves of many of our dear missionaries.

“ At Kacara lie Mr. Barneth and Mrs. Wenzel.

“ At Bassia, Mr. Prasse.

“ At Canoffee, Mr. Meisner.

“ An Domingues, Mr. Quast.

“ At Santa Cruz, Mr. Meyer.

“ At Goree, Mrs. Meyer.

“ At Sierra Leone, Mrs. Butscher, Mr. and Mrs. Schulze, Mr. and Mrs. Hartwig, and Mrs. Nyländer.

“ At Yongroo, Mr. Sperrhacken.

“ VISIT TO YONGROO POMOH SETTLEMENT.

“ April 29, 1816.—Intending to go over to-day to Yongroo, I was delayed from ten o’clock till three, waiting for Kroomen to row me over.

“ I have sometimes endeavoured to ascertain the root of the impatience which rises on such occasions. There is in it too much of this

feeling : ' I am such a great man, able to do so much, and to make so much of my time, that the loss of it in this way is insupportable.' But it pleases God to show us by those delays, that he is the Great Master, and that we are nothing but his instruments ; that there is a time to wait upon him, and acknowledge our insignificance, as well as a time to work. Besides, his ways are always best ; and it is good only when our own thoughts and ways are brought into complete subjection to him.

" We set out about three o'clock, and reached the Bullom shore between six and seven, as it was getting dusk. The passage across is about seven miles ; rather difficult on account of sand banks, and especially at low water ; but Mr. Macaulay had lent me his yawl, and we got over very pleasantly.

" When I got to Yongroo, I found Mr. Nylander had set off to bring me from Sierra Leone hither ; but, having gone out more towards the sea, we had missed each other on the passage.

" Yongroo Pomoh is on rising ground, above the shore, and seems pleasantly situated. There is a little strip of low swampy ground between it and the shore ; but the settlement appears too much above it, and the swamp itself too narrow, for any injury to result from it to the settlement.

" I talked with the children at family worship. It is pleasant to see the children of another nation, the Bulloms, as well as the Soosoos, bringing up ' in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.'

" April 30.—We had a great deal of rain all night, and part of this morning. The thunder rolled most tremendously for an English ear ; and the lightning kept continually flashing, and illuminating the heavens. It illustrated the words of the Psalmist : ' The voice of thy thunder was in the heavens. The lightning lightened the world : the earth trembled and shook !'

" The dampness and gloom, and other inconveniences arising from the rains, tend to make this by much the most uncomfortable season in this climate. The floors being only dried mud, and the roofs made of bamboos, there is a dampness in the dwellings, which must, I should think, be unwholesome. In the dry season the rooms are very dusty from the same cause.

" About three o'clock, brother Nylander came over, and after dinner we went together to Yongroo, King George's town. It may contain fifty houses ; but the town has been of late very much deserted for another.

" We found some Mandingoes dancing and chattering in a most ridiculous manner, to an instrument something like an English fiddle, but of a very different shape.

" Dalla Modu, the Mandingo headman, was there.

"I was soon after introduced to King George. He is, I am told, above one hundred years old; but he does not seem so old, but appears strong and active. I told him I came from England to see our friends here. He inquired after Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Macauley, and Mr. Thornton. I told him I wished to get a meeting of the headmen, to talk about cultivating the land, and going more to the towns to talk to the people about Christianity. He promised to get them together on Saturday. He seems a kind, sensible old man.

"Mr. Nylander lived in Yongroo five months with perfect security. It is about half a mile from his present residence of Yongroo Pomoh, or Little Yongroo.

"In the burying-place, the natives raise huts or coverings over the graves, and place their mats or sticks, with a jug or two, for supplying, as they say, the spirits of those that are dead with what they may want, when they come out, as they suppose they do, at different times. There were many huts of this description.

"Near this spot was the Christian burying-place, where Mr. Sperrhacken and his child, and two of the school children, are buried.

"The crickets, ants, musquitoes, sand-flies, and other insects, began to abound with the rains.

"May 1, 1816.—Last night, again, it was very tempestuous—much loud thunder and lightning in quick succession, and much rain. I have been bit in at least twenty places by musquitoes. The irritation which they occasion is very troublesome. I saw the termites, or bug-a-bugs, rise from the ground in great numbers, with their long wings. They fly till their wings drop off, and then become a prey to a vast number of enemies.

"A considerable part of the morning has been passed with visitors. A Mandingo man came, with whom I had a good deal of conversation about his prayers, which he said he daily made. I had great difficulty in getting him to understand the difference between praying with the heart and with the lips, and in proving to him that the former, unaccompanied by the spirit, only displeased God. I showed him an Arabic Bible: he could read it, but did not understand the meaning.

"Dalla Modu came to pay a visit, in returning from Yongroo to his own town. He understands English a little. The Mandingoes are certainly more intelligent than the other natives. They chiefly talk Soosoo, and the higher classes understand Arabic.

"After Dalla Modu went away, King George came. King George is like Mongè Demba in situation. From age and character, he is considered as superior headman, and difficult palavers are referred to him. We talked with him about getting his people to come on Sunday. We had got a large bell, and they could hear it at six towns in the neighbourhood. He said they would come by degrees. Brother Nylander

replied, 'But they must make a beginning.' He objected that they had so many palavers on that day, that this would be a hindrance to them. I told him that God had said, 'Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy,' and had sent good men hither to tell them this; and then added, 'Now, king, when you come before God after death, what will you say, when God asks you, why you did not keep this day holy? You cannot say you did not know it: we have told you.' He said, 'Very true.'

"A canoe is come over from Mr. Wenzel, with information that the Echo arrived with several schoolmasters. Thank God for his mercy! I shall return to Sierra Leone to arrange their stations, God willing, to-morrow.

"I passed part of the afternoon in examining the boys. They seem full as forward as those who have been a similar time at the other schools.

"In the evening I went to Cumim, a village about half a mile from the settlements, on the opposite side to Yongroo. It seems to contain more people. They have here a singular custom of putting a stone in a place, under a little shed, on the death of every person in the town. There were several hundreds of stones there. There is a devil's house, with a broken plate and jug, as usual.

"The ground on which Yongroo stands was formerly a plantation belonging to the Sierra Leone Company. There are, consequently, plenty of orange trees, several cocoa-nut trees, some cinnamon trees, Barbadoes cherries, pine apples, &c. &c.

"Stephen Caulker seems to go on very steadily with the children, and I sincerely hope will be useful to them.

"May 2, 1816.—I went this morning to Cumim. Every house seems to have a representative of the evil spirit, in some way or other. At one we saw two pots. They said one contained a pomul, or spirit. 'Where?' They pointed out a small round stone in it. We tried to persuade them to throw it away, but in vain. We talked a good deal with a man who had a greegree about his neck, till he was so ashamed that he took it off; but he would not throw it away. One woman said, 'What you write book (meaning letter) for?' We replied, 'We tell a friend at a distance what we think or want by that; but we do not do it to protect us from danger. God only can do that. We pray to God for that. You see God take care of white man, without greegrees.'

"PALAVER MEETING AT YONGROO.

"May 4, 1816.—After we had breakfasted, we went to Yongroo, and found King George, and four or five inferior headmen and about fifty people, gathered together to receive us. Brother Nylander introduced me to them, by saying to an interpreter, as usual, what he said

to another, till it came round to the king. I then gave them presents ; and informed them that I came from England to see them and our missionaries, and I was glad to meet them and talk with them.

“ First, I would tell them that I thought it would be better if their children were to work part of the day, and learn book the other part ; lest they should be fit for little when they grew up. We wanted land for this purpose.

“ After some consultation, they readily agreed to this ; and admitted that it was very desirable, lest, when they should come home, they should know nothing but how to eat and read English.

“ I then explained to them some of the advantages of learning book ; and told them, that if the children attended to what we taught them, they would love God and their Saviour Jesus Christ, and would honour their parents, love one another, and be quiet, peaceable, and diligent.

“ I afterwards reminded them that Mr. Nyländer had apprised them, at the beginning of this dry season, that he wished to come and visit his friends in the towns and at a distance, and talk to them about God ; but he had been prevented by one thing or another. Now, however, we wished that he should, on the first opportunity, come among them. I wished to know if the headmen who heard me would get their people together when he came, that he might talk to them. They talked together ; and after making some objections about being too old to learn, which we answered, they agreed to this.

“ I then said they would perhaps wish to know why Mr. Nyländer had come hither ;—not to get money by trade, not to get any good for himself ; but, on the contrary, to spend a deal of money, and take on himself much labour in teaching their children. I would tell them this. We had a book, which we knew came from God. I then enlarged on the contents of the Bible—the certainty of death—the immortality of the soul—and the two states, heaven for the good, hell for the wicked—and the way of obtaining salvation by the Son of God : and I showed them how God, in that book, required us to teach others what he had taught us.

“ They said they liked it very well, and therefore they brought their children. They would not have done so, if they had not liked it. The King of the Scarcies had been told by them of it, and he had sent two of his children.

“ I then, in the name of the society, thanked them that Mr. Nyländer had lived peaceably and quietly, and had been protected by the king ; and assured them that all our desire was to do them good, which they must have seen.

“ They said Mr. Nylander did good among them.

“ They wished to know what land he wanted, and we pointed out the boundaries.

“ I told them how they could hear the bell at five or six towns. It would ring plenty on Sunday, and then I hoped they would come. They complained of not being able to understand. I informed them that Mr. Nylander was taking the best steps to enable them to do this; and I hoped he would soon be able to talk Bullom with them.

“ So far this would have been a very satisfactory meeting; but one unlucky fellow put it into their heads to ask for rum; and another entertaining the same wish, they asked us for some. We told them, ‘Oh no! we can never do that: rum spoils the head—we want to teach you good things.’ They said, ‘We want something to pay us for the trouble of coming to hear all this.’ We said, ‘We should do bad to give you rum—that no good at all—we can never do that.’ Brother Nylander said, ‘You make me ashamed of my Bullom people, before white man, my stranger.’ They then seemed sorry that they had asked for rum: but every interview shows the carnal mind in full vigour among Bulloms, as well as Soosoos. But we will, God helping us, teach them high and better things,

“ AT YONGROO POMOH.

“ In the evening we took a walk, by the sea shore, to the entrance of Yongroo; where are two devils’ houses, to guard the place on the sea side.

“ We are now greatly harrassed, in the evening and night, (it being the beginning of the rainy season), with all kinds of insects, particularly musquitoes, sand flies, a large fly like a bee, crickets, and others. They disturb one every moment.

“ *Sunday, May 5, 1816.*—At morning family prayer, some of the Bulloms were present, to whom I spoke on the love and power of the Saviour.

“ King George came alone to public worship. Brother Nylander read prayers, and I preached.

“ After the service, Mr. and Mrs. Nylander, Mr. Johnson, Caulker, and myself, received the Lord’s Supper. We found it good thus to meet four or five, and remember our crucified Lord.

“ I preached in the afternoon, from Matt. xxviii. 19. ‘Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:’—and had afterward the pleasure of baptizing Mr. Nylander’s children, Catherine and Ann Elizabeth. The school children seemed interested; and I was glad of the opportunity of talking to them on the ordinance; as, by and by, it may be desirable to baptize some of them that are of competent understanding.

“ May 6, 1816.—We generally rise about half-past five o’clock. Soon after six, great numbers of people came, to sell palm oil, rice, and chickens, for cloth, handkerchiefs, powder, &c. This occupied Mr.

Nyländer till seven, when they came in to prayers. I explained the first part of Mark v. After prayers, others came with trade ; and thus was brother Nyländer employed till half-past eight o'clock. This trade is very wearisome ; and Brother Nyländer says he is often so exhausted after it, as to be unfit for any thing else.

“ My hands, and most parts of my body, are quite sore and irritable, from bites of various insects. This is their harvest time.

“ The moonlight nights are very delightful in Africa. The moon shines very brightly ; and being without that dazzling heat of the sun which makes day so oppressive, the light is peculiarly pleasant.

“ May 7.—About three o'clock, the children came together, in clean clothes. I distributed prizes among them, the best children choosing first. They seemed much pleased with their knives, scissors, and handkerchiefs. I then entered into a little history of the society—how the English people loved them—what they had done for them—and how they met to think of them, to talk about them, and to pray for them : and then showed them the return which they should make for all this care and kindness ; and put it to them, whether it would not be a shame, if, after all our endeavours, they disappointed us, by neglecting the instructions given them.

“ After dinner, I and Mr. Johnson took a walk to Yongroo.

“ About seventy people were collected, building a hut, which was to protect the town. Some called it a greegree hut. The king said it was ‘ medicine for the town,’ I said, ‘ I suppose devil’s house :’ he said, ‘ Yes :’ but it appeared much better than the usual devils’ houses ; and we learned afterwards that it was a place in which to put a stone, on the death of any one ; so that it may be rather called their house of spirits. There were many women, the upper part of whose faces and legs were painted blue. Some of the people were beating tortoise-shells, and others drums, by way of music. Others were bowing in a solemn way before the house—thus honouring, if not worshipping, the spirits of the dead. The old witch-woman, whose office it is to point out any persons suspected of witchcraft, was there : she had a cutlass in one hand, and a stick in the other. My heart sunk within me at the sight of so much superstition and folly. I felt mingled shame and compassion, to see the degradation of these poor half-naked heathens. We had no interpreter to talk with them.

“ May 8.—In the afternoon, four or five women came : I showed them the portrait of my wife. Their astonishment was extreme. They drew back—chattered to one another—turned it sharply round, to look behind it—and, at last, began to salute it in Bullom, ‘ How do you do, white lady ?’—I said to them, ‘ You see white people know a great deal which black people do not : but there are better things than these, which they know—about God, and the way to heaven when we die.

Mr. Nylander preaches these things on Sundays, and wants to make black people know them : will you come and hear him?" They said they did not know English. I told them he would speak in Bulloom. They then asked, apparently with some conscious shame, 'Will you pay us for the trouble of coming?' I replied, 'Oh, no! it is for your own good that we take such pains to teach you. Come and hear.' They then said they would come next Sunday; and asked the number of days to Sunday, which we told them.

"I see, however, that we must not expect to get black people to come and hear us. We must go to them, and talk to them in their towns; and then doubtless, by-and-by, it will please God to impress some of their hearts, and incline them to seek those blessings, of which they cannot know the value.

"VISIT TO MAHEIRA.

"After dinner, we walked, by the sea side, to Maheira, a town about two miles distant, with about twenty houses—situated near the sea shore, but, as is customary, in the midst of a bush, for fear of attacks during the continuance of the slave trade. There were two devils' houses : as usual, miserable places; one unroofed, and half broken down. The people of this town were working in the lugar, or rice-fields, so that we saw only two or three old women.

"We took the boys with us. They reminded me much of an English school. They seem to have all the life and energy of English boys, with more docility and simplicity. They ran along the shore, jumped and played, and seemed highly to enjoy their walk.

"After prayers, a tornado came on. I had a better opportunity than before of observing the gathering of the black clouds from the east—their gradual enveloping of the heavens in darkness—the darting of the lightning—the blowing of the wind—and the heavy rain which followed. The accounts of these tornadoes appear, in general, exaggerated. After encountering one or two, all dread of them leaves the mind.

"VISIT TO KETOUR.

"May, 9, 1816.—After dinner, I walked to Ketour, a village about four miles distant; whither part of the inhabitants of Yongroo have removed, in order to be near their lugar. We walked past Yongroo : after which the path lay almost all the way through bushes, and occasionally through long grass. We crossed one brook near Ketour. Over it there was a bridge, fixed in the usual style, being a few trunks of trees laid in the water. The headman, who knew Mr. Nylander, presented us with a cock as a present, and offered to share with us some fish that he was eating. There might be twenty houses. A little

further is Kemia, where there may be fifteen houses. I told the headman that Mr. Nylander would come and teach them the same things that he taught the children.

"The moon shone with its usual brightness, and guided us home. I had five of the school boys with me.

"The time was suitable for meditation; and I thought 'Perhaps soon the light of the church, borrowed from the true Sun of Righteousness, may shine here, amidst heathen darkness—perhaps these dear boys may thus adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour!'

"The path was so overshadowed with trees and bushes, that, notwithstanding the clear light of the moon, our way was gloomy.

"The thinness of the population is very observable. It would probably be impossible to collect two thousand people, anywhere within ten miles of Youngroo, taking in all the villages and towns.

"VISIT TO MADINIA.

"May 10.—We visited Dalla Modu's town, named Madinia. The Bulloms call it Longky.

"We set off about half-past seven o'clock, and walked by the sea shore, past Cumin and Maheira, till we came to Touloug. We went up to this town. The road or path is good, but steep from the sea shore, from which it is distant about a quarter of a mile. There were about twenty houses, and many marks of superstition. Mr. Nylander talked a good deal with the headman, reminded him that he had often asked him to come and hear him, and told him that now he purposed coming to him, and hoped he would get all his children together, that he might talk with them. He told him the duty of prayer to God, in answer to some observations about their mode of prayer.

"There are here two or three devils' houses, one of which strangers are not permitted to see. They believe, as they say, that if you strike a particular part in that house, when any one has injured you, and then run away, the blow will kill him, to whatever place he may have gone.

"Not far distant were three posts: a fourth had been knocked down. In the middle of these was buried a greegree. When asked the use of this, the people said that it was to keep the leopard at a distance from the town. We told them that it was buried, and most likely rotten, and asked them how the leopard could see it. They seemed ashamed, and said, 'Yes; the bug a-bugs might have eaten it.'

"We returned to the shore, and passed Massaiba, which contains but three or four houses, and then proceeded to Tintafor, which seems a more considerable town than the others, containing, perhaps, thirty houses. There were devils' houses, as usual.

"We next arrived at Kunoosundee, or Little Bence Island. They were cooking their cassadas for breakfast: but few of the people were

in the place. A devil's house, as usual. It is a small town. There had been another town between this and Madinia, called Robenkel; but there had been a dispute between Madinia and Robenkel, and the Robenkel people had left the place. We then went the remainder of the way by the sea shore. We got to Madinia in two hours and a-half. Just before we arrived, we saw the people digging for fresh water, in the sand from which the tide had retired. This is the best fresh water which they can procure; and it is by no means so brackish as might be expected.

"We passed a black rock. The Bulloms say, that if any one touch this rock, he will have a disease called the crow-crow ever after, it being the devil's seat. We found some good oysters on this rock, which we ventured to eat, notwithstanding the threatened penalty.

"Dalla Modu gave us a friendly reception. He is a Mahommedan, and the headman of the town. All his subjects are Mahommedans. The appearance of the place is much superior to that of the other towns. Each dwelling is, in a measure, inclosed. We passed through his gate (which is, indeed, a dwelling of itself) into the interior court.

"Dalla Modu's porter, if I may so call him, received us at the gate, and conducted us to him. I presented him with an Arabic Bible, splendidly bound. He seemed much pleased with the present, and called for the Mahommedan priest, and two or three other friends. They began to read in the book of Genesis. Dalla Modu said, 'Your book and religion much the same as ours.' Mr. Nylander said, 'Not exactly so. In some things they are like each other; but in other things they differ very materially.' He said he had been at church at Sierra Leone. Mr. Nylander pressed him to read the book, and to compare it with the Koran, which he promised to do.

"We came on this day (Friday) in order to attend the Mahommedan worship. It did not begin till twelve o'clock. In the interval, we walked through the town. The men, houses, and furniture, are all better than those of the Soosoos. We called at two leather-workers. One was preparing a scabbard for a cutlass; and another a leather string for a greegree. We talked a good deal with the man about the greegree, and he freely admitted, after a little conversation, that it was good for nothing, but to sell and make money of. We then put it to him, how he could thus cheat his neighbours, and sin against God, when he was silent. The same man afterwards brought out an Arabic manuscript prayer-book, and part of the Koran in manuscript, all in separate leaves. Mr. Nylander had a long discussion with him about the Koran and Mahommed. The man, however, as might be expected, persisted in his notions.

"It appears to me, that there would be, humanly speaking, a hundred times more difficulty in converting these partly-civilized Mandingoes,

than the untutored Bulloms and Soosoos, who seem to have some feeling of their ignorance.

“AFRICAN MAHOMMEDAN WORSHIP.

“At length the prayer-time arrived, and a man went about to different parts of the town, to apprise the people.

“They came together, by degrees, to the mosque, which is a round house, open every way. There are lines drawn on the floor, to distinguish the rows of people. They all sit or kneel, in their manner, on skins or mats. As soon as any one enters, he stands upright, puts his hands by the side of his face, mutters a few words, and then bows down half way to the ground. He then touches the ground with his head twice, raises himself, and bows again. Others, particularly the priest, made more ceremonies of this kind.

“After about sixty or more men had been thus collected, Dalla Modu came in himself, dressed in scarlet robes, flowing muslin, and a turban. Immediately the priest began to sing out some words in a low tone. A man, acting as clerk, repeated some others, and they began their bowing and falling on the ground.

“On the whole, there was great outward seriousness and decorum; and I could not help wishing that some people, who are careless at public worship in England, could see the outward reverence with which Mahommedans worship. The solemn mockery, in another view, was very painful.

“The prayers lasted but about ten minutes, when the priest gave the blessing. Dalla Modu then gave him two or three papers; and afterwards, to my great surprise, produced the Arabic Bible which I had given him. He spoke a good deal upon it in Soosoo, and then handed it about the place of worship. I could not help marvelling to see blind men thus handing about to one another ‘the light to the feet, and the lamp to the paths,’ and longing that the Lord might open some of their eyes, to see that it was indeed the true guide to life eternal. I was still more surprised, when an interpreter was directed to go near me, and Dalla Modu addressed me in the prayer-house as follows:—He considered that I had done him a great favour, in bringing that book. He should have been obliged if I had brought him any book, or only sent it by a messenger, with a letter; but he took it very kind, that Mr. Nyländer had brought me with him, with that good book, which they were very glad to have. He prayed God, therefore, to bless me.

“I replied, I was obliged by his favourable acceptance of that book. It contained the Law, the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Gospels; and to their belief and practice of what that book contained, Englishmen owed all their happiness. We had sent Mr. Nyländer to teach it, and I had pleasure in giving it to Dalla Modu. I hoped that he and

his people would read it. I prayed God to bless them all in doing this.

"They then talked a little more, and the meeting broke up. The Bible was thus gladly accepted by Mahommedans, who could read it, and was brought, in a prominent manner, as a good book, before a Mahommedan congregation; and we 'therein rejoiced; yea, and will rejoice.'

"Dalla Modu had prepared dinner for us. Of course, as a Mahomedan, he had no wine at table.

"We saw a blacksmith very busy making hatchets. Their bellows, of goat-skin, have a curious appearance.

"A man amused us by having a very large snake twisted about his neck, and letting it crawl about him and on the ground. I believe it was not venomous.

"After dinner, we returned in the canoe which had come down with the tide for us. The tide being now in our favour, we were but about an hour and a quarter in reaching Yongroo.

"TAKES LEAVE OF THE BULLOM KING.

"May 11, 1816.—I went this morning, at half-past seven o'clock, to visit King George, in order to take leave of him. I spoke seriously to him on our view in sending missionaries, and told him that we could not wish him a greater good than diligently to attend to what Mr. Nyländer said; that he saw we came not, like the Mandingoes, to insult them; but, in a quiet, peaceable way, to teach them what we knew would be for their good. I hoped, therefore, that he would get his people to hear it and to attend to it. I then told him I left Mr. Nyländer with him.

"He replied, at some length, that they were all very glad Mr. Nyländer had come, and liked it much; that, formerly, people who wanted to learn English ways had great difficulty; they had to pay one slave for clothes, one slave for food, and four slaves for going to England to be taught; and, when they came back, they seemed to get no good, but to have learnt to drink rum, and to go about from place to place: that now it was much better—Mr. Nyländer teaching them in their own country. He said, 'You must tank de gentlemen in England, who send missionary here; and you tell dem, How do you do, GOOD,' meaning that I must assure them of his gratitude. I replied, I would take care to carry his message home.

"Brother Nyländer talked with him about establishing a day school at Yongroo; and I think it might, perhaps, be practicable, and very desirable. The difficulty is, that the women, on whom the hard work chiefly falls, do not like to part with the children, who are useful in helping them; but if they could be prevailed on, it might answer very well to have school-houses built in all the more populous towns

around. They might be built for a few bars, say £5; and they would serve for prayer-houses, where the missionary might get the people together, and pray with them, and preach to them; and where a schoolmaster might teach the children.

"King George said he would take care that Mr. Nylander should be undisturbed, as long as he lived; and his children would take care of him after his death.

"We saw, at Dalla Modu's town, a woman who had been educated and received daily religious instruction in Sierra Leone, who seemed now to live as the natives. This is, by no means, an unusual case.

"LEAVES YONGROO.

"I took some time to prepare for leaving this settlement. I spoke a good deal to the children at family prayer, and endeavoured to impress three lessons on their minds: Beware of country fashions—have no trust in yourselves—trust entirely in Christ.

"These black children soon twine about the heart. I have thought it likely to be a snare to have so many little ones about you, who look to you as a father, and are willing and obedient servants to do any thing you wish. It must be quite difficult to leave such a situation for the hardy life of the missionary in a native town.

"In the evening I left Yongroo, and returned to the colony.

"FORMATION OF SIERRA LEONE BIBLE SOCIETY.

"May 12, 1816. *Sunday*.—I preached a sermon this morning, preparatory to the formation of an Auxiliary Bible Society, for Sierra Leone, and the other British settlements on the western coast of Africa. The governor requested that all the other places of worship might be shut up, from ten till twelve. We had the service in the court room over the gaol, where it will now be constantly kept, till the church is built. It is a large room, and I was pleased to see it full. Mr. Davies said it was the largest congregation he had seen in Africa. They were very attentive whilst I preached from Matt. xxii. 29. 'Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures.' I endeavoured to show the evils arising from ignorance of the Scriptures—the advantages of being acquainted with them—the duty to help in diffusing them.

"In the afternoon, Mr. Jost accompanied me in visiting the sick soldiers in the hospital. I was pleased with the attention which some of them manifested; and all seemed grateful for Christian instruction. One stood aloof at first, as if quite above it; but, on talking kindly and seriously with him, he soon melted down.

"May 16. *Thursday*.—This day the meeting was held for the formation of the society. The governor took the chair; and having introduced the subject in a very appropriate manner, was followed by

the chief justice, myself, Mr. K. Macaulay, Mr. Stormonth, Dr. Bishop, the king's advocate, the Rev. Messrs. Davies, Renner, Butscher, and Nyländer, Major Mackenzie and Captain Rowe.

"It was a very interesting meeting; and lasted about two hours. May it be the presage of better times for Africa!—It is a great thing to see the chief men in a colony, thus nobly coming forward to plead for the Bible and the Bible Society.—God be thankful for all!

"LEAVES THE COLONY.

"June 7.—It is now half-past eleven. We have just weighed anchor. Mr. Davies and Mr. Butscher, left us a short time since. I have been greatly obliged to Mr. Butscher during the whole of my stay, for his kind attentions to me. I lived with him all the time I was in the colony, and believe him to be a faithful servant of his master.

"Mr. Bickersteth felt the benefit of sailing with a pious captain. Daily worship was maintained on board!"

CHAPTER IX.

ON Mr. Bickersteth's return to England, in August, 1816, he presented to the committee a report of his visit, embodying the information supplied by his journal, and affixing some suggestions for the future conduct of the mission. At the hazard of swelling this volume beyond its due proportions, we subjoin these admirable views, in which, we are satisfied, every single-hearted follower of Jesus will concur.

"Doubtless, the great means by which the heathen are to be brought to the knowledge of the Saviour is—

"I. The preaching of the Gospel.

"It is needless to enter into any proof of this point. The last commission of Christ, the reasoning of St. Paul in the tenth chapter to the Romans, and the experience of all missionaries are decisive on the subject. The only question is, how this can be most effectually accomplished, and especially in such a peculiar situation as that in which we labour.

"Even in Africa, under all its allowed difficulties, one great work undoubtedly was, as soon as it was practicable, to preach to the adult natives Christ crucified; not only by the life of the missionary, but by the actual and continual declaration of the Gospel, through an interpreter, till it could be done without one, in such assemblies as could be collected, in private conversation and in every other mode that could be adopted.

"Notwithstanding, however, the repeated instructions on this subject, I found that our missionaries had not complied with those instructions.

"It became, then, an important part of my inquiry, to ascertain what had been the great impediments to preaching; and in order to show this more clearly, it will be right to point out the state of the country when the mission was first commenced.

“At the time when the Rio Pongas mission was established, the settlements were surrounded on every side with slave factories and slave traders: the slave traders and headmen offered their children to the missionaries for instruction; they took them, and, probably, the only thing which frequently prevented them from being driven out of the country was that they had these children in their schools. Indeed, one of the headmen stated to me, that when the slave traders complained of the missionaries, as enemies to the country, he answered them by asking why they entrusted their children to them.

“There were, also, no interpreters in any way competent to convey religious instruction to the natives.

“The impediments to preaching may be summed up as follows:—

“Ignorance of the language—want of interpreters—the presence of the slave traders—sickness—the climate, which renders excursions in the rainy season impracticable—and, especially, the care of the children, which takes up the whole time of the missionary—and, perhaps, to those may be added the reluctance of nature to enter on a new undertaking. Here, also, I may mention that there are many temporal benefits necessarily connected with living in a large settlement, which the missionary who goes to preach the Gospel to the heathen, and live among them, must sacrifice.

“The state of the country is now, however, much more favourable to a public declaration of the Gospel than at the commencement of the mission. The slave trade is so far crippled, that many of its evils are passing away: trials for witchcraft are greatly diminished: personal security and mutual confidence are more established; and we may hope that the depopulated aspect which the country everywhere assumes, will, under the favour of God, and the due use of means, at no distant period, be changed for the blessings of civilization, and the Gospel of Jesus. Mongè Fernandez told me that the country had been greatly improved in the last few years; and he attributed this, partly to the presence and labours of the missionaries, and partly to the diminishing of the slave trade.

“Interpreters, also, though far from being fully adequate to the work, are obtained, and will enable our missionaries to make themselves understood by the natives. All the missionaries settled in the country seem determined, according to their ability, to begin the great work in the next dry season. Permission was obtained to do so at general meetings of the headmen; and it will be seen how strongly I urged this in my instructions. It seems a very feasible plan to have missionaries fixed in native towns, within a day or two's journey of a settlement, whose exclusive object shall be to learn the language, translate the Scriptures, &c., and preach to the natives.

“Mongè Fernandez named to me his five chief towns, as places where

he should be glad to have missionaries settled for this purpose. The benefits which would probably arise from this plan, together with the trials connected with the situation, are well stated by Mr. Nylander :—

“ ‘ A missionary may safely live in any native town. The advantages would be this—he would have the natives always near him ; he would see their miserable condition as heathens ; he would more easily and quickly learn the language in such a town than in a settlement ; he would have great opportunities of conversing both with children and adults, and of improving himself in the language, and in the way of accommodating his own language to theirs ; he would, altogether, be more familiar with them, and not appear so much of a trader as he does at a large settlement. But he must still, in some measure, trade ; he would be obliged to exchange goods for provisions ; he would also have to give presents, not only to the headman, but also to his neighbours. By staying in a town, his faith and patience would be much exercised : he would have no company but his God, no companion but his Bible ; he would be exposed to temptations of various kinds. The first thing which the heathens would offer to him, as a token of friendship, would be a wife ; they would carry on such vain talkings, that without watchfulness, hours might be passed away therein. A third temptation would be drinking, against which he must especially watch. Besides all this, in a native town there is the unpleasant noise of drum-beating, dancing, and singing, almost every night, so as much to disturb quiet rest. I lived in Yongroo for five months, partly by myself, and partly with my wife and children, in an uncomfortable, small house, surrounded with bushes. If a comfortable house should be built in a native town for a missionary, he might be very usefully employed there ; and, I believe, it is the very place where a missionary should be.’ ”

“ This plan would, at once, lead to preaching the Gospel to the adults.

“ May I be allowed to remark, what will indeed appear obvious to the committee, that the conversion of an adult is attended with many circumstances more favourable to the increase of the Gospel than in the case of a scholar. When it pleases God to bring an adult to the knowledge of the truth, it is evident to his neighbours that this is not the mere habit or force of education. The man is aware of the customs and evil practices which he must give up, and he has some idea of the obloquy and dangers to which he is exposed. It requires, then, a strength of mind, and a resolution, to break through these obstacles, which, on the one side, attracts the attention of all his companions, and, on the other, gives a kind of pledge that he will not return again to his native habits. Such a man also receives, with the grace of his own conversion, a zeal for the salvation of others, and becomes a powerful

instrument in bringing them, at least, to the use of the means of grace.

"The lives of several converted adult Africans prove that the Gospel, when truly received, produces just the same effects in Africa as in England. I was much interested with all that I heard and saw in one converted under the ministry of our missionaries on the Rio Pongas, and now at the Christian Institution. He had been a great assistance to Mr. Butscher in taking care of the children, and gave in his conduct and conversation many pleasing evidences of Christian sincerity.

"II. These remarks bring me to make some observations on

"SCHOOLS,

as a means of communicating our religion in subordination to the ministry of the word.

"I am well satisfied that the education of children is a most important subsidiary means of promoting Christianity. Its value in this respect is ascertained, beyond all controversy; and where the adult mind has been debased by peculiar habits, as it has on this coast, there are stronger reasons than usual for paying attention to the education of the children.

"Yet I would suggest, with considerable diffidence, that it appears to me very doubtful how far our plan of schools among the heathen, in which we maintain the children, are likely, if conducted on a large scale, to answer the purpose of the society.

"Let me previously observe, that I do not mean at all to say that any other steps could have been taken than those which were adopted when the mission commenced. The remarks already made on the state of the country will prevent such a conclusion. There is, doubtless, considerable advantage in maintaining the children, as it separates them from the sinful customs and practices of their parents and countrymen, and certainly tends, as has been said, to the security of the settlements. These advantages, however, must not be purchased at too dear a rate. Probably, also, the schools have produced, as was observed by one of the missionaries, some effect in softening the manners, and reconciling the natives to foreign customs, and thus preparing the way for missionaries.

"Having made these previous remarks, I venture freely and candidly to state the judgment which I formed on the subject.

"The obstacles which oppose a mission among the more uncivilized heathen are always necessarily great; but it appears to me that some peculiar difficulties arise out of large schools among the heathen, in which we have to maintain the children. It becomes necessary to have extensive buildings, and, in this part of Africa, a great supply of provisions before the rainy season. A large expenditure is occasioned;

the missionary becomes much occupied in mere secular business, and his character necessarily lowered; his cares multiplied, and his mind worn down with labour; while all the rest of his time is unavoidably engaged in the schools; and thus he is almost wholly hindered in his more important work of learning the language, and preaching. In the meantime the cupidity of the headmen, and other natives, who are now deprived of the gratifications procured through the slave trade, is excited, and they expect large presents, and would be very troublesome were not such presents often given.

“Mr. Nyländer, in his answer to queries on this head, has given his opinion as follows—‘Besides the school the missionary must attend to trading, in order to purchase the necessaries wanted for the maintenance of such a number of children, and hence the natives consider him more as a trader than as a minister of the Gospel. It is impossible for one missionary at a settlement (who has to stand sometimes for more than half a day, in the storehouse, to purchase rice, palm oil, fowls, plantains, &c., &c.), to attend to his school regularly; to learn a language, to preach, to translate, and to attend to gardening and other business. His mind cannot but be distracted, and nothing will be satisfactorily or completely accomplished.’ The advantages of these schools, though doubtless considerable, do not appear likely to be so great as might, perhaps, be reasonably expected. Hitherto we have gained but little with the adult natives, by this plan, except in some measure acquiring their confidence. The disposition, indeed, of many of the children seems, at present, very promising, yet we cannot but remember that they are children. The early blossom is beautiful; but when it comes to be shaken it may fall. When the children are called to live among their countrymen, without the advantage of those means of grace which they now enjoy, we cannot calculate very confidently on their firmness. The experiment has not, indeed, been fully tried; yet it must be admitted that several of those who have lived in schools, and have afterwards resided among their countrymen, have also assumed their country habits.

“I would refer, also, on this subject, to part of a conversation which his excellency, Governor MacCarthy once had with some of the missionaries, and which was communicated to me by Mr. Wilhelm:—

“‘Will not most of those children,’ asked his excellency, ‘when grown up, leave your settlements, and go home to their parents and among their countrymen, and join again their manners, neglect their books, forget what they have learnt, and get gradually rid of their religious impressions, having no place of worship to go to, where the Christian instruction which they have derived from you, might be perpetuated, and thus become idolators again? It seems to me that the children would derive much greater advantage from a good education in the colony

than in the midst of a heathen country. What value do the people in the Soosoo country put on reading and writing in English and the knowledge of arithmetic? This learning is of little value among them. But here, in the colony, the advantages are evident to every native, such as can speak, and read, and write in English, are preferred, and find employment before such as are ignorant. Besides, workmanship, in various branches, is here well paid for. Young people may find opportunity to learn some mechanical art, which they cannot do in the Soosoo country. And such as become religiously disposed, must doubtless, find themselves happier where places of worship are established, and congregations formed, than in a situation where the worship of idols prevails, and where their minds cannot be edified and encouraged by the repeated preaching of the Word of God. It seems to me that success would be more likely to ensue from missions established in and near a colony, than in the midst of a heathen country, where the missionaries have first to learn an uncultivated language, before they can speak to the people of the Christian religion, and where they must live without any assistance and protection from a regular government.'

"These observations respecting the education of children among the heathen abound in good sense, but the effect which the continued preaching of the Gospel, through an interpreter, would produce among the natives, in this part of Africa, has not yet been ascertained. The Mahommedans have made considerable progress, by means of schools. The instruction which they give is not, as I was informed, gratuitous; but many of the natives were so sensible of the distinction which it confers on society, that they pay one or two slaves for the maintenance and education of each scholar; yet it is important to consider that our progress will necessarily be slower, in this mode of communicating religious truth. The Mahommedans have not to encounter, like the Christian, temptations to change his religion, arising from natural corruption, or from the opposition of his countrymen. Indeed every worldly motive and temporal advantage strengthens his attachment to his creed.

"Yet I am far from thinking that the labour of the society among the children has been in vain. Many of them have, I trust, even already received abiding impressions of Divine truth, and will be useful to their country. We have need of patience at all times in our assiduous undertaking; but especially in schools, where, of necessity, it must be many years before we can see the fruit of our labours. Should the natives, therefore, allow our schools to continue in quietness at Canoffee and Kapparoo, (Yongroo, I consider, as under the protection of Sierra Leone); I would not recommend that they should be given up, but

only limited as to number, and that our farther efforts should, if possible, be made on a somewhat different plan.

“One of the missionaries sensibly observed as to the limitation of number, that if the scholars were confined to a certain number, the committee would know the exact annual expense of each settlement; and the natives, wishing their children to be instructed, would, perhaps, think the admission of their children a favour, whereas, at present, we invite them to bring their children under our care, and they even expect small presents for doing so!

“The advantage, and, indeed, necessity, of teaching the children to read their own language, in order to their being useful to their parents, and other countrymen, by reading the Scriptures and religious tracts, will be obvious. I gave express instructions that this should be attended to in future.

“Mr. Nylander states, on this subject, as follows:—

“‘A very great blessing it would be if both boys and girls were taught to read and write their own language. When a child thus taught to read his own language left school, and returned to his relations, having books in his own tongue, he would read perhaps to his father, or mother, or sister, or brother; and it certainly would attract their attention.’

“Further alterations in our plan of schools may take place by degrees. They might be opened under the care of an European schoolmaster, or a native youth, in the villages, without maintaining the children. The schoolmaster might relieve the missionary from all trade and secular business, and enable him to give his whole time to preaching and translating. The national system of education should be every where introduced, which would be attended not only with all the advantages which attach to it in this country, but with the further peculiar advantage of furnishing us with teachers inured to the climate, and able to carry on schools on a very economical plan, from the moderate salary which would suffice for their maintenance.

“It has sometimes struck me that schoolmasters, being men of much Christian experience and judgment, might be extensively useful settled in native towns, and follow there some mechanical art. In the present state of the natives, the good done will chiefly be through continued and patient conversations with them, and by the superior example of a Christian life. Schoolmasters of this description would prepare the way for the future labours of the missionary.

“I should think it very probable that the plan of adult schools may be brought into extensive operation in the colony, and, ultimately, in the country. Very few of the re-captured negroes have, as I was informed, been so long married and settled as to have families of children.

The chief number of children, therefore, in the colony, independent of those of the settlers, are such as are brought from captured slave ships. In these circumstances, our schoolmasters would probably be able to exert themselves with much effect amongst the adults in each town in the colony. Mr. Johnson had, before I left Sierra Leone, three adults, who came to him from Yongroo to Yongroo Pomoh, to be taught to read; and Mr. Jost had taught a Krooman, at Freetown, to read the alphabet and monosyllables.

“The subject of schools is one of such importance, that I have dwelt the longer upon it, and have endeavoured to gain every information, in order to communicate it to the committee whenever the question may come before them.

“It will be seen that my observations on this subject apply to schools among the heathens, and chiefly to those where we maintain the children.

“The schools in the colony are in every respect differently circumstanced; and here, I cannot but hope that the labours of the society will be incalculably beneficial.

“I would next, then, warmly recommend, that till we have more strength, our chief exertions, both in preaching and schools, should be in the colony, and within its protection.

“I have already dwelt so much at length on this colony, and so fully pointed it out, as a wide and most promising field which Providence seems peculiarly to call upon us to cultivate, that I need not here enlarge.

“ III. TRANSLATIONS

is the last measure for bringing the natives to the knowledge of Christ, to which I would call the attention of the committee.

“The translation of the Scriptures into the native languages is a very important object, which the society has already greatly encouraged. I am persuaded that it will repay every exertion. Many of the children in our schools will be able to read their own language, and I doubt not that in time even their parents will be willing and glad to be taught to read. The missionaries and the children will find it easy and acceptable to read the Word of God to the natives in their own tongue. The very circumstance of having their language written in white man’s book, has already attracted much attention.

“I proceed to consider those measures which respect the most economical and effectual management of the mission.

“Those measures relate to Expenditure, Superintendence, Visitation, and the Missionary Ship.

“ I. EXPENDITURE.

“On this subject I beg to suggest some considerations to the com-

mittee. The present salaries of the missionaries would be quite inadequate to their respectable and comfortable maintenance, were it not that the committee have usually furnished the amount in supplies from this country. Some inconvenience has attended this practice ; but, even if it be continued, an addition to the salaries seems requisite, in order fully to accomplish the affectionate intentions which the society has ever manifested towards its missionaries.

“ All European articles of food and dress are extravagantly dear, yet a climate like Africa calls for things which might be dispensed with in Europe.

“ May I further suggest, that though the principle of not aiming to accumulate property is of great and indispensable importance, yet it appears to me that the absolute restriction not to do it does not answer the object in view, and occasions some inconvenience. I would recommend that the society should make no claim on any part of the salary given to a missionary. It appears to me expedient that the salaries of the missionaries should be increased, so as to afford them an adequate maintenance, and to cover all reasonable expenditure, so that the society might be at a certainty with respect to its disbursements. A gradual diminution should take place, I think, in the maintenance of children at Kapparoo and Canoffee. It may become a question whether, at a future period, the maintenance of children in the schools of those settlements should not be relinquished, and such of the children as must be supported be removed to the Christian Institution, so as to have no children dependent on the society for their maintenance except in the Institution.

“ The committee will see, in my instructions to the missionaries, the regulations which it seemed desirable to make as to drawing bills. I think it is impossible wholly, at least at present, to provide supplies for the settlements from England ; though it is so much for the interest of the missionaries to have their support in this way, that I have no doubt as few bills will be drawn as possible.

“ 2. SUPERINTENDENCE.

“ The importance of fixed regulations, in the increasing extent of the African mission, and of a respectable and adequate authority to carry these regulations into effect, has become very evident.

“ I have several times perceived, in the course of my visit, the need and value of a suitable governing body in the missions, and have sometimes thought that it would be very desirable could we have a wise, experienced, and aged English clergyman or layman, at the Christian Institution, as superintendent of the whole mission. Should this idea meet the views of the committee, and such a man be gained to give himself up to Christ, he would be a great blessing to Africa.

“ 3. VISITATION.

“ This is a measure of much importance, with the view of giving the committee at home a full view of the state of the mission, and of directing and cheering the minds of the missionaries. All that I have seen induces me strongly to recommend it to the committee to send a visitor every year, or once in two, or at the most three years. The missionaries themselves wish this, and think that it will in every way promote the success of the mission.

“ 4. MISSIONARY SHIP.

“ I can now speak more from experience respecting the great probable advantages of a missionary ship, under the direction of a man of piety. I sincerely hope that the society will soon be enabled to obtain their object, in securing the use of such a vessel. In coming from Sierra Leone to Barbadoes, I had the great comfort of sailing with a captain who had the interest of religion deeply at heart ; we had, therefore, regular worship, morning and evening, at which many of the crew attended. Those who have felt the danger of intermixing with the world, without having the means of grace continued to them, will be best able to estimate the benefit and value of the privileges which I thus enjoyed. It is obvious how such a vessel will increase the facility of visitation, and of intercourse of every kind with our missionaries.

“ There are many circumstances of minor importance with which it seemed unnecessary to swell this report. They will either appear in my journal, or come before the committee, as occasion may require.

“ I am far from having accomplished all that I could wish or hope for, or, perhaps, all that might have been expected from me ; yet, if I have, in any degree, been enabled to remove impediments, or to afford aid to the salvation of the perishing Africans, I shall be abundantly rewarded. I can never regret any privation in a cause of such immense magnitude, and so dear to the Redeemer of lost souls. Any Christian, I am persuaded, who shall enter on a similar mission, will experience, with me, the truth of that promise, that no man, even for a season, *shall* leave house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God’s sake, who shall not receive manifold more, **IN THIS PRESENT TIME.**

“ I cannot but, in conclusion, notice how the kind prayers and wishes of the committee, in their instructions to me, have been graciously answered by the goodness of God. He has, indeed, ‘ ordered all the circumstances of my voyage, my visit, and my return in mercy.’ By sailing in the ship *Salisbury*, and not in the *Olive Branch*, or *Echo*, as at first designed, I was enabled to get through my visit to the country

settlements before the rainy season commenced, and to prepare things for the arrival of the schoolmasters; and I had scarcely finished my work before I had the advantage of a most comfortable vessel, and a pious captain, as far as Barbadoes, and a very favourable passage thence to England. I had not a day's ill health of any importance; and though much exposed to the weather, was not even wet through more than once, and never prevented from pursuing my plans. These things call first for my gratitude to the Father of Mercies; and next to the many friends who, I believe, favoured me with their prayers. May it please the Lord to reward them seven-fold in their own bosoms, and further to answer those prayers, by making use of any thing that I may have said or done in my visit, to the advancement of his kingdom and glory! Thus may we at length witness the fulfilment of that promise—'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.'

“(Signed,)

“EDWARD BICKERSTETH.

“Church Missionary House, August 26, 1816.”

Mr. Bickersteth very feelingly and eloquently deplores the want of English clergymen. He wrote—“Much as we are indebted to our German brethren—their labours are our disgrace—their Christian courage and self-denial our reproach; and, in an English colony, they cannot, from their almost necessary ignorance of our language and habits, be so acceptable as Englishmen. Oh! that some self-denying and devoted English clergymen, who love the Lord Jesus Christ better than their own lives, would at once give up all for him! If such would only engage to go for a limited period, they might render most essential service to the cause of their Saviour. There is no room for delay; for these poor recaptured negroes are literally perishing in multitudes, day after day, for lack of knowledge.

Perhaps, after the great number of valuable lives which have been lost, it may appear to some unjustifiable, and to others, scarcely considerate enough, to send out more missionaries to a climate confessedly unhealthy; but I do not calculate on this effect, with those who are endued with a true missionary spirit. It might have been thought that the number of martyrs would have hindered, instead of accelerated the progress of the church in the earlier ages of Christianity, yet it only increased the number of those who confessed Christ crucified, in the face of danger and of death. And where is our faith, if we sorrow for the missionaries whom we lose as those who have no hope? We must not forget what our Saviour says, Mark, viii. 35. We must not forget our profession, what it calls for, and what sacrifices it may require, and how every Christian should, in spirit, be a martyr. I am sure that he who does, in simplicity and sincerity, give up his country and his life for his Saviour, is rather an object of congratulation than of

regret—of emulation rather than of pity. Our Lord abundantly rewards his servants, even in this life, for every sacrifice they make; and though, in storming this last great fortress of Satan, entrenched, as it is, by its numerous languages, its climate, superstition, ignorance, and idolatry, many may fall, their blood will be precious in the sight of our Lord and his people, and will prove the seed of a church of God, which will increase till it covers all these nations.”

He considered it judicious, in the scarcity of teachers, and the disabilities to which the missionaries were exposed, to employ the most forward of the Bassia boys as ushers. Accordingly, he appointed some of them to assist at the following stations:—

Canoffee	Jacob Renner.
Kapparoo	Emanuel Anthony.
Yongroo Pomoh	Stephen Caulker.
Christian Institution	John Rhodes.
Kissey Town	James Curtis.
Regent's Town	George Lancaster.

He directed that these ushers should have ten shillings a month, in addition to their clothing and maintenance.

The following return was presented to him, of the number of the persons baptized, married, and buried, by each missionary, up to the period of his arrival in Africa:—

	Baptized.	Married.	Buried.
Renner, at Bassia	117	6	16
Butscher, at Sierra Leone	473	271	129
Nyländer, at Yongroo	4	—	4
Wenzel, at Canoffee	48	—	—
Klein, at the different Stations where he had been	5	—	5
	647	277	154

He also obtained a list of all the persons who were, at the time, dependant on the society, as follows:—

	Missionaries.			Servants, Grumettas, &c.	Native Children.	Total.
	Husbands.	Wives.	Children.			
Canoffee	3	3	—	10	100	116
Kapparoo	1	1	—	4	30	36
Yongroo Pomoh	2	2	4	4	50	62
Christian Institution	3	2	2	10	350	367
Kissey Town	1	1	2	—	28	32
Regent's Town	1	1	—	—	1	3
Gorce	1	1	1	—	109	112
	12	11	9	28	668	728

The journal of the Rev. E. Bickersteth has informed us of the abandonment of the Bassia settlement, and the removal of the children to Canoffee, where an extension of the society's land had been granted by the headmen. Mr. Bickersteth was grieved to find that while each chief desired to have a missionary stationed at his place, it was only on account of the presents which he, thereby, from time to time, received. It was gratifying to him, however, to see that the conduct of the missionaries had inspired perfect confidence in the minds of both headmen and natives. The opinion which this faithful servant of God so frequently expressed both in Africa, and on his return, in reference to the public preaching of the Gospel, has our entire concurrence, and seems worthy of serious attention.

We would gladly pass over a subject to which the reverend visitor considered it his duty to advert in his parting instructions to the missionaries, and which he has treated with his usual delicacy and faithfulness:—the disunion that unhappily existed among these labourers in the common field of spiritual husbandry, which marred their work, and no doubt hindered their success; but, however painful be the task, and humiliating the disclosure, we must not shrink from the avowal that dissensions had crept in where every thing should have been sacrificed to harmonious co-operation, and where every thing depended on the exercise and the exemplification of Christian principle. Does it not justify the ways of God to man to discover so obvious a cause for the failure, as we may call it, of missionary exertion in Africa up to this period? And, however man may suffer by the disclosure, it is due to the Father of mercies to lay open the secret mischief which rendered his efforts fruitless—to bring forth the accursed thing from its hiding place—and prove that God is not unrighteous when he taketh vengeance. The lesson may be severe, but the greatness and holiness of the cause in which we are engaged, requires that it be preserved pure from every earthly taint—from every unhallowed mixture of human passion or caprice—if we would be made the honoured instruments in advancing it.

On this distressing subject Mr. Bickersteth's words are—"I feel obliged to notice that disunion which our great enemy has excited among you. Be assured, this is a most serious obstacle to the success of that mission which you have at heart. I need only, in proof of this, refer you to the history of all missions, and to the repeated instructions which you have received, on this point, from home.

"Many are the evils which have proceeded from this disunion; and among others, several have been led to act in important matters without authority, and to do that which was right in their own eyes, instead of having at heart the sanction of a meeting of the missionaries, at Sierra Leone.

"I have endeavoured carefully to examine into the grounds of the disunion that has arisen. You have each, I believe, candidly opened your mind to me on the subject. Some of these grounds have been mere misinformation and mistake; Some have been such, that I have been really utterly ashamed; sometimes that such needless cause of offence should have been hastily given by one, and sometimes that offence should so unnecessarily be taken by another. None, however, affect, so far as I can at present judge, the sincerity of the Christian character. I see no reason, therefore, whatever, why each should not, from this moment, lay aside all distance, distrust, and suspicion, and unite and act together, for the future, in love.

"My friends! ye are brethren; all engaged in one great work of saving immortal souls from eternal ruin. The success and welfare of one, is the success and welfare of all; and why, ah why are you weakening your strength, and losing the fruit of your labour by thus 'giving place to the devil'?"

"You will have seen, by this time, that even Christians have their weaknesses and infirmities—that even missionaries, who profess to have left all for Christ, have their spiritual diseases. But how miserable would an hospital be if each patient were to be so offended with his neighbour's disease, as to differ with him on account of it, instead of trying to alleviate it! My brethren, 'bear ye one another's burdens; and so fulfil the law of Christ.'"

We may piously hope that this faithful remonstrance, and the Scriptural advice with which it was accompanied, were not without their effect; and that contrition for the past, and prayerful watchfulness over every future thought, word, and act, contributed to a more consistent conversation, and to the subsequent success of missionary labour in Africa, which it will shortly be our grateful task to record. Of the manner in which Mr. Bickersteth performed the arduous, and often painfully delicate duties which devolved on him during his visit, we gladly adduce the testimony of one of the missionaries themselves—Renner thus wrote to the secretary—"For our respected visitor I can say that he was both zealous and judicious, in fulfilling the important trust which the society reposed in him. He was partial to none of us; but acted in a straight course of dealing out meat in due season; or, in other words, admonishing, reproving, or comforting, as every one's situation or circumstances might require. His days among us he spent in much labour and fatigue, and, no doubt, much anxiety of mind, to forward the cause of the society, and the welfare of its settlement, and to promote the glory of God and the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Mr. Bickersteth embarked at Sierra Leone, on the 7th of June, 1816, on board the *Echo*, Captain Rowe, bound for Barbadoes there

being then no ship at the time sailing direct to England, and arrived at that Island, on the 1st July. On the following Sunday he preached there in the church of St Michael, Bridgetown, to a large congregation. On the 12th, he sailed from thence in the Lady Sherbrock, Captain Love, and after a favourable and rapid voyage, arrived at Dover, on the 17th August bringing with him Butscher's surviving little girl, Mary, with her nurse, and Simeon Wilhelm, one of the Bassia boys, whose father had requested him to take him to England for education, and who, himself, had expressed a great desire to accompany him.

CHAPTER X.

IT will be necessary to retrace our steps a little, before we proceed to consider the results of Mr. Bickersteth's visit and report.

Early in February the following letter was addressed, by Governor Mac Carthy, to the secretary :—

“ Government House, Sierra Leone, Feb. 7, 1816.

“ SIR—Mr. Z. Macaulay having mentioned, in his last letter, that he was authorized by you to state that a chaplain had been appointed for Sierra Leone, who would probably leave England in two or three weeks, and that he would be accompanied by schoolmasters and school-mistresses, intended to teach the captured youth, I beg leave to assure you, they will all meet with a hearty welcome. I had from Earl Bathurst the notification of the appointment of the chaplain.

“ Since my last of the 16th of August, the Rev. Messrs. Wenzel and Renner were here. I was extremely sorry to understand, from the latter, that the natives near their settlements had set fire to the thatch covering of the mud house erected for the purpose of a church. I cannot help regretting that my suggestion, in 1814, to employ these zealous gentlemen in the civilization of the settlers, and captured negroes of this peninsula, did not meet with your ideas on the subject. I entertain considerable doubts of the probability of operating any improvement in either of the rivers near Sierra Leone, as long as we have not factories there, supported by military force.

“ We have a considerable population, both in the town and in the villages allotted to the captured negroes. Want of Europeans to superintend any establishment of that description, operates against all our endeavours. Some progress has certainly been made within these few months at two or three of the villages. At the principal one, I have begun to erect a substantial chapel, and the captured people themselves have erected a mud house at another, and this example will be followed

by a third. Mr. Butscher and the Rev. Mr. Davies, of the Wesleyan Society, encourage their exertions, by reading prayers to them. These people are extremely zealous to be taught the Christian religion; and I am confident that if a clergyman were settled with them, in the course of a year or two, material progress would be made in their civilization.

"I forwarded to Mr. Macaulay a sketch of a plan which I conceive would, in a few years, accomplish the grand object in view—of rendering these people happy, and a model to their own country; and from thence we might, with a fair prospect of success, extend gradually our views in the interior, STEP BY STEP; but to operate any good, we want Europeans, and none are better calculated for the object than clergymen.

"I have the honour to remain, with sincere esteem, sir, your obedient humble servant,

"C. MAC CARTHY."

As the committee had decided on appointing duly qualified teachers to impart Christian instruction to the African children, at their different settlements, they selected at first, with that object, four persons, with their wives, for whom they obtained, from the committee of the National Society, the benefit of passing through their central school. These were John Horton, W. A. Bernard Johnson, Henry Düring, and Christopher Jost; and after they had been duly prepared, and had received the instructions of the committee, at a meeting held for that purpose, they embarked, on the 11th of March, on board the *Echo*, Captain Rowe, for Sierra Leone. Just as they were about to embark, intelligence of the recent deaths of Mr. and Mrs. Schulze, and Mr. Sperrhaken arrived, which naturally depressed their spirits, but did not shake the resolution of either man or woman. After a quick and prosperous voyage, they reached their destination on the 27th of April, where their arrival was felt to be most seasonable for the supply of the pressing wants of the colony. The vessel in which they embarked had scarcely left Portsmouth, when Mrs. Düring was safely delivered of a fine boy, under circumstances strikingly providential, which may be ascribed to the regularity with which religious services were conducted on board, notwithstanding many difficulties, and the active piety of the captain with whom they sailed, and who sanctioned and assisted them in all their devout efforts.

The slave trade, that inveterate scourge of Africa, was now gathering all its strength for a final blow at the efforts of the Lord's people on the Rio Pongas, and it became every day more and more evident, that unless some extraordinary interposition from above should be vouchsafed, the field must soon be surrendered. The sons of a chief on the

Rio Nunez, who had long and obstinately refused to admit slave vessels into his river, had been for seven years at the Bassia school ; but this year four of them were withdrawn, in consequence of their father having, at length, yielded to the influence of the traders ; and what was truly grievous, the eldest of these boys was compelled to dedicate his literary acquirements to the service of this detestable traffic. How far this poor boy's sympathies were engaged in his present degrading employment, we may collect from a letter which he wrote a short time before to the secretary :—

“SIR—I thank the society for sending Mr. Bickersteth out to see us. O ! how kind is our society to us poor Africans. May God enable us, that we may know the ways of Jesus Christ our Lord ; and not only know them, but walk in them all the days of our lives.

“O, may God bless the society, and the missionaries which they have sent out to teach us ! O Lord, bless us also, poor Africans, and teach us to know thy way, that in due time we may spread abroad, and preach thy Gospel from shore to shore !”

The missionaries had now reason to feel the force of an observation made to them by an intelligent Mahommedan native ten years before :—
“Our kings and headmen have little regard even to a civilized manner of life, so long as they can sell slaves for rum and other commodities ; and, for this reason, they will scarcely suffer you to stay here, and to instruct the people, although your intentions, and the intentions of your society, are very good towards your fellow-creatures.” They were determined, however, to persevere in their exertions to the last, and then yield only when the alternative lay between removal and death.

Meanwhile, the Christian labours at Canoffee suffered no relaxation. During the rains, after Mr. Bickersteth's departure, Renner, besides superintending the schools under Harrison's care, was occupied in translating the morning and evening services into Soosoo. Previous to this, Wilhelm had sent home the first seven chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, translated into that language, which the committee had printed in parallel columns with the English version ; and not long after the entire Gospel was completed, and being similarly arranged, was sent out for the use of the schools.

Family service was held twice every day, and public service twice on Sundays, with catechizing of the children. At these services most of the people attached to the settlement attended. Brotherly love and union prevailed.

During the rains, five of the children died of convulsions within a few days. In consequence of this, the natives conceived an invincible prejudice against Renner's settling at Canoffee, and twenty-five of the children were removed by the parents.

The work of death soon began among the new arrivals. Poor Christopher Jost, who, it was intended, should assist Nylander at the Bullom shore, and who, during his stay in the colony, was engaged in instructing the Kroomen, besides occasionally assisting Wenzel at Kiskey Town, was, on the 19th of June, attacked with fever; and his wife wrote to Johnson, another of the teachers, who, with his wife, had been settled by Mr. Bickersteth at Regent's Town, to come and see him. Johnson's account of his interviews with him will be read with much interest. It is from a letter to Mrs. Jost's father:—

“I talked with him concerning the state of his soul. He said that he was afraid that Jesus was not his Saviour. I asked if he were a sinner. He replied, ‘Yes, yes; I am a great sinner.’ ‘Well,’ said I, ‘Jesus came into the world to save sinners’—when he exclaimed, ‘O! precious Saviour! precious Saviour!’ The following day I went down again, and found him a little better. Mr. Davis asked him if Jesus was precious to his soul. He replied, stammering, ‘Very precious! very precious!’ The fever increased again, and he became almost speechless. I staid with him two nights, and gave him medicine every half hour; but all was in vain. On Friday morning, at nine o'clock, he fell asleep in Jesus, without a struggle, and I closed his eyes in death.

“Thus have I given you, dear sir, a brief account of the death of your dear son, and my dear brother; who would have supposed that he, the strongest of us all, should have been called away the first of us all? Ah! who knows who may be next?

“Your daughter desires us to say that Mr. Jost exhorted her, to the last, to cleave to Christ.”

Mrs. Jost shortly after this proceeded to England, where she arrived in good health.

Mr. Horton writes of Mr. Jost's death: “He fell asleep in the arms of Jesus, without a single struggle, and was raised from the church militant on earth, to join the church triumphant above, ‘where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest,’ for ever. Our loss is his infinite gain.”

Nylander's reflections, on this melancholy occasion, are those of a Christian missionary:—

“I rejoiced to hear that a schoolmaster was to assist me at Bullom; and that Mr. Jost who, I believe, was a pious man, was to be my companion. But it pleased the Lord, who has life and death at his disposal, to remove him to a better country than that of the Bulloms. And what shall we say? The Lord's ways are mysterious. We can do nothing but stand still, and wonder, and adore. However, let us not be discouraged, Africa must be gained for the Lord Jesus Christ.

He will see the travail of his soul yet; though ever so many of his servants die. Oh! that those who survive may labour with double zeal, as long as it is day. The night cometh and we do not know at what time our Master will call us, whether at even, or at midnight, or at cockerowing. May we only be found faithfully employed in his work."

"After Mr. Bickersteth's return," the Seventeenth Annual Report informs us, "the committee lost no time in laying the substance of his communication before his majesty's ministers. A deputation accompanied his lordship the president, in presenting a memorial to Earl Bathurst, in which a plan formed by his excellency, Governor Mac Carthy, for dividing the colony of Sierra Leone, into parishes, was recognized; and offers were made, on the part of the society, to assist in bringing that plan, into full execution. His lordship received the deputation with his accustomed courtesy, and expressed his cordial wish to support the designs of the society for the benefit of the colony. By a subsequent communication from his lordship, your committee learnt, with pleasure, that measures would be immediately taken for the erection of two churches in Freetown, and afterwards churches in the several country parishes of Sierra Leone. The state of public affairs limits, however, for the present, the means in the hands of government. Your committee will not fail to exert themselves to the utmost, in giving effect to the wise and paternal plans of the governor, and in following up the suggestions of the assistant secretary.

"The accounts of the year will show that more than a third of the whole expenditure has been directed to Western Africa. The greater part of this expenditure has, indeed, been occasioned by the society's settlements formed among the heathen, and beyond the precincts of the colony; and your committee grieve to state, that so great is the demoralizing effect of the slave trade, and so inveterate the evil habits which it has generated, that it is not improbable, but it may be necessary to withdraw wholly, for the present, from the Rio Pongas.

"When your committee refer to the large expenditure in Africa, it is with no feelings of regret. All has been there already richly repaid. A triumph in Africa, is a triumph indeed. The translation of one of the benighted race out of the kingdom of darkness into that of God's dear Son, is an abundant reward, but the souls of adults and children are now, as your committee trust, continually bringing to the saving knowledge of Christ."

These last observations, as is evident, do not refer to the operations of the society on the Rio Pongas, nor, indeed, are they very applicable to any settlement among the natives. At Sierra Leone, however, there appeared abundant grounds for Christian congratulation and gratitude; and it was now become, every day, more and more evident, that the

Lord of the harvest was narrowing the range of missionary exertion in Western Africa, and that the colony was, for the present, to form, exclusively, the battlefield of Christian conflict.

The number of children to be named and supported by benefactors in England was, this year, increased to 323. We continue the list for the reasons already stated :—

African Boys to be named after Clergymen.

Thomas Blackley.	John Langley.
John Buckworth.	Hugh Latimer.
Essex Bull.	Martin Luther.
John Essex Bull.	Samuel Marsden.
Leopold Butscher.	Robert Morrison.
Edward Burn.	Bathurst Norwich.
John Cawood.	Gustavus Nylander.
John Cholmeley.	Henry Palmer.
John Coates.	Matthias Powley.
John Cowan.	Lyttleton Powys.
Thomas Cranmer.	Thomas Puddicombe.
John Crosse.	Thomas Ridley.
John William Cunningham.	Thomas Leicester Robinson.
James Dakins.	William Romaine.
John Elliot.	William Rose.
Caleb Evans.	John Sangar.
Davey Fearon.	Isaac Saunders.
William Garnon.	Henry Schulze.
John Gerickè.	Christopher Sperrhacken.
William Gilpin.	Thomas Stedman.
William Glover.	James Percy Stewart.
South Grainger.	James Stillingfleet.
Edmund Grindall.	Robert Storry.
Henry Heap.	David Brainerd Tuffley.
Day Hensman.	William Whitelock.
Charles James Hoare.	Watts Wilkinson.
Joseph Julian.	

African Boys to be named after other Persons.

Durbin Brice.	William Merritt.
Peter Colchester.	Nicholas Newell.
Edmund Warren Cooper.	George Phillips.
Cœcilus Cyprian.	John Pridham.
David Dale.	Christmas Ransom.
Gurdon Dellingham.	Thomas Rotherham.
John Frith.	Garet Sheares.
Gathorne Hardy.	William Grattan Smith.
John Harvey.	Walter Taylor.
Rowland Hodgson.	James William.
John Haughton.	Christopher Wilson.
Robert King.	Robert Wilson.
Benjamin King.	James Wylie.
Nathaniel Marsh.	Phocion Young.
Austen Marsh.	

African Girls.

Thomasine Alexander.
 Anne Artless.
 Rachel Biddulph.
 Jane Blackwell.
 Elizabeth Chetwood.
 Georgiana Christian.
 Hester Crossman.
 Mary Fletcher.
 Nancy Forde.
 Elizabeth Ruddle Gibbs.
 Mary Gipps.
 Theodosia Hamilton.
 Maria Hare.
 Elizabeth Harford.
 Margaret Keith.
 Susannah Lee.
 Maria Marsh.

Catherine Nixon.
 Anne Parker.
 Mirian Sheriff.
 Mary Smith.
 Elizabeth Smith.
 Mary Tirzah Stordy.
 Charlotte Storer.
 Mary Taylor.
 Susan Thompson.
 Sarah Trimmer.
 Elizabeth Newell Warren.
 Elizabeth Anne Whitchurch.
 Charlotte Wilton.
 Catherine Wilson.
 Anne Wilson.
 Henrietta Yorke.
 Jane Yorke.

The Rev. William Garnon, who had been appointed government chaplain at Sierra Leone, arrived at his post, accompanied by Mrs. Garnon, at the latter end of November, 1816.

The time had at length arrived, when the experiment of public preaching to the natives in their own towns and villages was to be tried. Mr. Bickersteth's journal and special report furnish us with his impressions on this important subject, on which we have ventured once and again in the course of this volume to offer a few remarks. The eyes of the committee seem at length to have been opened to the necessity of their missionaries doing the work of evangelists in Africa, instead of sinking down into the inferior capacity of schoolmasters. Much valuable time had now been lost, and it is questionable whether the evident want of faith in the Scripture promises, which had hitherto paralyzed the missionary work, had not already incurred a forfeiture of the blessings they offered. Nearly thirteen years had elapsed since the first preachers of the Gospel sent out by the society, had reached Africa, and in that time we are told that they baptized one adult native; and this, it must be remembered, is not to be ascribed to a failure of effort, but to a neglect of means. In other fields of missionary labour, faith and patience have been tried for years, but they have invariably triumphed at last. The Lord of the harvest often detains his people, but never ultimately disappoints them; and if the result of the experiment which was now made should appear an exception to this rule, let us inquire whether the purpose of the All-wise in this case may not have been to mark his disapprobation of a distrustful dereliction of duty for thirteen years; and to speak in the language of warning to future missionaries of his

word, who, charged with a communication of mercy to the rebellious subjects of his empire, upon whom his righteous judgments were every hour descending, should, like Jonah, from a dread of the personal consequences, refuse to deliver it. It seems strange that neither the committee nor their missionaries suspected this as the true source of those storms of persecution that burst upon their settlements, nor of the ultimate shipwreck which their exertions beyond the colony sustained.

Let us, however, pursue the narrative—it speaks its own language. That language has been, blessed be God, since heard and understood by those to whom it was addressed ; and we doubt not that Africa will soon have reason to rejoice that it was spoken. Already a responsive and triumphant shout goes up from Sierra Leone, immediately to be echoed by the numerous neighbouring tribes, of whose mingled tongues it is composed.*

The following is from the journals of Messrs. Renner and Wilhelm, and represents the attempt to preach, and its effects, in a very lively and interesting manner :—

“ December 1, 1816. *A blessed Sunday of Advent!*—Having previously acquainted Mongè Backe that I intended to come to his town, ‘to pray,’ as they express it, we accordingly went this day. As it was the first time, and Lissa not far from Canoffee, the whole family accompanied me, viz. :—Mr. and Mrs. Wilhelm, Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, and all the children. Mongè Backe had well prepared the minds of his people for the occasion, so that a pleasing silence was observed in the whole town. He told his people to appear clean, and that every one should put on his best clothes.

“ Soon after our arrival the town-crier called the people together, ‘telling them the strangers were come to give them service.’ We were then conducted under a large tree, which sheltered our whole family from a meridian sun. When the people were assembled, the crier informed them of the object of my errand—that I had come among them ‘to pray.’ After they were all seated, and all was quiet, I took up the Bible as containing the hope of my own salvation, and as holding forth Him, from whom I might expect help and succour in opening my lips in simplicity and sincerity. I was not confounded in my hope, having had humble boldness given to me to speak the Word of Life. I chose no particular text, but made the present occasion a mere introduction for other meetings of a similar kind. I recommended to them the

* As this subject will be fully opened, if the Lord will, in another volume, it will be sufficient here to allude to the fact, that owing to the great majority of Christian converts at Sierra Leone having been originally slaves torn from every part of the coast, and liberated from the vessels which were carrying them away, there are, it is supposed, now congregated in the colony the representatives of more than forty African tribes, understanding different languages and dialects, but all speaking the same broken English peculiar to Africa.

Holy Bible which I held out frequently to them, and told them that I would always bring this best book with me, and tell them what was written in it ; affirming that I knew nothing myself without this book, and that this book only could make us wise unto salvation, and lead us all in the right way to heaven. In order to show them the authority on which we addressed them, I referred to the grand commission which Christ gave to his disciples—‘Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.’ the Gospel was to be preached, therefore, to the Soosoos, since they were a part of that world.

“ After I had finished, our boys sung—

“ ‘ From all that dwell below the skies, &c.’

and the girls by themselves—

“ ‘ Thy name Almighty Lord, &c.’”

Mongè Backe then called me to him, and said that it was very good to talk about God, and that since he heard what I said, he and his people would have no objection to hear me again, and that I might come as often as I pleased. He said also that his people should BUILD A PRAY-HOUSE, like Fernandez’s at Bramia, because, as he said, the people would not come close together in a hot sun, and would not understand all at a distance. He made us then a present of a quantity of kolas* and a little palm wine, and we spent the time very agreeably among these friendly people. The whole took us up from eleven o’clock till three. The old chief intimated also that, as the preaching or praying of a white man in his town was quite a new thing, I should give his people a small bullock, if I had one on hand. I complied with it for the first time, knowing that if he and his people countenanced us in the way of preaching, a door is then opened to a great part of the Soosoo Country. But he and his people were not so eager as to feast on the poor creature the same day, but he cooked it the next day, and every family brought a little rice to dress with it, and then they ate comfortably together. There was no dancing that night in the town ; and in fact not for two weeks ; which surprised us very much.

“ December 3.—We sent word to Mongè Tomba that I would come to his town next Sunday ‘to pray.’ He let me know, he likes what Mongè Backe likes—but that he had to go up the country ‘to settle some palaver,’ and that his people could not pray behind his back !—but that I should come the Sunday following.

“ December 5.—We sent word to Yangji Bully, in Upper Bassia, that I would, next Sunday, preach in his town. He also said that what Mongè Backe liked, he did like too.

“ December 6, 1816.—During the week the Lissa people were busy in cutting posts for the new church or ‘prayer-house.’

* See page 308, note.

" December 8.—Mongè Backe sent word to Stephen, (well known to Mr. Bickersteth) to come to-morrow, and see the posts for the 'pray-house' fixed in the ground. Stephen recollected himself a little and said, ' Master, we must run over to Mongè Backe, to tell him that to-morrow is Sunday, and a pray-house cannot be built on Sunday.' I said, ' Run.'

" December 9. *Sunday*.—I performed divine service at home, and brother Wilhelm preached at Upper Bassia, the Lower Bassia people also attending.

" December 12.—Sent Stephen to Mongè Backe, hearing he was sick—Stephan informed me that the people had already covered in the Lissa church. This intelligence surprised me, thinking that these people sooner build a church than I can prepare a sermon for them. Their zeal is praiseworthy : and, oh, may it be from the Lord ! The thing itself gladdens my heart not a little, and my soul is willing to serve them in the Gospel, and be spent for them. Looking over the Soosoo Liturgy to-day, I felt a wish that it were already printed, in order to form a part of divine service amongst these people who seemed to open a door for the Gospel ; and I earnestly pray that the King of Glory may enter in among them, save sinners, and be exalted.

" December 15. *Sunday*.—Myself and family went to Jesulu, to divine service there. Mongè Tomba had made a temporary shade for our reception, under which I spoke the Word of Life. Brother Wilhelm concluded by singing a Soosoo hymn. Mongè Tomba was at much pains in preparing a dinner for our whole family, a thing which we did not much wish for : but as the distance is greater than Lissa, it was welcome to us.

" Two Portuguese men are living in this town, who strongly urged Mongè Tomba to build a church like the Lissa people, to which he showed not much hesitation.

" I am sorry, however, that I could not observe here, among the people, that order, regularity, and reverence, which was so visible in Lissa. Mongè Backe and his people made it a rule to observe, in every respect, the Christian Sabbath ; whereas the Jesulu people made no distinction of this day from another. The Lissa people had not stood high in my mistaken notion, though they never did me any injury ; but they were the people who gave the word of God a hearing with reverence. May God bless them more and more, and bless also the Jesulusians with some awe and reverence on future occasions."

Mr. Wilhelm gives some further particulars :—

" Dec. 8. Second Sunday in Advent.—I had to go for the first time to Bassia, to preach to the people there ; my wife went with me. Mrs. Renner sent the girls with her, and Brother Renner sent Stephen to interpret, and some of the boys with me.

“When we came to the chief of the town, Yangji Bully, after having interchanged the usual greeting, (shaking hands, and asking after one another’s welfare,) he took me into his house, to show me the refreshment which he had prepared for me and my people, as a present to me : asking, at the same time, whether I had any thing to say to him in private. In answer to this question, it would have been proper to call in the bearer of my present to him, in order to offer it to his acceptance, had I provided one ; but having come empty-handed, I thanked him for his kind present, and asked him to come and see me in the course of the week, which was a hint of a present in return. We shall try hard to wean them from this fashion of exchanging presents. A kind of shelter from the heat of the sun having been made, the people were called together, but only about forty came. When assembled, the chief desired one, who was a Mandingo man, to declare to the people the reason of their being called together, which is always done by one who is a good speaker.

“He made a declaration to the people to the following effect :—That this well-known white-man (Wilhelm) was come into the town, on purpose to speak to them concerning religion, (or, the matter of God, as they speak,) and, as they all well knew, that man can speak of nothing better than of God, it was to be expected that they would like to assemble, and to listen to what Wilhelm was going to say.

“Many voices were then heard to answer in Soosoo—‘We like to hear of it. Let us give ear to hear;’ on which I was asked to speak.

“I assured them of my sincere love and affection for them ; and of my hearty wish and prayer that God would bless them all, and make them happy for ever. I told them that true happiness consisted in having God for their Father and Friend ; and that I and other missionaries have been sent out to them for this very purpose, to show them in what way God will be their Father, and they shall be his children. I then endeavoured to persuade them not to expect true happiness from earthly things, teaching them the vanity of earthly pleasures and possessions, and bringing particularly before their minds how death doth strip a man of all that he thought would make him rich and happy on earth—that there was only one thing which death cannot take away from a man, which was when a man has God for his Father and Friend—on the contrary, that death must deliver God’s children into the very hands of their Heavenly Father, who will then make them perfectly happy and blessed for ever. I explained to them that the comfort and contentment of heart, which God can give to a poor man here on earth, far exceed all worldly riches and pleasures ; and then I spoke, also, of the happiness of heaven, from the book of God, especially from Rev. xxi. 4 ; after which I described, also, the misery of

hell—the place prepared for the devil and his angels, and to which God will also send those who are not his people—who would not hear his word, and learn to know and believe in his Son Jesus Christ, as their Saviour, for whose sake alone God will be a Father and Friend to sinners. I then brought the important question of our Saviour before their minds, (Matt. xvi. 26.) In concluding, I told them that it was not only the wish of my heart, and of those good people in England who sent us to them, that they all may learn this way, and escape that dreadful place called hell, and that God may take them to his place called heaven, but that it is also the express command of Jesus Christ, the Son of God himself, that all people should be instructed in this way; because he commands his servants, in his word, ‘Go ye into all the world,’ &c., (Mark, xvi. 15, 16.) After having concluded with the blessing, 2 Cor. xiii., we sung the 117th Psalm, ‘Thy name, Almighty Lord,’ &c., in Soosoo. I then gave thanks to the chief and the people, for having assembled together, and heard with silence what I had to say to them. In answer to this, the people expressed again their willingness to assemble and hear for the future; and thanks were returned to me by the speaker for my visit and discourse to them.

“Refreshment was then brought to us, of which I made them partake together with us, after which we took a friendly leave of one another.

“I beg, of your kindness, dear sir, to excuse this long ‘palaver.’ I thought it best, for the first time, to give you a circumstantial account of the way in which our preaching is carried on.

“Mongè Backe has set his people at work to build a Tungka for a house of worship, like M. Fernandez’s palaver-house, of which Mr. Bickersteth can give you an exact idea.

“Dec. 15, 1816. *Third Sunday of Advent*.—We all went to Jesulu, situated on a high hill, three miles from Canoffee, where Mongè Tomba is headman. We were received in a friendly manner, and Brother Renner spoke to them, with much freedom of mind, of the Gospel news, declaring that the time is now come for them to become the people of God, and that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, calls them now to come to him, to hear his word, and to believe in him as their Saviour, who shed his precious blood, and died for them, that they should not perish in their sins.

“Christmas-Day is a day of riot with the natives. We held, therefore, divine service at home.

“Dec. 26, 1816.—Sent to Lissa to inquire of Mongè Backe, whether I might come and discourse with the people. Received answer, that I should come to-morrow.

“Dec. 27.—A messenger came in the morning before I set out from home, asking for some tobacco for Mongè Backe, and telling me, at

the same time, that I must not come to-day to Lissa, but that Mongè Backe would let me know when I might come.

“Dec. 28.—Mongè Backe came himself in the morning to us, asking for some baft and gunpowder, and telling me that the Tungka, or prayer-house, was not finished for me to come and make ‘pray palaver;’ but that it would soon be ready, and then he would send for me. I replied, that it would be as convenient to me to speak to the people from under any tree, as in the prayer-house; that it should, therefore, not be delayed, for that I wanted to tell them a good Christmas palaver; but he said that when he could make it convenient, he would call for me.

“Mr. Fantimani is not in Kacara at this time, but is gone into the upland country; otherwise, I would have gone to him, to introduce the preaching of the Gospel at Kacara. While Brother Renner is absent, it seems not advisable for me to go further than that I can be at home again in the evening.

“Dec. 30.—Sent to Bassia to inquire whether the people could assemble to hear me. Received answer, that I should not come to-day but to-morrow, the people being gone to Kandaia, to keep Christmas holidays there, and were not yet all returned.

“Dec. 31.—Went in the morning to Bassia. Yangji Bully was working at a new canoe; but came to welcome me. He told me that the people were not yet all returned. Went through the town towards our old settlement. Found before almost every house the empty grates in which the people carried their victuals and drink to the feasting, which was a sign that they were returned from Kandaia, but that they were recovering themselves from the effects of their nightly riots, by sleeping away the day.

“New Year’s-day, 1817.—In the afternoon, we heard the sound of cannon firing three times; a large American vessel lying in the river, for the purpose of smuggling away a great number of slaves. We supposed that a man-of-war may have come in to take it.

“January 2.—I went again to Bassia, but found it nearly empty, the people having gone over the river to Lissa, to hear the first news about the cannon-firing of yesterday. Yangji Bully, and five more of the town people, were at home, but received me with much indifference, being alarmed at the probability of the man-of-war having come into the river, and far more concerned about the news of what had taken place down the river, than about the glad tidings of the Gospel. While I was speaking to them, a messenger came from Mongè Backe, to inform Yangji Bully that the man-of-war had taken the slave vessel, after three times firing. The American captain and the supercargo being on shore, were left behind to lament their loss. They began to utter bitter language against the English. Yangji Bully exclaimed in Soosoo,

again and again—"O, sir! our country comes to ruin!" Another old advocate of the slave trade said—"Ah, the Europeans! they want to send their religion into our country, to cover over their treachery with it! We do not want that. If no vessel must come to us to carry on trade, how will they persuade us that they come to do us good?" The free people in Africa think that if the English take away their slave trade, they may as well take away their lives. They do not like to set their heads, much less their hands, at work, for an honest way of getting money, instead of selling their fellow-creatures; and, indeed, scarcely any vessel comes in to them, except in quest of slaves. They have also no little reason to expect that those poor creatures, who are not free, but now oppressed and injured by them, might, some time or other, make themselves free in the country, should they multiply, from ceasing to be sold and transported. In their present state, therefore, they will always consider it their policy to be for, and not against the slave trade.

"I went away much disappointed, and grieved that the great adversary should be permitted to defeat what is attempted for the salvation of the souls of these people.

"Jan. 4, 1817.—In Lissa and Jesulu the drums were beating to-day, and there was much noise and dancing, notwithstanding the hard times, and the grumbling about the man-of-war stopping the trade. I was told that Brother Renner, as well as other persons, was held in great suspicion of having sent the man-of-war into the river; I thought it right, therefore, to send again to Mongè Backe, as their feasting is now over, to inquire why he did not send for me to speak to the people.

"Jan. 5. *Sunday*.—Had divine service at home.

"Jan. 6.—Sent Stephen to Mongè Backe. Received answer from him, that the people who were come to the feasting from other towns had not yet left them, and that they would only make disorder and disturbance; that, therefore, I must wait till they were gone, and he would send me word when I should come. He also let me know that I should not be afraid if I should hear that Mr. Renner was held in suspicion about the man-of-war; that there were others also held in suspicion, and that he would speak to Mr. Renner himself about it when he returned; and that, in the meanwhile, nobody should trouble me in my place.

"Jan. 8.—Mongè Tomba, the headman in Jesulu, came to see us. I asked him whether his people were building a prayer-house? He answered that the people do not wish our instruction at the present time.

"Jan. 9.—I began to translate the Gospel of St. Mark, with which I purposed to go on till the man-of-war should be out of the river, and it should please the Lord to incline the minds of the people to receive

me again, and to believe that Brother Renner and I have no hand in this business.

“ Jan. 10.—Heard from several persons that the slave traders, who wander now about to keep out of the reach of the man-of-war, are setting the people every where against the mission. I thought it proper, therefore, again to urge Mongè Backe to declare the reason why he did not send for me, and why the people would not hear me. Received answer from him, that he thinks it would be better to wait till the man-of-war be out of the river, for that he did not wish that anybody should trouble us, but that he could not at present quiet people’s minds.

“ Jan. 11.—Heard that the commander of the man-of-war ordered the traders to deliver up the slaves, or else the goods belonging to the American vessel; and that he was waiting for that purpose. The slave traders will not do this, nor are the head people of the Soosooos willing that the man-of-war should receive any thing.

“ I enjoy but indifferent health this month. I purpose to go on with translating till Brother Renner returns, that we may consult together how to perform our duty in preaching to the people in the present circumstances. The man-of-war is gone out of the river, but is expected to return, and to urge the delivery up of the slaves.

“ Jan. 26.—Brother Renner returned from the colony, which was matter of great joy to us all. After having stated to him how the people were set against our preaching to them, he resolved to visit them, without our making any mention of our intention to preach, and to preach to as many as should happen to assemble around us, by way of conversation only, that we may not give them occasion to reject the preaching of the Gospel on account of the offence which they have taken at the man-of-war. But in this, our intended proceeding, we were likewise hindered by the man-of-war coming again into the river.

“ Feb. 5.—Mongè Backe sent a messenger, who requested Brother Renner to give out gunpowder and guns to fight the man-of-war, which, of course, was refused.

“ Feb. 7.—A gun-boat came up the river after a yawl belonging to the slave vessel which the man-of-war had taken, and which, it was expected, would be found at the house of a Spanish slave trader. The officer went into the trader’s house to write a letter to Mr. Renner, and while he was writing the Lissa people, having lain in ambush, began to fire on the people in the gun-boat. The officer flew out of the house, and got safely into the boat; upon which much firing ensued on both sides. Mongè Backe sent again to us for gunpowder during this firing. Brother Renner declared that he could not give gunpowder to fight against the English, even if he had ever so much in the house; for that they were our friends, who supported us and all the Soosoo children which are in our place; that if the Foulahs, or any other

people, should invade the Soosoo country, he would give them as much as should be in the store-house, but not against the English. The messenger went directly over to Lissa again.

" Feb. 8.—Mongè Tomba came from Jesulu with Gomez, the father of Lewis Gomez, asking for guns to fight the man-of-war. Brother Renner made him the same return. He replied, with an angry look, 'That is true;' meaning that we are enemies of the country as well as the man-of-war people. The people were all in arms to-day, expecting the gun-boats to come up with the flood.

" Feb. 9. *Sunday*.—We spent the Lord's day under anxious expectation, for we were informed that the Lissa people intended to come over and break open our store-house. Threatenings were also uttered against our lives, in case the gun-boats should come up. M. Tomba, we were told, was one of the chief plotters against our lives; but the general voice of the people is, that we should be sent out of the river. Mr. Harrison himself advised us to consult our safety by all possible means; we sent, therefore, directly to Mongè Fernandez, entreating him to assist us. Brother Renner thought proper to ask leave of Mongè Backe to go down the river to the man-of-war, promising to intercede as far as possible that no further disturbance might take place, proposing, at the same time, that Mongè Backe might send any man whom he might choose with him, to witness the whole of his transactions with the man-of-war. Many voices of the people were against this, but at last it was agreed that Brother Renner should be permitted to go, though no Soosoo man could be found venturesome enough to accompany him to the man-of-war. Orders, therefore, came from Mongè Backe that Brother Renner might go; which he did in the middle of the night, accompanied by Mr. Harrison. They commended me and my wife to the good providence of God, advising us to keep ourselves and the children of Mongè Fernandez ready for a retreat to Bramia on the first alarm, that we might save life if nothing else.

" Feb. 10.—Three of Mongè Fernandez's people came with a letter from him, assuring us we need not fear the threats of any one so long as his children were with us; bearing also an order to the Lissa people, that if they wanted to fight they should fight with the man-of-war people, and not with the missionaries.

" These three men stayed with us as a safeguard. When the flood was already returning, the Brethren Renner and Harrison came up the river again, with the information that the English were encamping on Devil's Island, the vessel having sailed for Sierra Leone for reinforcements and orders.

" Supposing it very probable that when the man-of-war returns they would come up the river and destroy Lissa, we thought it best to ask leave for sailing to Sierra Leone ourselves, in order to consult with the

Rev. W. Garmon, and the missionaries there, whether it was proper for us to stay in the river, and keep up the settlement under these circumstances or not.

“Mongè Backe came himself to us, and told us that he would not sell us, we were at liberty to act according to our discretion ; and that if we wished to leave the country, we should go quietly, and not give him a bad name among the English, for that he would not drive us out. We accordingly got the boat ready ; and, as we could not take it upon ourselves to give up the settlement at once, my wife made up her mind to stay in the place with Mr. Harrison, till I should return to fetch her, though we felt this to be a very trying task for our faith.

“Feb. 13, 1817.—We sailed from home, having taken with us as many of our effects as we could stow in the boat. Immediately after our departure, Mongè Fernandez sent two of his wives, as protectresses, to my wife, in exchange for the three men, who returned to Bramia.

“Feb. 16.—In the evening we arrived in Sierra Leone.

“Feb. 19.—A meeting was held at Mr. Garmon’s house, as the reasons which were produced were not thought strong enough for giving up the settlement, without having consulted the society at home, no real injury having yet been received, but mere threatening only. I engaged to return home again with my effects, and remain, if I should find the houses not burned down, leaving Mr. and Mrs. Renner in the colony till the Echo should arrive with our goods from England.

“Feb. 21.—Left Sierra Leone in the afternoon ; but, before we had cleared the coast, the rudder-band broke. We returned to get it mended.

“Feb. 22.—Brother Renner having made up his mind to accompany me home, I was not sorry for my disappointment yesterday. We sailed towards evening.

“Feb. 25.—Having passed the Isles de Loss, two vessels came in sight, the last of which being an armed vessel, made towards us, and having the wind in her favour, soon bid us strike sails. After investigation was made, we were informed that the English were about to leave the river.

“Feb. 26.—Entered the river, and passed examination of the man-of-war, which was getting ready to sail out of the river with the returning tide. We were informed that Mongè Fernandez had declared himself against the man-of-war, in a reproachful letter, which made me anxious to hear how matters stood at home.

“Feb. 27.—Arrived safely at home, and found all in quietness, but in want of rice, which is very scarce this year.

“Feb. 28.—Mongè Fernandez came to-day, with a great multitude of people, to pass over the river to Lissa, where the head people are to assemble to talk palaver. To keep us out of danger, from any dis-

order, he came not to our settlement, but crossed the river lower down.

“March 3.—Mongè Fernandez visited us at night, having privately withdrawn himself from the people. He promised us that he would undertake for us that we should either stay without danger, or be sent out of the river without injury. Mongè Backe has committed himself and all his people under the care of Mongè Fernandez; it appears, therefore, that we shall henceforth have him for our headman. He crossed the river again at midnight.

“Our settlement is in a very uncertain state, and our prospect of doing good very gloomy, so long as the armed vessels shall enter the river to oppose the slave trade. Mongè Fernandez advised us to keep ourselves quiet at home, not visiting the towns in order to preach to the people.

“March 5.—Brother Renner again left home, to provide rice. There is a great scarcity of rice in this part of the country.

“March 8.—The people who are assembled in Lissa, not having rice to eat, were allowed to pillage for eatables in the neighbourhood, but were forbidden to trouble us.

“March 14.—The palaver in Lissa ended, and the people dispersed. Mongè Fernandez came over, and dined with us, with several others; but the multitude marched directly towards Bassia upon his order. He assured me that, in the palaver, he had solemnly declared that he would revenge any injury done to us—that the people should fight with the man-of-war whenever he should come again into the river, but not with the missionaries. But as the slave trade is to be continued and defended by all possible means, I cannot hope that we shall be able to continue here long. In the evening, Mongè Fernandez went further homeward; the women, also, whom he had sent to my wife, as her guardians, went home. This whole business has been very expensive to us.

“The Gospel of St. Mark is nearly translated. I shall go on with translation till we have again permission for conversation and preaching in the towns.”

At the Gambier settlement Mr. and Mrs. Klein continued to labour, with much assiduity, and considerable success, as far, at least, as regarded the children, of whom they had about thirty under their care. It will be remembered that Mr. Bickersteth was much pleased with the progress which some of these children had made in a knowledge of the Gospel. Subsequent to Mr. Bickersteth's visit, Klein writes:—

“One of the elder girls interprets for us, with much feeling, and often adds a sermon of her own. I trust that God is about to begin a good work among us. A great door is here opened. Oh! that it may

be an effectual one! We have a populous neighbourhood, and principal persons, from chiefs of the surrounding nations, come to visit Mongè Demba. They are candid Mahommedans, and listen to us with great respect and attention, sometimes with feeling." Again, alluding to the girl spoken of above; he says:—

"She will speak, of her own accord, to the children, and to others, with the greatest fluency, and sometimes for half an hour together, going through the most important doctrines of Christianity, and dwelling often with tears on the love and sufferings of Christ, and on the necessity of believing in him, and being made conformable to him."

Such accounts are truly refreshing. Indeed, there seemed to be a measure of success vouchsafed to the labours of this station, for which we have hitherto looked in vain. The elder children, both boys and girls, appeared evidently impressed, and were frequently heard uniting in prayer before retiring to rest.

The chief, and other natives, frequently attended divine service. Some of them acknowledged that their attendance should be more regular, but they were prevented, they said, coming, by the uneasiness which what they heard made them feel about their sins. They were very kind to Mr. and Mrs. Klein, whose health appears to have been providentially preserved at the most trying season. This station offered peculiar facilities by its position, and the free intercourse which its locality opened with strangers from the surrounding countries, to circulate Bibles and tracts among the Mahommedans, and others, in the interior.

Nyländer, in spite of the discouragements of sickness and death around him, and his own bodily infirmities, continued his extraordinary labours. After the early death of poor Jost, who, with his wife, had been assigned by Mr. Bickersteth to this station, the committee appointed John Cates, an additional teacher, who was proceeding from England, to assist him; meanwhile, he had to struggle on almost alone, having only Stephen Caulker, the usher, located with him, by Mr. Bickersteth, as a kind of help in the school. He had now completed his translation of the four Gospels into Bullom, besides the morning and evening services. He also composed a tract on the Scriptures, compiled from Mr. Bickersteth's "Scripture Help;" and several hymns in the same language.

Of all the Africans on the coast, the Bulloms appear to be the most abject slaves of superstition. In the senseless dread of witchcraft they go beyond all their neighbours. We have already given abundant evidence of the nature and effect of the infernal delusion under which they labour. Nyländer, in a more recent communication to the committee, writes:—

“About a dozen of supposed witches were tried lately. The greater part of them pleaded guilty. One was accused of having sent a snake into the king’s house in order to kill him ; another, of having bewitched a hunter’s gun, so that he never could kill any thing, though he even shot at it ; another, of bewitching an old man, that he could not get any money at this time ; another, for having shot a man with a witch-gun, and placed it under the roof of his house, in order to kill a person who lived with him in the house. Two only of them said they were not guilty. One of these was tried by red water, and found guilty ; he is committed for further punishment. The other is to drink red water at a distant period. Those who pleaded guilty, and begged pardon, did not undergo any punishment at all, they only go under the title of witch. The others must suffer severely.” Shortly afterwards he again wrote :—

“The accusation of witchcraft still continues. Numbers of poor persons are miserably punished ; and some carried to the Soosoo Country, and there exchanged for cattle, which are either sold or killed, and a great cry (feast) made in remembrance of those persons. I asked an old man whether he had any children. ‘Yes,’ said he, ‘we have plenty child ; no more ; they all bad too much ; they make witch palavers ; these people catch them and sell them ; no more ; they buy some little rum and make good cry for them ; that all.’ They seem to be comforted about their children by enjoying the pleasures of their noisy and troublesome feasts, which they justly call ‘cries.’”

The following cases will illustrate, in a very striking way, all that has been said on the subject of witchcraft, and its awful consequences, as it is believed in by the natives of this part of Africa. No more faithful picture could be drawn of African manners ; and while we reflect that this state of things is at the present hour, with all its horrors, in full operation, it seems difficult to decide whether we should marvel more at the apathy of the Christian, or the long-suffering patience of the Christian’s God.

“A young man in my employ, named Jem Kambah, attended pretty regularly on our family and public worship. Going one day to visit his mother, she gave him two small smooth stones, which she had laid by for that purpose, telling him to wash them every day, and rub them with oil ; and that then they would take care of him, and he would prosper, because these were two good spirits, meaning, probably, that they were representatives of good spirits. ‘Mother,’ said he, ‘these are stones ; how can they take care of me ? I hear the white man at Yongroo Pomoh telling us, that God alone can help us, and that all our greegrees are good for nothing. These stones can do me no good. I will look to God, and beg him to take care of me ;’ and thus their

conversation turned into a dispute, and Jem threw the stones into the fire, as not worth any notice.

"This was a heinous sacrilege. His mother acquainting her friends with it, they reproved him, and told him that by thus acting, he would make the devil angry, and bring 'bad palaver' upon the country. He assured them, however, that from that time he would pay no more attention to any of their country fashions, but would do what he heard at Yongroo Pomoh. They then asked him, whether he thought himself a white man while attending prayers and public worship, and assured him, if he considered himself wiser than they, that they had means to show him who he was.

"On a Sabbath-day, after divine service, Jem again went to see his mother, and met the people dancing, and trying the people for witchcraft. He told them that it was the Lord's-day, and that they should not dance, but go to Yongroo Pomoh, to hear what the white man had to say; 'And then,' he added, 'you will leave off all dancing and witch palavers, which are nothing but the work of the devil.' This speech, together with the throwing of the stones into the fire, affronted them so much, that they threatened to punish him, 'because,' said they, 'you spoil our country, by making the devil angry with us all.' He was then requested to procure some rum to reconcile the devil, for having thrown his representatives into the fire; but he refused.

"The following morning, he was summoned before the king, and was told that he had made a witch-gun, and had hid it in his house on purpose secretly to kill or injure his inmate. Jem said—'I never saw a witch-gun, and do not know how to make one. He that told you this did not speak the truth.' He was urged to acknowledge it, and then the whole palaver would have an end. 'No,' said he, 'I cannot tell a lie, merely to please you.' He was called on to prove his innocence of this charge, by rubbing his arm with a red-hot iron, or by drinking red water. 'I am no fool,' said he, 'to burn myself with the hot iron, and, as for the red water palaver, I shall look in my head first,' meaning, that he would take time to consider the matter.

"He came to me, and told me what charges they had brought against him, and wished to prove his innocence, by drinking red water. I told him, that by drinking it he could prove nothing at all. 'I will drink it,' he said, 'to clear myself, and to bring my family out of the blame; and I hope God will help me.' I advised him to pray, and to consider well what he was going to do. His mother and several other friends urged him to confess, and thereby to avoid the drinking of the red water; but he always said that he was innocent, and would not tell a lie.

"As he was determined to undergo the trial, he was then advised to go to a distant place to drink the water, lest some bad people should bewitch his red water, and he would be found guilty. 'No,' said

he ; ' I will drink it here, before the face of mine enemies, and if God helps me, no witch nor devil can spoil my red water.' The time was appointed. Jem was closely examined, and exhorted to speak the truth, or else the red water would kill him. A day before the trial, he was confined, and persons of both parties—his friends and enemies—questioned him, and urged him to confess every thing that he had done evil. At last the day came : he was carried to the place of execution, stripped of his clothes, and had some plantain leaves tied round his waist. About two tea-spoons full of white rice had been given him in the morning. If he threw up this rice with the red water, this was to prove him innocent ! Jem now ascended the scaffold, and drank eight calabashes full, (about four quarts), which quantity was administered to him as fast as he could swallow. He threw all up again, together with the rice which he had eaten in the morning ; but before he could get down from the scaffold, he fainted. Now it was said, that though he had vomited, as requisite to clear himself of the crime of which he had been accused, yet there must be some witch-palaver left in his belly, because the devil wrestled with him, and almost killed him (meaning his fainting). He was then requested to drink the water again, to clear himself of what remained in his belly. ' No,' said he, ' I drank merely to please you, and to show that I am no witch ; but if you still think I am guilty, take me before your "Sengha," and let him kill me, if he can.'

" A few days after the trouble, he came to work again, and the king now going to Port Loco, to settle some country palavers, the business was dropped ; but Jem did not seem so serious, nor did he so regularly attend family worship as before. I spoke to him on the subject ; but he did not listen much. He continued, however, in the service of the settlement.

" A considerable time after this, a reputed witch came to my house for protection. This was no other than Jem's wife. I told her not to show herself about the house till I had inquired into her matter. I found that Jem's sister had been afflicted with the headache for a couple of days, and that his mother, still bearing in mind the wickedness of her son, in throwing the two stones into the fire, accused his wife of having, by witchcraft, brought this headache on her daughter ; and it was said that Jem also had his witch-gun loaded to shoot somebody.

" Having occasion to send my canoe to Sierra Leone, Jem, being in my employment, rowed the canoe, and was wise enough to take his wife with him ; and neither he nor she returned. About a week after they were gone, a woman died of the small-pox, when it was said that Jem left his witch-gun loaded in some secret place, and that it had killed the woman. Had they been here, both he and his wife would have been very cruelly treated.

" I was told that there was a woman very ill with the small-pox ;

and that another woman, who was just fallen ill of the disease, had bewitched her. I visited the sick one first, and found her dangerously ill; afterwards I went to the place where the supposed witch, named Bumfurry, was lying in chains under a tree in high fever, the small-pox just coming out. I begged the people to release her, and to let her lie down comfortably in a house, but they said they would not do it—I must speak to the headman of the town, the king not being at home. I applied to him, but he refused, alleging that she was a bad woman, she had been in the ‘sheerong,’ a place which is, in their notion, neither heaven nor hell, but a sort of purgatory, where the evil spirits dwell, and whither the supposed witches resort. The people believe, that though the bodies of these supposed witches are in their houses, their spirits go to the ‘sheerong,’ at nights, to be instructed by the evil spirits how to carry on their witchcraft. In that place this witch was supposed to have been; and there to have bought the small-pox, and by witchcraft to have brought the disease upon this woman. ‘If she is so skilful,’ I said, ‘then you can make money by her. Loose her, and let her go this night again to the “sheerong,” and buy the small-pox, and witch them upon me, and if I get the small-pox I will pay you ten bars.’ One said, that I had had them, and the witch could not bring them on me. ‘Why,’ said I, ‘if she be a witch, she can make a stick have the small-pox to-morrow; and, I assure you, if she knew any thing of witchcraft, she would not stand before you to be flogged; she would blind you all, so that you could not catch her; but in truth she knows nothing about witch-palaver, and, in your dealing so hardly with her, you do wrong. God does not like it; God says, “Love your enemy,” and you trouble your own children for nothing. God says, “Do good to them that do you bad;” and this woman has done nothing bad; and yet you put her in the stocks, and flog her, and let her lie in the open air; and the woman is sick too. That is hard, too much.’ As, however, she could not be loosed without the consent of the sick woman’s husband, I sent for him, and the whole palaver was talked over again; but he refused, and was going away. I persuaded him to stop a little longer; and said, ‘If there is either guilty of bringing the small-pox on the other, then your woman brought them upon this one who you say is a witch; because your woman had them first.’ But all was in vain. I then begged for her, as for a poor sick woman, who was lying naked under a tree, without a friend to help or comfort her. At last the man consented, and she was taken out of the stocks, and so I left them. But the relations of the person dangerously ill began to question the supposed witch, and gave her a severe whipping; and the poor creature confessed that she had bewitched her.

“Now the doctor was called to examine the sick person, and he, in

his turn, by pretended witchcraft, professed to take out of the woman's head :—1. A worm called, in Sierra Leone, the 'forty-foot.' 2. A small bag, containing the instruments of a witch, such as a knife, a spoon, a bason, &c. 3. A snail. 4. A rope ; and, 5. The small-pox ! The witch was again whipped, and asked whether she had not put all these things into the woman's head, that was now almost dead. She confessed it, and brought a man, and two women forward, as joining with her, to kill this woman. They were called. The man said that he was no witch, and that he knew nothing of this woman's witchcraft, and gave himself over to be tried by red water to prove that he was not a witch. The two women were whipped and sent to work ; and the principal one is to be put to death, as soon as the sick one dies. Till then Bumfurry, the supposed witch, has to guard the sick person, and to drive the flies off her.

"About ten days after, this poor woman came to me, covered with the small-pox, and the stripes of the whip, and begged me to protect her, as the people were in search of her, to kill her. She had been in the woods for several days and nights ; had nothing to eat, and nothing to cover herself with. I took her in, went to the headman of the town, and told him that such a person had come to my house with such a complaint, and asked him to let her stay with me till she was, at least, recovered from the small-pox, which was granted. Coming home I told the poor woman ; with tears in her eyes, she thanked me.

"In a few days the child of Bumfurry was brought to my house with a message, that there was nobody to mind this child ; and, as the mother was with me, I should take the child also. I took him in, a little boy of three years, and gave him to his mother, who, with tears, received him. I was informed that her adversaries were so enraged against her, that whenever they met with her, they would kill her. One said, if I did not deliver up the witch, he would catch one of my children and keep it till I did. Another said he would try and get into my yard and cut her throat there. The following day I went to Yongroo, and met the headmen, and others, talking the palaver about Bumfurry, how they would dispose of her. I told them that her child was brought to me with such a message, and what I had heard of two men who were present, designing to murder the woman in my yard. This was strongly forbidden ; and the woman was permitted to stay with me, without any molestation whatever, till the king should return from Port Loco.

"I oppose these foolish witch accusations wherever I can, and numbers of the Bulloms, especially the younger ones, see plainly that it is the power of darkness and ignorance that works upon the minds of the old people, but they dare not say a word in opposition to this evil practice, for fear of being themselves immediately accused of witchcraft.

"A poor slave boy, of the name of Yerkech, got the yaws, which is a very unpleasant disorder.* Nobody would have him near. He had no house, no food, no clothes, nor any friend to comfort him. He came to my house to get a little rice from our boys; and, indeed, his sickness was such, that I was afraid our children would get it; and, therefore, desired him not to come to the house. He begged me to permit him to get some oranges from my trees. He came regularly for them every day, and then went away.

"I had not observed Yerkech for some days, and where he was, nobody could tell. A week, or more, elapsed. I asked, 'What is become of Yerkech?' And was then told that he had been found guilty of witchcraft, and with the consent of King George, had been BURIED ALIVE last week. I was struck with horror. Oh! Christians, pray for us!

"I was determined to express my mind to the king on this subject. In a few days he came to visit me with a considerable number of people, having heard that I knew the business about Yerkech; I welcomed him as usual, and asked him how he did, and how he and his people were coming on. The king complained that some of his people were very bad, and that he had buried one of these bad ones. 'I am sorry to hear,' said I, 'that the people are so bad; nothing but prayer to God can make them good. Suppose you and all your people begin to pray to God, you will have no more bad people in your place.'

"KING—'Them bad too much. We bury one last week. Two week more, then me bury one woman again.'

"——'What is the matter? Is this women dead now, and will you wait two weeks before you bury her? What is the matter?'

"KING—'She be witch woman. She my daughter. She kill plenty people before this time. She want to kill her brother, my son, you and me too. I must put her in the ground softly—make her sleep there.'

"——'What! You mean to kill your daughter. Is not Tom alive? and you are alive too. Why do you want to kill her? If she has done any thing bad, punish her, or send her away from your country, and tell her if she come back again you will kill her. Now, do send her to Sierra Leone, and tell her she must never come back again.'

"KING—'No; I have children there, and she will kill them. (*i. e.*, by witchcraft.) She is my own daughter, and I don't want to kill her. I only make her dig a hole on the sand-beach, and then she must lie down there till the tide come and put sand upon her. Nobody shall trouble her; nobody knock her, nor spill her blood on the ground.'

* The yaws is supposed to be the only disease indigenous to Africa. It exhibits itself in a very unsightly and offensive eruption of pustules, from which a fetid matter is discharged; these pustules are small at first, but increase to the size of a sixpence or a shilling, and from the larger kind arise red fungous excrescences, from the size of a pea to that of a large mulberry. The disease is communicable, but like measles and small-pox, is experienced only once in a life.

“ — ‘ But you bury the blood in the ground, and the blood of your daughter will come out of that ground, and cry to God against you ; and, believe me, king, God’s hand will be very heavy upon you. God does not like it, and if you do it you spoil your country. If the woman had cut anybody’s throat, if she had knocked anybody dead with a stick or axe, or drowned anybody wilfully, then, God says, “ He that sheds man’s blood, his blood shall be shed again by man.” But this woman, you say, killed the people merely by her greegrees ; and I tell you a greegree is nothing ; she cannot kill any body by it ; and you may depend upon it, God will be angry with you if you kill this woman.’ ”

“ KING— She is my daughter, and if I do not kill her, she will spoil all my children, and kill me too. Suppose you buy fowls, you find one fowl has a bad sickness, and you are afraid all the other fowls will get the same sickness ; don’t you sooner kill that fowl, than spoil all the other fowls ? ”

“ — ‘ God gave fowls for our food, and he allows us to kill them for that purpose ; but God made man in his own image, and said, “ Whosoever sheds man’s blood, his blood shall be shed again ; ” and if you kill your daughter, God can send some people to kill you.’ ”

“ KING— ‘ Me no want to kill ’m ; only me put ’m in the ground ; that’s all I do.’ ”

“ — ‘ And pray, king, could you kill your own child ? No, you are too good for that. You love your children too much ; and really I cannot believe it, king, that you are going to do it, because I am sure you know that it is bad, and God will take revenge on you and your country. The blood of that woman will cry to God, and say that her own father killed her for nothing at all. God gave us our being, and he can take our life away when he pleases ; and if you kill your child, you bring yourself into bad palaver before God. One day will come when we all must appear before God, to give an account of what we have done in this world ; and suppose God ask you, “ King George, what is the matter you kill your child ? ” ’ ”

“ KING— ‘ Me sabby talk that palaver (I shall know how to answer). Me sabby tell him, “ God Almighty, what is the matter you give me bad child ? ” ’ ”

“ — ‘ Oh, king, you are an old man, you pass my dady, my dady-dady, for old (you are older than my father and grandfather) ; but I beg you let me speak. (This is a Bullom compliment.) When we are all dead, I and you, and all people that sit down here, and that woman, too, who you say is a witch, and whom you want to kill, we must come before God Almighty ; and suppose God speak, we can say nothing. Suppose God ask you, “ What is the matter you kill your daughter ? ” you must put your mouth into the dust, and can say nothing but “ Lord have mercy upon me ! ” ’ ”

“KING—‘No, me sabby talk that palaver; that woman bad too much’ (very bad).

“I then proposed that, if he really thought she was a bad woman, he should sooner sell her than kill her.

“KING—‘Yes; suppose you give me 240 bars, you can take her, and do with her what you like.’

“—— ‘I did not come into your country to buy slaves; but, sooner than you should kill the woman for nothing, I would pay something to save her life. And, supposing I pay 240 bars, would these pay for all the people whom you say the woman has killed by her witchcraft?’

“KING—‘If I kill the woman, no palaver; but if I kill her not, palaver for me; and if you give me 240 bars, when anybody comes to make palaver, I can give him some little thing, and beg for the woman.’

“—— ‘I buy no slaves, and I believe I have not so much money in the house as to pay 240 bars; only I beg you not to kill the woman.’

“KING—‘No, me no kill ’em; me make ’em go sleep in the ground; that will make all other witches afraid, and then they won’t kill no more people.’

“—— ‘Look here, king; I have three children of my own, and if any one would hurt them, I would fight for them; and you, who are such a good old father, and grandfather, and grand-grandfather, yet you talk of burying your own child! No, that cannot be.’

“He again assured me he would do it in two weeks’ time.

“—— ‘Well,’ said I, ‘king, if your heart is so bad as that you are determined to bury your child alive, let me know the time. Tell me the day when you are going to do it; but I beg you one time more for the poor woman; my heart hurts me when I think that King George, a good old father, is going to bury his child before she is dead.’

“Here we dropped the palaver. However, in a few days the woman was taken out of the stocks, and afterwards transported.”

It is a curious exemplification of the combined wickedness and deceitfulness which are charged against the human heart, in the inspired record of God’s perfection and man’s apostacy, that these appalling tragedies have been urged by the advocates of negro slavery in defence of their diabolical trade, which, say they, rescues the poor African from a frightful state of society at home, to transplant him to scenes of peace and security in other lands; while the fact is, slavery has either produced or aggravated these horrors a thousand-fold, by suggesting a mercenary motive to be served by the maintenance and rigid observance of the cruel customs under which they are perpetrated.* So that it may truly be said, if superstition in Africa has slain its thousands,

* Not to speak of peace cultivated with a cart whip, or security that lies in fetters and handcuffs.

avarice and cupidity have slain their tens of thousands. How must poor Nyländer's righteous soul have been vexed amidst such scenes as these !

Who can read the following account, which this faithful servant of the cross gives of his condition and feelings, without being affected almost to tears :—

“ I am now repairing my old wattled house again, and I am afraid that I shall be disappointed as to the building of a better house this year, though I have made some preparations for it. Our God knows whether I shall much longer stand in need of houses in this world. May I only be permitted to enter the gates of the courts above, where Jesus is ! My complaint begins to be rather serious. Walking and speaking are very difficult to me. However, as long as I can stir I do not wish to stand idle, and all the rest I will commit to him who careth for us. Remember me at the throne of grace, who stand much in need of the effectual, fervent prayers of the children of God, having been now better than ten years in this barren land of heathens. If you ask me for the fruit of my labours, what shall I say ? I was six years in Sierra Leone, of the fruit of which I can show you nothing ; and now four years among the Bulloms, and here I can produce but very little. And now it appears as if my day was almost spent, and how shall I expect my ‘ penny ?’ Unless the Lord Jesus be on my side, I must expect the contrary. But, blessed be God, faithful is he who has promised, ‘ I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.’ ”

Here, as at Canoffee, the attempt was entered upon of public preaching, in the native language. Nyländer has furnished us with an account of his first performance in this way. He preached under a shady tree to about fifty hearers, exclusive of his own pupils. The service commenced with a hymn in Bullom—

“ This day belongs to God alone,” &c.

which pleased the people much, being in their own language, and perfectly intelligible to all. Nyländer then prayed. Observing that some did not kneel, he explained to them the reason of Christians kneeling, in their addresses to God. They then sang again in Bullom, and he preached from Mark, xvi. 15—“ Go ye into all the world,” &c., explaining to his hearers the nature of our Lord's commission to his apostles. He told them, that his forefathers had been heathens—that they had received the message brought to them by the messengers of the Lord Jesus Christ, and have become enlightened—that he had been sent to them, not to make trade, nor to look for money, but to do good to their souls, by telling them how they may get to heaven when they die. “ I am sent,” said he, “ to preach the Gospel unto you, that is, to tell you the good news that to you is born a Saviour. His name is

Jesus Christ. He is come to save sinners. He wishes you to go to heaven when you die ; and, therefore, he has now sent his word into your country." He then urged the Bible on their attention, as a treasure of wisdom and knowledge, able to make us wise unto everlasting salvation.

These people believe in a future state of existence. They say man has a "churung"—that is, his shadow, seen on the wall of a house, by candle-light—that this "churung" accompanies him wherever he goes—and that, when a good man dies, his "churung" departs to a place of happiness ; but that, should he be a bad man, or a witch, his "churung" goes with the body into the grave, but, finding no rest there, it wanders about at night, troubling the people. Nyländer, knowing their peculiar views on this subject, introduced into his sermon the Scriptural account of death and the day of judgment, when, he assured them, no greegrees could be of any use to them, but that every one should receive his sentence according to his actions, unless he has an interest in Jesus Christ, as his Saviour and Friend. He told them God's blessing would rest on them, and their children, and their country, if they would observe the Lord's-day, and come together for public worship. He then concluded with prayer. After which those present expressed themselves much pleased, and requested him to come again.

As we have offered a detailed account of the proceedings which took place, on the memorable occasion of the first attempt to offer the Gospel, in the way of public preaching, to the Soosoos, we feel happy that Nyländer has furnished us with the means of presenting our readers with a similar account of his first sermon to the Bulloms.

"On the 19th of January, 1817, I first publicly brought my message before the Bulloms—'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.'

"The people were tolerably attentive, and not knowing the nature of preaching, some would give their opinion of what had been advanced. At last the king rose, and said that he had been in England, and in English churches, and he knew that no person was permitted to speak while the minister was speaking. If they had anything to say, they should reserve it till I had finished my speech, and thus my congregation became as quiet as in a church.

"After service, the people expressed their satisfaction with what they had heard, and wished me to come and speak to them again ; but how far their wishes were sincere I cannot pledge, their minds are so changeable.

"They also proposed that a house should be built for divine worship on the Lord's-day, and promised then to attend regularly. They said, that they preferred my speaking to them about God to what they

formerly heard from the Mahommedans—compared my conduct and the behaviour of the Mahommedan book-men, and wished that God might bless me, and let me live long in their country, with many more complimentary speeches and wishes, not, indeed, to be counted much of.

“On the following Sunday, January 26, my text was—‘And thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.’ I had about thirty hearers. We sung Bullom hymns. The whole service continued about an hour and a half.

“When I had finished, some old women sent to me for tobacco, because they had ‘attended to my palaver.’ I told the messenger that I did not buy any hearers. My wish was to tell these old women how they might go to heaven when they should die. If they liked to hear, they might come; if not, it would be to their own loss. By-and-by, some people would say—‘Dat palaver be bad, but people go to hear him because he give ’m tobacco;’ and in this fashion I shall only spoil my name, and the name of the good thing that I am talking to you about.

“A day or two after I met the headmen, about the building of the house of worship, as proposed. They said that I should leave the building of it to them; they would consider it as their own house, when I promised to supply doors, windows, and benches.”

In the first half of the following month, Mr. Nylander went among the Bulloms in various parts of the country, to make known the glad tidings of salvation.

Of his visit to the district called Scarcies, he writes :—

“At Mambulloh I stayed for some days, and endeavoured to collect the people, in order to address them; but not knowing the value of the riches offered to them, they said they had to attend to their farms. Besides this, an army of Mahommedans gathering in the neighbourhood, they were afraid that their country would be invaded, and were, therefore, scattered throughout it in the woods, watching the motions of the supposed enemies.

“I conversed with King Muriba and several other people on religious subjects, and especially on the benefit of introducing a Sunday among them, as we had done at Yongroo, and of establishing a day-school at Mambulloh, which should be attended by the children half the day, the rest of their time being employed in assisting their parents to work, and in providing for themselves, so that the person who should teach them would have nothing further to do with them than when they were at school. All with whom I conversed seemed much to approve of these proposals, but, I fear, chiefly to please me, though I gave them no present.

"The people at Mambulloh are more superstitious than those at Bullom shore, and very much given to witchcraft.

"I intended to visit other places at Scarcies; but the people being much troubled about the army of Mandingoes, did not advise me to go further."

Of the reception of his preaching, Mr. Nylander writes:—"The people seem not only willing, but pleased to hear what I say to them; but the generality of them are careless and very superstitious. I have proposed to preach every Wednesday in one of the neighbouring towns, and the people promise to attend. As often as I have spoken publicly in any place, I have found the people willing to hear, and some ask questions. One asked how sin came into the world. I have written, in consequence, a small tract in Bullom on the subject. Another asked, why the white people mention so many particulars in their prayers, such as those in the Litany. Another approved very much of the petition in Bullom—'Lord have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts.'

"Send us," he adds, "a preacher of the cross—one who likes to travel, and to speak much of Jesus' love. I believe we shall have hearers."

Mr. Nylander makes the following remarks on the instruction of the natives:—

"In wishing to do good to Africans, we must learn their different languages, and furnish them with books in their own tongue, and I believe our labours will not be lost. The principal languages to be learned by missionaries who are to labour out of the colony, are, the Soosoo, the Bullom, and the Timmanee. In the instruction of the liberated slaves in Sierra Leone, the learning of the above languages will be of very little use, because there are people of different nations and various languages, and all under some obligation to learn English.

"But how can we assemble them to hear what we have to say? This will remain a difficulty among free Africans, till it please God to touch their hearts with his almighty grace. It is easy to collect the liberated slaves into churches in Sierra Leone; but the free African is under no command; he will readily meet at a palaver, where he expects to drink of palm wine or rum, or a little tobacco; and some will attend to preaching and prayer, also, for once or twice, so long as the thing is new; but it soon becomes so old to them, that they much rather sit in their huts and smoke a pipe of tobacco, than move a few steps to listen to preaching."

The following conversation, which Nylander had with a native a short time afterwards, will further illustrate the Bullom character, and the difficulties of a mission among them:—

"I asked," writes Nylander, "one of my neighbours who used to attend divine service, why he did not come now. 'Dady,' said he, 'we hab too much work dis time.' 'Very well,' said I; 'but don't you know, that God gives us six days for work, and one day we must pray? Suppose you don't mind God's word, and don't pray to him, God cannot bless you.' After speaking to him for some time of the benefit of attending divine worship, of death, and of eternity, he said—'Dady, you talk true; but me no sabby hear English.' I fully convinced him that this was no excuse at all; but, as he did not like to come to my house, I would tell him, and all that were then present, what God tells us in his book. 'God's book says that all people have bad hearts.' Now, to tell a Bullom man that he has a bad heart, is to give him the greatest affront possible. 'It tells us that these bad hearts must be changed, and that none but God can change them.'

"'But suppose you don't know whether you have a bad heart or no, hear what God's book says—You must not drink too much. Now, if you drink so much rum or palm wine as to spoil your head (intoxicate), your heart is bad.'

"'Again, God's book says, you must have no more than one woman; you must not tie t'other man's woman (commit adultery). Now, suppose you have two or three women, or you take t'other man's woman softly, that is bad—that shows you have a bad heart; and when you die in this palaver, you cannot go to heaven.'

"'Again, God says, you must have no other God but me: I alone can help you, and what is this tied round your ancle?' It was a piece of scarlet cloth of the size of a shilling, fastened to the ancle by a white cotton thread. 'Oh!' said he, 'dis my gregree, me been cut my dis here foot tree time, and, last week me not rise, my foot walk on a pinopsain,' trod on a thorn, 'and my foot sick too much. Dis thing me tie 'm for keep my foot good—can't cut 'm again.' 'Well,' said I, 'don't you see now that you make this thing your god? This cannot help you—it can do you no good—you must cut it off, and throw it away.' 'No dady,' said he, 'suppose me cut dis thing off, my foot can break.' At last he permitted me to cut it off. However greatly these heathens rely on the assistance of their gregrees, they will dispose of them sometimes for a mere trifle."

The fears of the committee, and the friends of true religion in the island of Goree, that the missionary work which was being carried on so prosperously there would be interrupted by the surrender of the island to the French, were unhappily realized. On the 18th of July, four corvettes, with troops on board, for Goree and Senegal, arrived to resume possession of these settlements according to treaty; at which time, under the fostering care of the commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Chisholm, and the diligent attention of Mr. and Mrs. Hughes—

the number of children in the schools had increased to 112; these were rapidly improving, and there appeared to human eye every prospect of great and permanent success. With the arrival of the French, however, and the hoisting of their flag, these prospects became immediately overcast. When Mr. Garnon arrived at the island, on his way to Sierra Leone, at the end of October, he found the scholars rapidly diminishing, and by a letter from Mr. Hughes, dated the 10th of January, 1817, the committee were informed that they were then reduced to thirty-two boys and thirty-one girls, as their parents and friends wished them, under the change which had occurred in the government of the island, no longer to learn English, but French. Every person of intelligence, at Goree, bore testimony to the good which the Society's schools had effected, and deeply lamented their probable discontinuance.

Governor MacCarthy had called the attention of the committee to St. Mary's island, in the river Gambia, and expressed himself as very anxious that an English clergyman should be located there. Mr. Garnon, on his way to Sierra Leone, spent a day in the island. He describes it as "low and sandy, twenty miles in circumference, very woody, and would, no doubt produce every necessary peculiar to the Western Coast of Africa. The town consists of the commandant's house, and a few huts. There are few natives on the island, but the neighbouring islands, and the mainland are very thickly inhabited. Fort St. James is about twelve miles further up, but very small, and contains about fifty soldiers. The cattle are nearly equal to those in England, especially the bullocks. The natives bring them from the mainland; and receive in exchange gunpowder, rum, or tobacco."*

After some delay, occasioned by unavoidable circumstances, the committee were enabled to meet the earnest call for more labourers in the African field, by sending out two additional schoolmasters, Englishmen, John Brereton Cates, and David Brennand, who embarked at Gravesend, on the 14th of January, 1817; on board the same vessel that took out the other schoolmasters and their wives the previous year; John Cates, as has been mentioned, was appointed to assist Mr. Nylander at Yon-groo Pomoh, and David Brennand to labour at Congo Town, in the colony. On the 27th they left the Downes, and arrived off Senegal on the 15th of February. "In fourteen days," says Cates, writing from

* The Wesleyan missionaries who established a mission in this island in 1821 describe the character of the natives thus:—"Their character is bad enough—as masters they are proud, insolent, and cruel—as servants they are fawning, hypocritical, and extremely dishonest. It seems as though Mahommedanism had made them almost, if not altogether the worst of men; and the generality think themselves authorized to cheat and steal from white people at every opportunity. The king is a pagan, and so are the greater part, if not all the people of the town; but their paganism is mixed with the worst Mahommedan superstitions."

the last-mentioned station, "we have been brought from the English channel to Senegal, without experiencing even a heavy gale, without having occasion to lie-to one moment, and without making a single tack, and that, too, at the most stormy season of the year! Every one on board acknowledged that he never saw it on this wise before." They reached the colony on the 25th of February, after spending a few days with Mr. and Mrs. Hughes at Goree. On their arrival a change was made in the arrangements respecting them, at the request of the governor, both being retained in the colony—Cates being fixed at Cosso and Congo Towns, henceforward to be called Wilberforce Town, and Brennant being appointed to assist Mr. Wenzel, at Kiskey Town.

Poor Brennant was an early martyr to the cause. In scarcely four months after his arrival, the Lord saw fit to remove him from this new scene of his earthly labours. On the 7th of June, he was taken ill at Regent's Town, whither he had gone to assist Mr. Johnson, during Mrs. Johnson's illness. Continuing to grow worse, he was conveyed back, in a palanquin, to Kiskey Town, where every attention was paid to him by Mr. and Mrs. Wenzel, and the best medical assistance provided; but, in spite of all, he departed on the 20th of June. During his illness, his spirits were greatly depressed, but he was calm and peaceful in the prospect of eternity. Mr. Wenzel writes:—

"On Thursday evening," (the day previous to his death,) "I again prayed with him; and seeing now that his end was fast approaching, I did not think it proper to leave him. I and Mrs. Wenzel, therefore, sat up with him. He said much to my wife respecting our own children, and his relations who had died, and said, 'to-morrow I shall be with them. The Lord is now calling me away.' He wished us to sing with him. I sang with him many verses. When we came to the words, in one of Dr. Watts's hymns—

‘ We’re marching through Immanuel’s ground,
To fairer worlds on high,’

his spirits revived, and he sang these words, in a manner, so loud and distinct, that no one could suppose him ill; but his voice soon dropped, and his strength failed. When we had left off singing, he embraced me, and said—‘ You are my brother, and you shall be my eternal brother before the throne of the Lord. Amen.’ He spoke but a few words more. A little before two o’clock, on Friday morning, he gently breathed his last. His soul, I doubt not, went to the Lord, whose little lambs he was come hither to feed."

Mr. Garnon said his complaint was very singular, as he seemed to have no severe indisposition; but occasionally pain in his limbs, accompanied by a little sickness, and remarkably low spirits.

Melancholy as this case of bereavement was to the missionaries, their

faith and patience were now to be more severely tried. The reader has, we trust, learned to appreciate the valuable services of the Rev. Leopold Butscher, in every department of the Christian work, which he was appointed to occupy. For nearly eleven years he had now laboured with faithfulness and judgment, amidst the formidable perils of African manners and climate; and, as the head of the institution on Leicester Mountain, he was beginning to reap the fruits of his long, and often discouraging exertions, but he had now reached the termination of his earthly pilgrimage. He had fought the good fight, and he was about to finish his course. "He had been unwell," wrote the Rev. Wm. Garnon, under date of the 17th July, 1817, "about a fortnight, with what he termed the country fever. The first week was nothing material, but afterwards he was attacked with a bowel complaint. Hearing that he was worse, I sent to fetch him down from Leicester Mountain, that he might have every attention and comfort. This was on Monday. The disease was violent, nor did it abate till his death, when he was completely exhausted; I was with him the greater part of the time after his arrival in Freetown, except at night. On Wednesday night I staid with him till twelve o'clock; and though he was much overpowered by the disease, yet he remained sensible; after that, I understand, he much altered."

The following letter, from Mrs. Garnon to her brother, on this distressing subject, will awaken solemn reflections:—

"Mr. Butscher was ill but about eleven days. From the numbers that attended his funeral, we may judge of the respect felt towards him. The governor attended, with all the military officers, and most of the Europeans, together with Maroons and settlers, and the children from Leicester Mountain, and the other schools in the colony. I saw Mr. Butscher on the Tuesday night when he was brought into town in order to have more medical advice; Mr. Garnon was with him till within three or four hours of his death. He departed at five o'clock, on the 17th of July, and was interred, the same evening, at that hour.

"His mind, a few days before, was quite resigned and calm; but near his death he became more confused, owing to fever. When he was carried out of the house, at Leicester Mountain, he looked at several poor boys, and said, 'Well, you know I have been a long time with you, perhaps I come not again, but God will give you another father.' The children wept very much, and it distressed me exceedingly, on the day of his burial, to see so many of them deprived of their head. When Mr. Garnon went up to the institution, as he did yesterday, to make some arrangements, he collected all the boys together, and many came round him saying—'Massa you come to live here?'

“These are painful circumstances to us, but are all ordered by an infinitely wise and gracious hand. May we not be discouraged, but enabled more steadfastly to persevere with renewed diligence and zeal. Pray that we may be sustained and influenced by the love of Christ.

“On the Saturday before Mr. Butscher’s death, when Mr. Johnson visited him, he said, ‘I am now on a dying bed, but I have committed my soul and body, with my dear child, into the hands of Jesus, in whom is all my hope. I know that the work here is quite unfinished; but I believe that God is able, from the dust, to raise up some one to finish it.’ Mr. Garmon asked him, if he knew in whom he had believed, and whether he could, with confidence, commit his soul to him? He replied, ‘Yes.’ This was a few hours before his departure. Mr. Garmon prayed with him, and he distinctly and audibly, joined in repeating the Lord’s Prayer.”

It was gratifying to the friends of this devoted man, that the sorrow for his loss was so general and heartfelt, and that every respect was paid to his memory, by all the residents at the colony, from the highest to the lowest. The governor and council, together with the principal officers of the colony, attended his funeral; and his excellency, especially, expressed much concern at his untimely removal, and the injury which the cause would sustain by his death. We, too, must deeply deplore a man in whom there appeared such an excellent spirit; but we may not esteem any thing a loss to the cause, save the withdrawal of his favour, who says—“not by might nor by power, but by my spirit,” that the excellency of the power may be of him and not of us.

CHAPTER XI.

WE concluded our last chapter with an account of the death of an English missionary in Africa. We commence this by recording the death of an African convert in England. When the Rev. Edward Bickersteth had accomplished the object of his mission to Africa, he was entreated by Simeon Wilhelm, one of the native youths under instruction at Bassia, to take him with him to England; and, as his father joined in the entreaty, Mr. Bickersteth was induced to comply. Accompanied by his young charge, he arrived, as we have seen, safely in England, where every thing, of course, was new and surprising to Simeon, and he proved an object of interest to the friends of the Church Missionary Society.

But it was not in the mere fact of his being an African, and a pupil of one of the missionary schools, that the interest attached to him consisted. Simeon was a Christian—a monument of redeeming grace, and a testimony from above to the value of missions, and the faithfulness of the particular society under which he was educated. His interesting history has been written by the valued servant of God who conducted him to England, and whose discerning eye singled him out from among his fellows at the Bassia school. We would gladly transfer the entire of that beautiful little memoir to our pages; but space forbids. Just a year after his arrival in England, he was taken ill. He was first confined to his bed on Wednesday, the 16th of July, and he died on Friday, the 29th of August, 1817, having been indisposed a little more than six weeks. A few extracts from Mr. Bickersteth's sweet little work must not be withheld:—

“Simeon Wilhelm was born about the year 1800, near the Rio Pongas, on the western coast of Africa. His father, who is still living, is named Balla, and is a person of some authority among the Soosoos.

“In 1809, when yet very young, Simeon was received into the

school established in the settlement of the Church Missionary Society at Bassia, on the Rio Pongas."

Mr. Wilhelm wrote of him a few years afterwards :—

"This boy is one of the most simple, modest, honest, and tender-hearted in our settlement. His look is pleasant—it is the image of innocence. I think some children may be said to bear this image, though, in the strict sense of the word, none can be said to be innocent. He shows particular attachment to me, so that when I reprove him, his heart is ready to break in going from my presence ; and when he sees me again, he will be ready to burst into tears, requesting that I would not be any longer angry with him. He is my waiter when lying on a sick-bed. May it please God to grant his grace and blessing on my endeavours to serve him in return, to the health and salvation of his soul. His natural abilities are not great. He reads well, and writes from dictating ; but he cannot, as yet, work out the rules of arithmetic beyond the first principles.

In April, 1815, Simeon addressed the following letter to the secretary of the society :—

"REV. SIR—I have taken the liberty of writing to you, and of saying, first of all, we thank you very much that you have sent out the missionaries to Africa, to teach the poor boys the way to God, and thereby to become Christians." And again—" I write these few lines, to tell you how far I am in my learning. I can read and cypher a little—this is all. And also to tell you, that the place was set on fire—that the people say among themselves, that the houses were burnt by the devil ; but we believe that that spirit has no power to burn houses. They also foolishly say, that if we build again, and make no sacrifice to devils, the houses will be burnt again.

"When we are grown up, we wish to be missionaries to the Soosoo people, to teach them the way of Jesus Christ. We all send our kindest respects to our benefactors and you."

Mr. Bickersteth goes on to narrate the circumstances attending his own visit to Africa, in the year 1816, his warm reception at Bassia, and his admiration of the system of instruction pursued there. He proceeds :—

"I examined the children very minutely, going regularly through the classes. Simeon was in the first class. All in this class could read and write English very well, and knew accounts. The six boys who composed it seemed, so far as could be ascertained, under the influence of Christian principle. They were from about fourteen to seventeen years of age.

“When Simeon was asked if he thought himself sinful, he replied—‘Yes, a great sinner.’ When asked, ‘Why?’ he said—‘Because I have done wrong.’ ‘What, then, do you want?’ He replied—‘I want a new heart.’ ‘Whither do you think you should go, if you were to die this night?’ He replied, bursting into tears—‘I go to hell, because I do wrong.’ He was then told, that if he would, without delay, earnestly and really apply to Jesus Christ to save him, even though he were to die that night, God would hear his prayers; for Jesus Christ loved black children as well as white, died on the cross for them also, and lived in heaven to pray for them. This love of Jesus Christ seemed to touch Simeon’s heart more than any thing else, and he could not refrain from many tears.

“He came to me one day, and said, ‘You go back to England; I like, massa, to go with you.’ I said to him, ‘Why, Simeon, should you like to go to England?’ He replied, ‘I get good learning in England for my own country people.’

“Simeon’s heart bounded within him, and his eyes beamed with joy and thankfulness, when I told him, ‘Simeon, if you promise to do what I say, and to mind your book well, you may go with me to England.’

“He promised that he would do every thing that I wished, and he never broke his promise.

“He had not been long in London, before he was attacked with the pulmonary complaint common to Africans coming into a colder climate. The physician who kindly visited him apprised us that there would be considerable danger in keeping him in this country, and told me, before Simeon, that it would be right that he should be sent back. We all thought the same.

“I had not, however, left the room above an hour when Simeon sent for me. I saw that he was much agitated, and asked him what distressed him. He said, ‘Master,’ the name which he usually gave me, ‘you send me back to my country; I have not got good learning yet; I not teach my country people; I do no good.’ I replied, ‘You know, Simeon, that if you remain here, it is most likely that you will die, and then you cannot be useful to them; but, if you go back, you may learn what is good in Africa.’ He then raised himself up out of the bed, threw his arms about my neck, and said, ‘Master, if I die, that be God’s will, God do right; but if I live, and stay here, then I learn, so that I teach my country people about Jesus Christ; I do not like to leave you.’

“Seeing that he thus deliberately left his life in the hands of God, and, though sensible there was danger, preferred the possibility of doing good on a more extended scale afterwards, it was not thought right to frustrate his wishes. We hope, indeed, that those wishes may be yet abundantly realized, for by this memorial he, though dead, yet speaketh.

" His general behaviour in the society's house was truly exemplary. Those who had the happiness of seeing it will never forget his meek, gentle, and affectionate spirit. He was grateful for the least kindness. His ardent attachment to myself—the way in which his eye followed me when I at any time left home, and the manner in which he welcomed me on my return, showed how sensible he was of the least kindness. He was always very attentive when the Scriptures were explained, and heartily joined when a psalm or hymn was sung.

" Simeon had been taught the great importance of a strict observance of the Sabbath-day, and he seemed deeply to feel this duty. One Sunday a porter came to the house with a parcel, and, when delivering it, took the name of God in vain. Simeon was present, and could not restrain his feelings: 'You bad man; you take God's name in vain, and on Sunday, too: you bad man.'

" He had a very great abhorrence of lying, and we never on any occasion, to our recollection, found him in any respect deviating from the truth. The following instance will prove how careful he was in this respect. Having one day taken more exercise than usual, he was very drowsy, and fell asleep during family prayer. I reproved him for this, and expressed my hope that he would never fall to sleep again. He said nothing, but was evidently deeply distressed. The next morning he could eat no breakfast, and was in the course of the day so sad and dejected that I was told of it. When I inquired the reason, I found that the reproof of the preceding night was a heavy burden on his mind. He said that he durst not promise me that he would never sleep again at prayers, for he was afraid lest he should not keep his promise. I then encouraged him, and his burden was removed.

" About this time Simeon wrote to Mr. Jellorum Harrison, then a native schoolmaster in the Rio Pongas, under the society, and a relative of his own. The following are extracts from his letter. They show the prevailing bent of his mind:—

" 'I find that it pleases the Lord to fulfil what is right for me, more than I am able to ask. His goodness is great towards me in bringing me to England, and showing me good friends, just like those in Africa, among my own relations. The Lord is good, for his mercy endureth for ever. What, then, shall I render unto him for his benefits towards me? What must I do in order to do his will? Let me pray to him, and keep his commandments, and whatsoever I ask of him I shall have it. O my God, teach me then to love thee.

" 'Mr. Harrison, if you think of me, I hope you will not forget Simeon, especially in secret, in your prayers. I do pray for you, Mr. Harrison, that the Lord might bless you in your work. I was very glad to hear that good news from Africa, from Mr. Renner, dated

Canoffee, that he preached at Lissa, and they gladly received his sermon, and at Bassia also. But two things make me grieve, that I was quite uneasy about it:—first, George's death; and secondly, some of the natives taking away the children; and James Pearce is dead; also David Pearce is gone to his father, and Sebastian also. I was quite grieved. All my partners are gone from me; only Caulker is left. Is not this quite a mourning letter to you, Mr. Harrison? But still, if we look to the Lord Jesus, we shall see one another again, if it please him. Now God, our heavenly Father, hear our prayer, for Jesus Christ thy Son's sake. Look upon us, O God of heaven, and let not the work of the Church Missionary Society be in vain, which they have begun.

“Be so kind as to send me an answer by the first opportunity; and, if you please, get a few words from my father, and put them in your letter.”

“Arabic being understood by the Mandingoes on the western coast of Africa, and the knowledge of it giving an ascendancy, in their opinion, Simeon began to learn Arabic, and had made, before his death, considerable progress in reading and writing that language. He had also begun to learn Latin.

“I requested him occasionally to write, on any texts which he might choose, such sermons as he would wish to address to his countrymen, when he should return to Africa.

“The following are extracts from two or three of these sermons:—

“On John, iii. 16, he says—‘We have here the true picture of God's love toward the whole world.’

“After describing God's love, he says—‘I think the reason that worldly men do not repent of their sins is, that they think on so many things of this world; and they say, I will make an outward appearance, and so I shall be called a Christian in the world. No, that is not enough. Professor of religion! men may hate you because you are a Christian, but while you make outward appearance only, God hates you the more, because you are not a Christian.’

“Of faith he says—‘If a man were to be sick of a fever, and they give him a medicine that would cure him, should he refuse to take it, he must suffer for it: so, if a man refuse the Saviour who died for us, he will suffer for it at the last day. Now, your sins are not so great that Christ cannot cure them, for he is full of mercy and compassion.’

“Again, he says—‘O worldly man, you have pampered your body with this world, and starved your soul; it goes without any knowledge, but the Christian feeds his soul.’

“Of everlasting life, he says—‘Oh, what a good thing it is for

Christians to have God for their Father, and to be joint-heirs with Jesus Christ. Everlasting life! Oh, that happy life for Christians, where they shall praise their God, and be in heaven with him. Worldly men, see how sweet it is to be happy with God; and try now to pray to God this day, while he is near, and may be found.'

"On John, iii. 3, he writes—'To be born again is to get a new heart—to have our corrupt nature changed—to lead a new life. The Holy Ghost must be given unto us. Birth is the beginning of life, and to be born again is to begin to have a new nature and new affections, that we may lead a new life. We must have the Holy Spirit in this world, to sanctify and make us clean.'

"Speaking of the difficulties in the way of religion, he says—'It is very hard, indeed, to get to heaven. All sin must be put off. Truly, then, let us get the grace of God in our hearts, through Christ's suffering. If we ask we shall have. How can we be so hardened as not to ask God for what he has promised to give us? You must go through the difficulties of this sinful world, if you will be a Christian, following the example of Christ your Saviour, who bare the anguish of death. Compare your difficulty to his suffering, when he was upon the cross. Though the world be against the Christian, that is nothing for us, when we remember that he will take those who do his will to heaven; and they shall be there with him for ever and ever; and that those who are not his servants shall be cast into hell-fire.'

"Against the mere profession of religion he says, 'The mere professors of religion are the worst part of mankind, and will have a double portion of punishment. If you would be a Christian, be not only a professor, but get a new heart, and thirst after righteousness.'

"On John x. 9, he writes—'Consider, in the first place, that Christ is the Saviour of the world. He says I am the Lord. No one can get into heaven without knowing Christ, and holding him as his only Saviour, trusting in him, and doing his will. He is the Saviour—he is the friend of those sinners who come to him for pardon, and feel sorry for their sins.'

"A short time before Simeon's last illness he wrote several letters to different friends, all of which show where his treasure and his heart were. Extracts from two of these follow:—

" ' Church Missionary House, June 10.

" ' I should like to inform you the news which I heard from Africa, that churches were building among my own nation—and some of them profess that they will be Christians, and be baptized. It is certainly true that the Ethiopians are beginning to stretch out their hands to God their Heavenly Father. Oh, let the time come soon when all the ends of the earth shall worship the Lord their God, and all the nations

call him blessed—when Europe and Africa shall join to celebrate, in different tongues, the love of the Saviour. Oh, pray for Africa and India, that the Church Missionary Society's labours may not be in vain. I hope you pray for me also. I do think on you. Oh, let it please the Lord now that he might bless me, that when I return back to Africa, I might be useful to my own countrymen, especially to my own brothers. When I remember my own family, I ought to thank the Lord for his goodness in bringing me to England, that I might be instructed in a good way, and not follow bad characters, but show a good example to my own benighted countrymen when I return back.'"

What follows is extracted from the notes of the Rev. C. H. Decker, afterwards missionary in Africa, who attended Simeon in his last moments:—

"Simeon was first confined to his bed on the 16th of July, 1817. His mind was then very cheerful, and he was quiet and patient. He delighted in hearing prayers, and in reading the Bible, and reminded me of a tender lamb, which the faithful shepherd bears in his arms, and nurses in his bosom. I asked him sometimes—'Simeon are you comfortable in your mind? Can you think on the Saviour?' 'Yes.' 'Have you the hope that your sins are forgiven you?' 'Yes, he has shed his blood for me.' I spoke then with him some words concerning the love of Christ to sinners, which he delighted to hear. He was very grateful for any thing that was done for him. He was the greatest part of this time silent, but whenever asked if his mind was comfortable, and if he could think on the Saviour? he answered always with a cheerful and smiling countenance, 'Oh yes.'

"On the 28th of July, in the night, he said to his servant, who was sitting up with him.—'I can think of my Saviour much better in the night than in the day.' He expressed several times his gratitude to his friends for giving him every thing he wanted. He asked me what the expenses for his sickness were? I replied—'Be not concerned about that Simeon.' He answered—'God will pay them all money—all love done to me.' Yet, the expense attending his sickness seemed to distress him, and he said, 'I have one shilling here, take that and buy things for me.'

"One day Doctor Whitting asked him, 'Simeon, how are you in your mind? Do you believe on Jesus, and feel yourself a sinner who must be lost without a Saviour?' 'Yes.' 'Do you believe that Jesus has shed his blood for your sins, and loves you?' 'Yes.' 'Do you now love the Saviour?' 'Yes.' 'Why?' 'He loved me first.' Doctor Whitting then encouraged Simeon, and assured him that the colour of his skin made no difference before God, and that Christians loved their black brethren in Christ as well as their white. He looked very cheerfully at him, and answered—'Oh yes sir! I feel the truth of it very well.'

" In the afternoon of the 30th, after having prayed with him, I read to him Carrick's Discourse on John x. 14—'I am the Good Shepherd.' He was delighted with it, and read it over again.

" On the 31st of July, after having prayed with him, he desired me to read some chapters out of the Bible. I read the third and the seventeenth chapters of St. John, and made remarks on them.—He was very serious and silent. After half an hour, he uttered these words—'True repentance! Pardonng grace! Sanctification!' and he frequently repeated these words. I asked him if he wanted any thing. He answered, 'No—I must be silent and pray—I have very much to think respecting true repentance. He was all the night very silent, and much occupied in prayer.

" On the 1st of August, in the morning, after having prayed with him, he prayed himself, as nearly as I can recollect, in the following words:—

" O Lord, Maker of heaven and earth, thou createdst all things and me: look down with thy compassion upon me. O Lord Jesus, have compassion on me; pardon all my sins. I am a great sinner. Forgive me what I have done amiss. Give me a deep sense of my sinfulness, and of thy pardoning grace, that I may go to Africa, and preach to my poor benighted countrymen, the unsearchable riches of Christ. O Lord, I am a great sinner. Forgive my sins, for Christ's sake. O Lord, look down on all my Christian friends. I bless thee for their great kindness to me. O Lord, bless my master, thy servant, who is now going out to preach in behalf of the poor benighted heathen. Shower down thy Holy Spirit upon him. Bless him in his going out and in his coming in. I thank thee that thou didst bring me to missionaries who educated me for Christ. O Lord, bless Mr. and Mrs. Kemner, Mr. Wilhelm, the pious man, and Mr. Batscher, for all their kindness to me. I thank thee that thou hast brought me to Christian friends in England, to be instructed further in knowledge, and in the Gospel. Oh, bless them all. Bless my master. Bless the secretary of this society and all missionaries. Bless thy servant who is praying with me. Fill him with thy Holy Spirit, and answer our prayers. O Lord, let us be one in love with thee, and give us thy love. O Lord, look with compassion upon me, and help me from this sickness, that I may preach the Gospel to my father, and brothers, and countrymen, in Africa. O Lord, bless us all, and hear us, for Christ's sake. Amen."

" I was very glad to hear this prayer, and was obliged to retire for some minutes, in order to give free course to my tears of gratitude to the Lord, for the grace given to this dear youth. He was all the day very quiet and patient, notwithstanding the increase of his fever: he expressed himself as being happy, and able to think on the Saviour

and his love, but added, 'I have much to think on respecting conversion, and, therefore, I want to be silent, and to pray in my thoughts.'

"Aug. 4.—In the morning he asked, 'Does Mr. Bickersteth know that I am sick?' I answered, 'Yes, and he will pray for you, Simeon.' Smiling and clapping his hands, he said, 'Yes, he will; and he will send Simeon a letter: Master, a letter to Simeon! Ah, dear massa!'

"On August 6, Mr. Pratt came, and said, 'Simeon, I have a letter for you from your master; I hope you will be very glad.' He answered, 'O yes, sir.' Mr. Pratt continued, 'Mr. Decker will read to you the letter.' I then read it. He listened with the utmost attention, and after I had finished it, desired me to read it again. During the reading he said often, and with a smiling face, and tears in his eyes, 'God bless dear master; God bless him.' After a little while I said, 'Look, Simeon, you are very happy that you have so kind a master, who loves you so much, and prays for you.' He answered, 'O yes, I wish only to see master; he must feel that I so long to see him.' I answered, 'Your master would be highly pleased to see you, but he has to preach in many places on behalf of the heathen, and thus good Christians are excited to pray for all the poor heathens, and for you.' He was well satisfied with this answer, and appeared calm in his mind.

"August 9.—The Rev. Mr. Fenn visited him, when the following conversation took place:—'Does Simeon find himself better?' 'No better.' 'Can Simeon think on the Saviour?' After some pause he answered—'Not always, as I would.' 'Does Simeon feel himself a sinner?' 'A very great sinner.' 'Does Simeon believe that Jesus can pardon his sins?' 'But we must first come to the Saviour.'—Mr. Fenn said, 'But we cannot come of ourselves to Jesus, the Saviour comes first to us.' 'Yes, sir.' 'Does Simeon remember the passage, in the Scriptures, where the Saviour invites us to come to him?' He answered, 'Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened to you; for every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.' After prayer he was quiet and silent, and said, sometimes, 'I want to be silent, and to pray with my thoughts.' In the evening the fever increased very much, and he was the greatest part of the night delirious. He broke out sometimes—'Oh, my poor mother! Oh, my poor father! Oh, my poor brothers! Lord have compassion on them. They know thee not.' I asked him if his father, mother, and brothers were still heathen? He said 'Yes, I want to go to Africa to preach to them the unsearchable riches of Christ.' After a little while he repeated—'Oh, my dear mother, I shall never see you, and my father and my brothers, for they know not the Saviour. O Lord have compassion on them, and convert them for Christ's sake!'

"August 15, 1817.—In the evening of this day the following con-

versation passed between the secretary and Simeon—‘Well, Simeon, how do you find yourself?’ ‘Very bad, sir.’ ‘Do you feel that you wish to live?’ ‘If it be the will of the Lord. If it is not, let him do what seemeth him good.’ ‘Why do you wish to live?’ ‘To go back to my country.’ ‘Why do you wish to go back to your country?’ ‘I would get all the people about me—my father and my mother, and all the people, and tell them what the Lord has done for my soul.’

“August 24. *Sunday*.—One of the servants staying with him while the rest of the family was gone to church, he said—‘I am very sorry to keep you at home, but the Lord can bless us here. He knows our thoughts and all our wants.’ He then asked her to read Psalm xcii. When she had finished, he said—‘Come, let us pray.’ He then prayed thus—‘O Father of mercies and God of all the earth, try my soul, and see whether I am thankful to thee for putting me into the hands of all the kind friends that have done so much for me. O Lord, bless my dear master for bringing me to England; O Lord, bless him in his journey, and bring him back in safety and health; bless this, thy servant, before thee, and all in this house, (mentioning their names); bless all the ministers of the Gospel this day, that they may win souls to Christ; be with all the missionaries in Africa, and may they see much fruit of their labours. O Lord, grant that some of them may go and preach to my dear father and mother, and tell them what a great miracle God has done for them, in sending his only begotten Son to die for them, that they may believe in him, and be saved. O Lord spare me, that I may go back and preach to them myself. But if my Saviour sees fit to take me to himself, oh, that Maxwell may be saved, and go and tell them that Christ has done for their souls.’

“August 26.—Simeon asked Mr. Blair if he would recover? Mr. Blair said, ‘No.’ He cried with a loud voice, ‘Is there not any help more?’ Mr. Blair answered, ‘No, we cannot do any thing more for you. We cannot resist the will of the Lord; he loves you, and will take you to heaven.’ Simeon then cried out, ‘O Lord, look with compassion on a poor wretched negro, who is lying here. O Lord, hear the prayers of a dying negro, and convert my countrymen; send true preachers to them. O Lord, take me to heaven. O Lord Jesus, be gracious to me a sinner, the worst of sinners. By thy agony and bloody sweat in Gethsemane, by the blood which gushed out of thy body on the cross, help me, and be merciful to me.’ All present were broken down and moved to tears. I prayed with him afterwards; he was resigned to the will of the Lord, and frequently exclaimed—‘My Saviour will take me to heaven! He will take me to himself, where there is no sickness—no sorrow—no trouble!’ In the afternoon he begged me to pray with him; after prayer he looked very pleasantly at the servant, who was with him, and reaching out his hand to her, said, ‘Well, good-

bye, God bless you! I am going to my Saviour; and if you do love your Saviour pray to him—he will hear you. Enter into your closet and pray, for he hath promised to hear you. I used to pray to my Saviour three times a day, in the morning, and when I came from the school, and at night. Tell your sisters to pray. Tell them Simeon wishes you to say so to them.’ He then with rapture of joy exclaimed—‘Now let me go to the Saviour! I want to go to the Saviour.’

“August 29.—Early in the morning of this day, the day of his death, about two o’clock, he asked for some refreshment. He ate and drank very cheerfully. When he had done he said, ‘This is for the last time. I want no more. I shall go to my Saviour in heaven.’ He then poured out, with a loud and distinct voice, which could be heard in all parts of the house, at that silent hour, a fervent prayer for himself, for his relatives, for his countrymen, and for all his friends and benefactors. Among his petitions the following are collected—‘O Lord Jesus have compassion on me, and take me to heaven! I am a poor sinner—the worst of all sinners. I rely only on thy mercy, O Lord Jesus! that blood which gushed out of thy body on Golgotha saved me. O Lord Jesus, thy agonies in Gethsemane; thy bloody sweat; thy death on the cross, are my salvation! O Lord Jesus, thou savedst the thief on the cross, and promisedst him thy paradise; as such an one I come to thee. Only by thy free grace I am saved. Thou hast forgiven me all my sins. I shall now soon be in the company of the angels, and of all the holy persons whom thou hast redeemed by thy blood; a poor miserable sinner is saved by thy blood! I shall see my Jesus! Lord, let none of thy servants fail, that we may meet together in heaven.’ After particular intercessions, he added, ‘O Lord Jesus, I bless thee that I shall see thee in paradise; I fear not death, for I have thee as my Almighty Lord Jesus; I rejoice to be with thee; I am saved by thy grace, O Lord Jesus! Amen.’

“He spoke continually of the joy of being for ever with the Lord; about eight o’clock he joined in singing several hymns, and sang with a clear and distinct voice. He chose himself the hymn, in which he took particular delight :—

‘Alas! and did my Saviour bleed,
And did my Sovereign die,
Would he devote that sacred head,
For such a worm as I?’

About nine, he said to his little countryman, ‘Maxwell, pray for Simeon, that the Lord may give him patience.’

“He then fell into a slumber, and about ten o’clock, after a convulsive effort to spring from the bed, he calmly fell asleep in Jesus.

"Simcon was buried, at St. Bride's church, Fleet-street, on Wednesday, the 3rd of September, 1817. Mr. Pratt preached two funeral sermons on the Sunday following, one in the morning, at Wheler Chapel, from Zech. iii. 2.—'Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?' and the other in the evening, at St. Mary's, Woolnoth, from Matt. viii. 10–12.—'Verily, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel; and I say unto you many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness.'"

We resume our notice of the proceedings at Canoffee.

The object and result of the great palaver held at Lissa, Mongè Backe's town, mentioned in Wilhelm's journal as having been held on the 14th of March, 1817, was soon made known to the missionaries. The number of persons assembled amounted to between 3000 and 4000, and the greatest excitement prevailed on the subject of the British man-of-war in the river, and the military party which had encamped on its banks, to overawe those parties who had been concerned in the late revival of the slave trade. It was proposed that the British should be driven away by force; and as the traders had succeeded in exasperating to the uttermost the minds of the natives against the missionaries, they came to the decision of adopting the most extreme measures against them, and laid three successive propositions before Mongè on the subject. The first was, that they should be burnt out. "No," said the old chief, "it shall not be done. If you do this, you spoil my name; and no white man will ever hereafter sit down by me." This reasoning satisfied them for the present.

Having retired, they consulted together on their second proposition, and concluded on plundering the settlement, alleging, that as they were at war with Sierra Leone, it was quite lawful to seize on the property of the colony. To this second proposition Mongè Backe replied—"No; if my strangers have to leave the country, they shall leave it with their property, and nobody shall trouble them without my consent."

They now retired again, much chagrined with the old man for his resistance to their schemes, and came to a third resolution, surpassing the former two in baseness, which was to murder Renner, "who," said one of them, haranguing his associates, "at his first coming into the country, declared before many people, that whenever the English should bring war into this country, we might take his life. Here is the war, and now we have a right to take his life, according to his own declaration." Renner had, indeed, given some ground for this malicious reasoning, by once saying, in a palaver in Bassia, that if ever the English should TAKE their country from them, then they might take his

life. "Besides," continued this Soosoo sophist, Mr. Renner is the monkey that destroys our fields, spoils our country, pulls up our case sadas, and eats our bananas and plantains; and, in the natural course of things, such a monkey must be destroyed, just as we do any monkey that annoys us." Another orator gave it as his opinion that as their ancestors had killed people who made yamfa (acted deceitfully) in the country, they might do the same, and that it was quite clear Mr. Renner was a yamfa-maker, and it was quite agreeable to his views that he should be killed. Nearly all the others coincided with this last speaker, and, accordingly, this third decision was laid before Mongè Backe; but the old chief became quite enraged at their murderous proposal, and said—"No man has a right to kill any stranger but myself, and I will not do it, nor shall any body else."

The result, however, of the great palaver at Lissa, was a determination that the slave trade should be supported, and that, consequently, the utmost resistance should be given to those who attempted to interfere with it. M. Fernandez, of Bramia, who had come to the meeting, attended by four hundred men, avowed himself, on this occasion, much to his credit, a friend of the Church Missionary Society's plans and proceedings in the Soosoo country, and demanded security for the mission, declaring that the missionaries were a body quite distinct from the military force of the colony, and freely admitting, that if Christianity should be established in the Soosoo country, the nation would abolish the slave trade of its own accord.

But, besides the threatened violence of the people, in consequence of the ideas they entertained of the missionaries' influence with the authorities at Sierra Leone, much danger was apprehended by the brethren, from the assemblage of 4000 turbulent savages, many of them being far from home, and in a year of great scarcity, as the present one happened to be. "Hunger," says Renner, writing on the subject, "soon seizes the greater part of them when collected together in such numbers, and, from necessity, they must take much freedom in going to different towns for cassadas and other fruits to satisfy their wants. This they have done, and have even seized ten or fifteen bullocks from Mr. Dixon, who keeps a factory in this neighbourhood, for Mr. Nichol, of Sierra Leone. These were considered lawful spoil, as being Sierra Leone property. The settlement, thanks be to God, received no injury; for M. Fernandez gave strict charge to the people not to injure us. The storm is now overpast, and our Heavenly Father preserved us in the greatest danger."

It now appeared evident that the attempt to preach the Gospel had been made at a most inauspicious season. In consequence of the revival of the slave trade, under a more aggravated form than ever, the traders exerted themselves to the utmost to prejudice the minds of the

natives against the missionaries, and to prevent them attending the preaching of the Gospel, whenever it was announced to take place ; so that although Mongè Backe had given the brethren full license to preach in Lissa, no congregation of natives could be procured, even at times when the town was full of people. On the present aspect of the slave trade we shall introduce an extract from the Report of the African Institution for the year of which we are now writing, which will prepare the reader for the painful event which now seemed inevitable.

“The native chiefs and traders, who had begun to be convinced that the abolition was likely to be permanently maintained, and that it was, therefore, absolutely necessary to engage heartily in schemes of cultivation, if they would preserve their influence, have learnt, from more recent events, to distrust all such appearances.

“Notwithstanding all that had been said and done—notwithstanding the slave trade, for seven or eight years, had either been chased from their shores (from the river Senegal and Sierra Leone it had been completely banished), or forced to skulk in corners ; they now see the slave traders again sweeping the whole range of coast without molestation—nay, with an air of triumph and defiance. It will be long, therefore, before they are likely again to yield to their former conviction respecting the purposes of the European powers. Even if effectual means should now be pursued for abolishing the slave trade, years must probably elapse before they will be induced to forego the expectation of its revival.

“It would be difficult fully to appreciate the deep and lasting injury inflicted on northern Africa, by the transactions of the last three years. This injury, too, will be the greater, as in the interior of that country they cannot be expected to discriminate with any accuracy between the different nations of Europe. They only know, in general, that the white men who had ceased to trade in slaves, and who, they understood, would trade no more in that commodity, except as smugglers, liable to be seized and punished, have resumed the open, avowed, and uncontrolled practice of that traffic.

“This afflicting state of things, it need hardly be observed, has discouraged, and, in many instances, completely crushed the efforts to extend agriculture and legitimate commerce which had been produced in this quarter of the globe by the cessation of the slave trade.

“Nor is it merely in the way of natural effort that this result has arisen. The slave trade of the present day has acquired a new character of ferocity. The slave ships come on the coast armed, not merely for the ordinary purpose of their murderous traffic, but in order to resist search ; and many bloody scenes have, in consequence of this determination, been acted of late in Africa. They appear also to lose

no opportunity of attacking and destroying the legitimate commerce of the windward coast, and particularly that of Sierra Leone, which enjoys the proud pre-eminence of being the object of their bitter hatred and implacable hostility.

“The trade of this colony, therefore, with the surrounding districts, which had tended more than any other circumstance to give a steady impulse to the industry of the neighbouring natives, has been subjected to much outrage and spoliation, attended, in some instances, with great barbarity of treatment, and even with the loss of many lives.”

We have been obliged, for want of space, to omit from our introductory notice of the slave trade, although we had prepared it, a statement of the circumstances in which this revival of the nefarious traffic originated. We advert to it here in connexion with the extremity to which the Church Missionary Society was reduced of suspending their operations on the Rio Pongas, and abandoning, at least for the present, a locality fraught with the most imminent peril to the lives of the faithful men, whose connexion with Great Britain, the uncompromising friend of Africa, had obtained for them the malignant hostility of the murderers whose bloody doings she had undertaken to repress. On the 16th of February, 1818, a meeting of the missionaries, such as the committee had directed should be held in case of necessity, took place at Free Town, Sierra Leone, and the determination was then unanimously adopted of retiring from Canoffee, and transferring the children and property of the society to the colony. Arrangements were accordingly made for carrying this object into effect, and on the 21st of May, Mr. and Mrs. Renner, accompanied by sixty children, forty more having been sent home at the request of their parents, arrived at Sierra Leone, where the Governor soon found them employment, as we shall see by-and-by. “Thus ended,” says Renner, “a mission established above ten years ago in the very place where Satan dwells. He has laboured unweariedly to keep his subjects and his dominion, and with how much success these events plainly show. But the Soosoos shall not be his inheritance for ever. The time shall come when ‘All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him; for the kingdom is the Lord’s, and he is governor among the nations.’”*

Before taking a final leave of the settlements on the Rio Pongas, we must mention that the number of liberated children placed under Christian instruction by the liberality of pious friends in England, who contributed the prescribed sum for their maintenance, had, according to

* Psalm xxii. 27, 28.

the account preceding the abandonment of Canoffee, increased to 393. The names attached to those last received, were—

Named after Clergmen.

Richard Weyn Allix.	Edward Lake.
Robert Beachcroft.	Samuel Lambrick.
Francis Blick.	Henry Maddock.
Nathaniel Bridges.	Henry Martyn.
Samuel Crowther.	George Mortimer.
Henry Gipps.	Thomas Sheppard.
John Greig.	Samuel Shipley.
Henry Vaughan Jones.	James Stillingfleet.
Edward Kilvington.	Thomas Tyndal.

Named after other Persons.

Thomas Bell.	Benjamin Lacam.
Henry Blythe.	John Leslie.
George Downing.	John Methley.
James Tripp.	Thomas Nottige.
William Forster.	Theodore Robinson.
Frederick Gibbons.	Michael Robinson.
Samuel Green.	Ambrose Serle.
Samuel William Hentley.	Edward De Lilton.
William Harvey.	Henry De Lilton.
Samuel Haydon.	Bacham Vaughan.
Joshua Head.	Nicholas Warren.
Joseph Adolphus Hume.	Charles Newby Wawn.
Thomas Kilvington.	William Weltit.
Thomas King.	

African Girls.

Mary Allan.	Louisa Hooper.
Sarah Harriet Arnold.	Mary Anne Hopson.
Elizabeth Maria Batson.	Anne Sophia Hume.
Elizabeth Halliley Battye.	Mary Jesse.
Elizabeth Bickersteth.	Love Nuthley.
Jane Burman.	Mary Mortimer.
Elizabeth Cardale.	Anne Roe.
Elizabeth Cawood.	Mary Martha Sherwood.
Sarah Cholmeley.	Caroline Smith.
Jane Forster.	Elizabeth Walbridge.
Caroline Juliana Gason.	Catherine Whitmore.
Mary Jane Halward.	Sarah Williams.
Margaretta Haydon.	

The Gambier and Bullom settlements still continued to shed abroad the light of divine truth in their respective localities. At the former, Mr. and Mrs. Klein were permitted to continue their Christian labours unmolested; the situation of their settlement preventing it from being materially affected by the slave trade, and opening a ready intercourse

with the Mahommedan natives of the coast, and of the interior. Of the people about him, Klein wrote :—

“ The great body of the people here are sunk in superstition and vice, but the high respect which they have for bookmen of every description is favourable to our design of establishing Christianity among them. They have no bitter prejudices against the Gospel, those excepted which arise naturally out of the heart of every man ; they treat us, therefore, with great respect, and we have hitherto been quiet and comfortable among them. They are, in common with all Africans, miserably poor and beggarly, and are quite destitute of shame in those respects ; but I am determined to gratify them as little as possible ; yet it is necessary, in order to do any good among them, to be in some measure liberal and obliging to the superior persons.

“ I and my wife have endeavoured to diffuse the light of the Word of God as widely as possible, by conversing freely with every person who comes in our way ; and though we see not as yet particular effect produced, we have hope that, with the divine blessing, the seed will, ere long, spring up and bring forth fruit. I wish to give myself more to this part of my duty, but the attention which it requires to instruct upwards of thirty children, to provide for them, and to attend to their maladies, is a great hindrance to me.” A chief who had formerly heard much of the Christian religion at Sierra Leone, confessed to Klein, “ A man cannot hear your book without being much afraid of God, because of his sins. When we hear from it what God says to us, it makes water come out of one’s eyes. If a man steals or cheats the least, he will be afraid that God will punish him.” This is a noble testimony of the power of God’s word in the conscience of the sinner, and is probably no more than many a rebellious spirit has felt, if they would with equal candour admit it ; but it shall be a witness for God, and against the unrepenting at the last day.

We have given some samples of superstitious usage among the Bulloms and the Soosoos of the Rio Pongas. The following extracts from the journal of the Rev. J. S. Klein, will exemplify the gross moral, and spiritual darkness of the Soosoos of that part of the coast where the Gambier settlement was situated. Witch palaver, it will be observed, is every where in Africa the fatal enemy of religion and civilization, and the great friend and supporter of the execrable slave traffic :—

“ July 25, 1818.—A few nights ago a leopard, which has long been in this neighbourhood, entered a house in Kapparoo in which two boys lay sleeping under a mat. He sprung at them, and nearly scalped one of them, carrying away with him a piece of flesh along with the mat, the rustling of which probably alarmed him, and prevented his returning to the prey. Medicine was immediately applied to the wound.

“ The next day, however, the poor boy’s hands and feet were tied, and his throat was about to be cut, when some persons interposed, and desired that the palaver might previously be talked.

“ As soon as I heard of this cruel business, I sent Mr. Brunton, my schoolmaster, to ask one of the principal men in the town to come to me, and I talked very seriously to him about the cruelty of killing the boy. I told him that, as professed bookmen, they ought to know that God had never commanded any such thing.

“ He had, indeed, commanded such persons as their ‘ Dures,’ to be put to death, for they were the real witches, who conversed with spirits, cast sands, &c. I told him that to kill a person in such a case as this was directly contrary to the word of God, and that if they should do it they would bring the wrath of God on them and their country; and that, rather than they should bring innocent blood on themselves, I would redeem the boy whether he were likely to live or die. He said he could do nothing himself, but he would speak to the headmen; but it being their fast moon, he could not at present call on me. The boy was, however, unloosed, and Mongè Demba was sent for to hold the palaver. Persons were also sent to different places, to consult the ‘ Dures,’ sand-casters, &c., in order to discover the witches.

“ July 31.—The poor boy who was hurt by the leopard has called on me every day for some time. I suppose some one has informed him that I am his friend. To-day, with a sorrowful countenance, he told our children that some woman said that he ought either to be brought to the water-side and have his throat cut, or be tied all night in the town, that the leopard might take him. I went out and asked him what I could do for him. With tears in his eyes, he answered, ‘ I want you to redeem me.’ I encouraged him not to fear, but to pray to God to be his friend.

“ Many Mahommedans, who have come to Kapparoo about this and other palavers, have called on me, with whom I have conversed very fully and freely on the subject. Such of them as belong to the Mandingoes and other Mahommedan countries, disapprove of these bloody prosecutions, but as they are strangers, they say they are afraid of speaking their minds.

“ August 4th, 1818.—Mr. Zeaca called to-day. I spoke to him concerning the boy. He said the boy was free, and would not be sold; he wished to send him to his father, but he must first find out the witches. I told him that a leopard is a wild beast, and that he is well known in every country; that when he is hungry he will seize either man or beast. He answered—‘ He will not catch a man except the witch be in him.’

“ August 7.—Mongè Demba arrived. The rains being very heavy, I have not seen him. I have sent to him about the boy, but I under-

stand that he is fully engaged in hearing the reports of his 'dures' and sand-casters. I hear that three men are also accused of being witches, and that they, together with the boy, designed to seize the headman. How it was that they did not succeed I cannot tell.

"August 10.—Early this morning Mongè Demba called on me. I took the liberty of protesting against these leopard palavers. He heard me very patiently, and at length said—'Well, we must drop this palaver.' A respectable-looking bookman who was with him, appeared much pleased with what I said, and confirmed it by repeating 'Nonde, nonde'—'true, true.'

"August 11.—I have heard that, when Mongè Demba returned to the town, he sent for Mr. Zeaca, and said—'We must give up this palaver. White man speaks much against it, and says it is very bad, and no one can answer him. Therefore, you must send the people home, and order that not another word be spoken about it.' Some persons were very much displeased, but they did not dare to object. I and my wife were greatly rejoiced, and thankful for this termination of an affair which occasioned us considerable anxiety. We believe the accused persons to be as inoffensive as any in the country.

"August 14.—To-day Mongè Demba called on me again. He was remarkably cheerful and friendly. I thanked him for putting a stop to the palaver. He said, if a stranger told him any thing that he was about to do was wrong, and he persisted in it, he would be denying God—that is, refusing to obey him. I advised him to put an entire stop to these witch palavers, and also to the trial by red-water. I told him that he ought to look out for a good bookman, to read the Arabic Bible daily to him.

"A day or two ago, the poor boy who had so narrowly escaped the jaws of the leopard, and the knife of the murderer, placed himself opposite to me, and for some time surveyed me with sparkling eyes, and with every expression of delight and joy. It is universally believed that four persons would have been killed on this occasion if I had not interposed. But I am inclined to think that regard to the English government, which has lately most happily been established in the Isles de Los, has influenced Mongè Demba's decision, as much as my arguments."

The surrender of the school, at this settlement, was a necessary step, at least, on the part of Klein, whose absence from home, on preaching excursions, was entirely incompatible with the strict attention which the native children required, especially as some of the elder ones were beginning to manifest a disposition to great insubordination. Klein was also engaged in a translation of the Scriptures, which drew largely on his time; under these circumstances he thought it right to employ a schoolmaster, and engaged, in that capacity, James Brunton, a native,

nearly related to some of the chiefs, and educated partly in England and partly by the missionary, whose name he had received. In December, 1817, Brunton was married to Julia, the African girl, educated at the school, who has already been favourably introduced to our notice; and her conduct in her new relation fully justified the expectations which had been formed of her.

We must now leave the Gambier settlement for a short time, that we may inquire what the Lord's people were doing this year elsewhere.

We have already learned that the island of Goree was occupied by the French, in July, 1816, according to treaty with Great Britain; and that the schools under Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, had suffered greatly in consequence; so much was this the case that this faithful couple soon saw that scarcely any prospect of usefulness remained for them under the change which had taken place in the administration of the island. They were, therefore, directed by the committee to remove to Sierra Leone; but as Hughes feared that the climate of the colony would be prejudicial to his wife's health, and as he was looking for admission to holy orders, he asked, and obtained leave to return to England. They landed at Portsmouth, on the 5th June, 1818, having left the river on the 30th March. It was gratifying to themselves and their friends, that the most satisfactory testimonials of their piety, zeal, and diligence in the formation of schools, and the instruction of the native children, during their residence at Goree, were forwarded to the committee, from that island, and that there was reason to believe their labours had not been unfruitful.

Hughes himself has furnished us with a succinct account of their proceedings in the island, which we consider an interesting as well as an encouraging document, and one that may prove useful to future missionaries in this field. We therefore insert it:—

“I left London, with my wife, on the 24th of November, 1814; and finally left England on the 23rd of December, for Sierra Leone, where we arrived in health, on the 13th of February, 1815.

“Circumstances obliged me to leave that colony. I cannot but think that it was God's good providence which led us to Goree. The darkened state of the inhabitants of that island loudly called for help. There had been three attempts before to raise English schools without success; not, however, wholly discouraged by this information, I went to the commandant, Lieutenant Colonel Chisholm, who immediately entered into my views, and offered every assistance in his power. I then made it known that I intended opening a school for boys on the following Monday, on which day it was opened with earnest prayer for its success. Soon after, a school was opened for girls, by my wife, in the same way.

“As the children all began with the alphabet, no objection could be made to the books put into their hands, nor yet to their learning the Lord’s Prayer, which was, probably, the first religious instruction that they had ever received. This prayer we much dwelt upon, explaining it as we went on, and it was the only prayer which we ventured at that time to use on Sundays. The children made great progress in reading; and their morals improved so, that we very soon gained the entire confidence of the parents, and the schools began to increase.

“While we seemed thus successful among the children, we often discoursed on the probability of instructing the adult slaves with success; but great difficulties presented themselves. The slaves are, for the most part, carpenters, joiners, ship-builders, stone-masons, blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, cooks, sailors, and labourers: most of them talk a little English.

“The children were very quick: we brought them, in less than three years, to read the Testament and other books well, and succeeded in teaching them to write a legible hand, and the first four books of arithmetic. The girls, besides reading and writing, were taught to make their own clothes.

“We now ventured to teach and explain the ten commandments, and after these the Church Catechism, and on Sunday did not omit to use a part of the Litany. A lecture was then established on the evenings of Monday and Thursday, which was conducted in the way of questioning and explaining, for the purpose of bringing down to the comprehension of the children, those portions of the New Testament which they had read since the preceding lecture. The progress of the girls kept full pace with that of the boys; and, having been taught to make their own bonnets and dresses, their appearance was so much better than before, that it began to be considered, by both parents and children, as an honour to come to school.

“Thus our schools were considerably augmented, and, in general, by an industrious and attentive set of children who loved us, and feared much to displease us, and whom we as much loved, having, through the blessing of God, brought them from heathen darkness to think of their Maker and Redeemer, for, I have every reason to believe, that many of them bowed before his throne on rising and going to bed; and as we used to take them out walking in the evening, Jalloff dances were entirely abandoned by them; indeed they thought it a shame to be seen there.

“We now mustered 119 boys and girls, and were turning our thoughts to the education of adults, intending to teach them one hour in the morning, and one in the evening, when God, whose ways are unsearchable, so permitted the affairs of this world to interfere, that we were deprived of the pleasure we anticipated.

“On the 18th of July, 1816, a French corvette hove in sight, and soon after, a courier brought news from Senegal, of the arrival of the French to take possession of the settlement. This, though long a matter of conversation, was generally expected never to occur, as it was supposed that the English government would have given something in lieu of these colonies. It came, however, as a death-blow to our exertions. The children felt it much. Their sorrow was manifest in their countenances. The grown people were, I believe, in general pleased with the change about to take place, as they were in hopes of disposing of many of their slaves.

“Possession not being immediately given to the French, many were doubtful whether the islands would have been restored to them or not. Our schools did not, therefore, much decrease at the moment, though there was no addition to them. Towards the close, however, of the year, when the transfer began to be more certain, our schools were reduced to nearly half the former number. On the 15th of February, 1817, the island was ceded to the French, and we had the mortification to see very many of the friends of the schools quit the place. We were not, then, however, wholly discouraged, as we hoped we might yet effect some good, till the Easter following, when there arrived a Catholic priest, who completely shook our fabric. At one time he did not see what the children wanted to learn English for; and at another, he positively affirmed that they learned nothing, till he was silenced by one of their parents showing him their work. Determined, however, to draw them away from our care, he began himself publicly to catechise them every evening, and taught them prayers. On Sundays, too, a public service was performed by him, and after our service, the parents took their children to this church.

“Under these circumstances, the children continued to leave, till at last we had no more than twenty-eight left. As it was quite manifest that there was no likelihood of doing further good at Goree, we turned our attention towards home, and the society offering to defray my expenses to England, we embarked, after waiting for a vessel more than two months, on board the brig *Ceres*, for the Gambia river, to join another brig of the same name for England.

“We were much affected at the gratitude of the people on our leaving Goree. The beach was nearly lined with parents and children, a number of whom were in tears at our shaking hands; and I am more and more convinced, that we might have been exceedingly useful, if it had not been for the powerful effects of Romish principles on the mind.

“On our arrival at the Gambia, the principal merchants there who had lived before in Goree, sent us an address, expressing their gratitude

for our exertions on that island. We left Gambia on the 30th of March, and landed safely at Portsmouth on the 5th of June.

“What good we may have done to the children, it is not possible to say. This much we can testify, that there was a great change in their outward conduct: from lying, tricks, and all kinds of duplicity, idling about the streets, attending native dances, they became correct and regular in their manners. Many of them, as we trust, from conscientious feelings, offered up their prayers morning and evening at home, and delighted in reading the Testament, a copy of which we gave to all who chose to come for it the day we left. We sincerely hope that the instructions which they have received may be ‘as bread cast upon the waters, which shall be found after many days.’ The greegrees and other charms that were worn by the children on our arrival had entirely vanished. They said they were sure that these things could not do them good, and that if God pleased to make them sick, nothing could prevent him. One of our scholars observed, that God would not let us stop at Sierra Leone, because he knew that there were plenty of poor people in Goree that wanted teaching. Should sentiments such as these, some of which we occasionally heard drop from their youthful lips, remain with them, I doubt not but the society, as well as myself, will yet have greater cause for adoration and praise than the present gloomy appearance seems to afford.”

We must turn our attention now to Yongroo Pomoh, on the Bullom shore, where we find Nylander still labouring, both in the instruction of the native children, and by conversation and preaching among the adults. The latter appeared willing to hear him at first, when he made occasional visits among them; but when his visits were repeated, they became tired, and even asked payment for attending. During the year 1817, he continued his preaching excursions, and the natives of Yongroo undertook to build him there a house for divine worship, which was opened in November. He then held daily worship, and divine service twice on Sunday. The attendance was very inconsiderable. The king came regularly, and was sometimes the only adult native present.

In December, and the following March, he renewed his visits to the natives in the neighbourhood, and was every where received in the most friendly manner. After he had preached among them, the people declared that they understood and admired his speaking and reading in Bullom; but it was evident that they attached little value to the instruction sought to be conveyed to them and their children. “The sound of the drum,” wrote Nylander, “a jug of palm wine, and a few leaves of tobacco, are of more value in their esteem than Christian instruction.”

“The school alone,” writes this laborious servant of God on another

occasion, "containing twenty-five boys, now gives a distant, and very distant prospect of doing good in the Bullom country. There is good hope that in one or two it has pleased God to begin a good work. They, with Stephen Caulker, may yet be useful to their countrymen." Poor Nylander's idea of the progress which he had yet been enabled to make, may be gathered from the prayer which he breathes forth in this communication—"Oh that the name of Jesus may be glorified by the conversion of one Bullom!"

The slave trade made its appearance in this country, and the fate of the mission was, for the present, decided. Dealers from the Rio Nunez arrived to purchase slaves; consequently, red water trials became frequent, in order to meet the demands of the monsters who came to traffic in human blood. As may be supposed, few verdicts of acquittal were pronounced, and witches and wizards in abundance rewarded the perfidious machinations of the traders and their dupes. While the Bulloms could sell slaves and get rum, they took no interest in the preaching of the Gospel—on the contrary, they brought complaints in their palavers against Nylander, because, they said, he had spoiled the country, by not bringing rum. Their mode of expression was—"He only sit down to teach children and talk God palaver: that good; but suppose he bring good trade, that better.'

So decided at last became the opposition of the chiefs, under the influence of the slave dealers, that it appeared expedient to suspend this mission also; so that Satan seemed now to triumph in every place, and the soldiers of the cross retired before him. For all this there was a cause, and a needs be, though perhaps at present concealed from mortal perception. We might, viewing the conflict from a distance, hazard a conjecture as to the weak point in the conduct of the Christian operations, but we forbear. The Lord of Hosts uttered his voice, and we doubt not it was heard, and that many have long since had reason to rejoice in the lesson that was taught, however painful and humiliating the mode of its conveyance.

This mission was productive, at all events, of one valuable and permanent result, the translation of the four Gospels and other parts of the New Testament into Bullom, together with the morning and evening services of the Liturgy, and some other parts of the Book of Common Prayer, and the compilation of a few tracts and hymns in the same language.*

The committee anticipated, at the time of resigning this mission, that it might afterwards be resumed on the plan of frequent excursions for

* The Gospel of St. Matthew, in Bullom, was printed at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1816; and in the same year the Prayer Book and Homily Society, printed the selections from the Liturgy in Roman characters, the Bulloms having no characters of their own.

preaching, for which the vicinity of the Bullom shore to Sierra Leone, seemed to offer every facility. Nyländer calculated that the state of the population was such, that about a thousand persons might be visited in three or four days. The ferocity of the natives, however, appears to have closed the door against any effectual effort in their favour up to the present time.*

We shall take our leave of the Bulloms with an extract from Nyländer's journal, which nearly carries his proceedings down to the period which preceded the abandonment of the mission, and affords us some further insight into the character of these degraded people.

“ Dec. 14, 1817.—Only three adults and a number of children present at morning prayer. Gave notice that at ten o'clock I would come again, and expected that more people would attend; but at ten I met none but the king, and a young lad who was present in the morning. Was much cast down because the people are careless about their eternal welfare. After divine service I spoke to the king on the very discouraging prospects of doing good in this country, and that I should be obliged to go away if the people did not attend better than they do now.

“ In the afternoon I met about half a dozen people together, and entered into conversation with them. One said, ‘Who has ever returned from the other world to bring us intelligence?’ I said, ‘We are taught in the Word of God.’ ‘Did not men write the book? and how can they know what becomes of people after they are dead?’ These are cavils which they must have heard from some wicked European. It is not common for an African to put such questions. The man showed much of his heathenish unbelief, and I told him that whatever he had to say, I must tell him that his heart was as hard as a dry stick to which I pointed, and that I prayed to God that he would make it as soft as palm oil; and that when that was done, then he would have other views of those things about which we were now talking. I spoke further of the wickedness of our hearts, and that those wicked hearts must be changed by the grace of God.

“ Dec. 15.—About six adults and a number of children present. When prayers were over, the king said that he had heard some children speak of seeing spirits, and of knowing something about witch palaver. He strictly charged them not to entertain such thoughts; they should

* The Bulloms are nearly the zero of the thermometer of African civilization; and although so close to Sierra Leone, that the respective inhabitants might telegraph each other, it would not be so safe for the white resident of one bank to cross the river to visit his caoutchouc-skinned brothers upon the other side, as it is to pass the Thames at Rotherhithe; at least this was the case when last I saw its palm trees waving their long leaves to the sea breeze.—*Rankin's Visit to Sierra Leone, in 1835.*

not pretend to see or know any other thing than what the Book of God taught them. He had lived long in the world, and never saw any spirits, nor did he know any thing about witchcraft. People were accused of it, and brought before him for punishment, but they either acknowledge it themselves, or it is proved that they have done ill. ‘But you, my children,’ said he, ‘are learning God’s book—you must not listen to what bad people tell you about spirits and witchcraft. I do not know book, but when my father died he did not leave me to see spirits, but he left me in the hands of God, and God has taken care of me. I am now better than one hundred years old.’

“He then related where he had been, and what he had seen and experienced in the world; but he never met with any evil spirits, as some people pretend to have done, nor did he know any thing of witching.

“He told the children to take care of themselves, and to be diligent in learning, and never to think any thing too hard until they had well tried it. The king then related to the children the following fable:—

“‘There was a woman who had but one son. This son was very diligent, and supplied her with every thing that she stood in need of. He made a small farm, fenced it in, and planted rice, and went from home to get money to maintain his mother. In his absence the rice was cut, and taken for house use. The mother then went into the farm, to bring in some of the rice straw to make or fill a bed with. When she had filled a basket full, she thought it would be too heavy for her to carry, and therefore wished that somebody might come to assist her; and behold, the devil appeared, and asked what she would pay him for carrying the basket for her. She said she had nothing to give him, but if he would carry it for her, she had a son, who was not at home now, but whenever he returned the evil spirit should have him for his trouble. When the agreement was made, the woman tried to lift the basket, and found it but light, and said that she would carry it herself. But the agreement was made, and she had forfeited her son, and brought herself into great distress afterwards.’

“*Application.*—‘Never do you think any thing too heavy till you have tried it well, otherwise the evil spirit will cheat you, and you will be the loser.’

“I was glad to hear the exhortation of the king, especially as he is said to uphold all the superstitions in the country. May the Lord begin his work in him and others.

“Inquiring how the King came to speak thus to us this morning, I was informed that it was for my encouragement; and that the parable of the woman was a hint to me, because I had said a day or two before that I should be obliged to leave the place.

“Dec. 18, 1817.—I was very low spirited all this day, considering the little success that is likely to attend my labours.

“Dec. 20.—After prayers saw the witch-doctor, and asked why he did not come to prayers. After a long discourse, he put it off till to-morrow. They are all very ready to put it off to a more convenient season, and not longer than to-morrow, but with many this to-morrow has not yet arrived. When I come into a town and call them, they seem to be shy, or at a loss what to do: they do not like to refuse, and at the same time are not much inclined to come. They sometimes stand at the doors or windows, and when I ask them to come in, they go straight away.

“Dec. 22.—After committing myself and my children to the gracious care of our heavenly Father, I set out on a journey to Kumrobe, much strengthened by the words—‘I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.’ About ten o’clock we arrived at Foukeh, where I rested about an hour; from thence we walked about half an hour in a pretty good road; then came to a bridge, made over a swampy place, with great trouble, yet very dangerous to walk on. It was supported by decayed sticks or crutches, fastened in the swamp, and took us about a quarter of an hour to walk over. We arrived at a town called Sandah, consisting of about fifteen houses, and met only a man and a woman in the town. About a quarter of an hour from that place, we came to another swamp, and a bridge, in such a miserable condition, that we had partly to wade through the swamp; then we passed through a field abounding in high grass, some of it sharp like a razor, cutting the face and hands. A little before sunset we arrived at Roybannah, a small Bullom town, consisting of about fifteen houses. The headman offered me his house and bed, and treated me very hospitably. The houses were neatly built. Their language was exclusively Bullom; and there was such order and regularity in the town as I never saw in a native place. I conversed with the people about the Saviour of sinners, and read part of my little tract to them. They were surprised to hear the book talk Bullom, and wished their children to be instructed, and would have no objection that we should come and teach them the Book of God. I thought ‘these people are so civil that they want nothing but the life of God and a Christian ministry.’ But we cannot judge by appearances on one visit.

“Dec. 23.—After a very quiet night, I felt much refreshed and strengthened by prayer. Very early my friendly host sent me roasted plantains; and, a little while after, a large basin-full of rice and palaver sauce, but the bearer unfortunately dropped it out of her hands, and I went away without my breakfast. As soon as we left the houses we entered among thick bushes, and were scarcely able to find the foot-path which we had to go. On coming out of the woods we had to pass

through a grass field like that of yesterday, and then to walk through a mangrove wood, sometimes knee deep in mud, and the sun all the time excessive hot. After a troublesome walk through the mud, we reached Kumrobey. The king was not at home, but we were received in a friendly manner. One brought kolahs, another plantains, and another honey, wine, &c., and, in a little time, a house was given me to lodge in.

"Two of the most respectable men of the place came to inquire what my errand was. I told them that I had lived at Yongroo several years, and never carried on any kind of trade except for the purchasing of such articles as I wanted for myself and children, and, of course, did not come here for any trade, as they might expect. My business was to teach people, young and old, the book of God. 'Since my arrival,' I said, 'I have taken a walk round the place, and have seen several pomul's-houses, satakal-sticks, and kunts put up, which I believe,' I added, 'that you put up before your houses, because you know not God. You wish to give God service, but you do not know how to come to him; that is the reason that you cut out a stick, something like a man's face, and place it before your door. You place a long stick before your door, with a piece of cloth fastened to it, and think that God will look upon you because you put up the stick. God knows where you dwell without your putting up a mark for him. He knows what you are doing, and what are your wants, and is ready to give you all good things. Now this God, whom you thus ignorantly worship, I will make known to you.' Here I related the preaching of St. Paul at Athens, and added—'You, also, are very superstitious, and that because you do not know God, but now God sends his word into your country, and calls you to believe in his Son Jesus Christ. This is my present errand to the king, and if the king can call his people together, and those of the neighbouring places, I will often visit you, and speak to you about heavenly things, and how you may get to heaven when you die.'

"About eight in the evening the king arrived. He is a pleasant-looking old man. He speaks Bullom and Timmanee, but no English. Much attention was paid to me, as a stranger; but the drumming interrupted my rest.

"Dec. 24.—In the morning I paid my compliments to the king, with a small present. My errand was made known to him. He was very glad to hear of the school at Yongroo Pomoh, and of the pray-house at Yongroo, and would call his old people together, and give me an answer before I returned home.

"After breakfast I went to a neighbouring town, called Rogbirrah. The people ran together to look at me, and the little children screamed

when they saw me, and ran away. I counted about forty-five houses. After a little rest I returned to Kumrobey.

"A man expressed his wonder that I did not go to Sierra Leone to keep Christmas. He had been at Bance Island for several years, and had seen that white people make plenty palaver at that time, with eating, drinking, and dancing. 'My good friend,' said I, 'that is not the way to keep Christmas. Christmas is a sacred season, and must be kept, not with rioting and dancing, as you have seen it. It is a time for prayer and thanksgiving to God, because on that day God gave us his only begotten Son, to be our Redeemer and Saviour.' 'How is it, then,' said he, 'that these people do not pray on Christmas day?' 'They do not know God, and, therefore, they live like your people; you eat, and drink, and dance, and sleep, and that is all.' 'But,' said he, 'these people have big book; they know book too much.' 'Yes,' said I, 'they may know plenty book, but do not know God's Book. 'Do not all white people know God's Book?' 'They learn to read it, and they know it too, but they do not mind it, and that is the reason that they live all the same as you, who do not know God.'

"In the evening I was much annoyed by the beating of the drum. I went to look at it, and beheld the poor man standing alone in the middle of a large place, with a drum, about four feet long, and very clumsily made, hanging on his neck; he beat on it most furiously; and as no people came to dance, he seemed to get out of patience, and said, 'Are there no people in town to-day?'

"May the time soon arrive when, instead of the drum, the church bell shall be heard, and, instead of the voice of the drummer, that of the missionary!

"Some people came to see me, and related some fabulous stories. At length they compared the conduct of the Europeans and Mahomedans, in their dealing with them. One said, 'Some white people no mind God, and they cheat people all the same as Mandingo man.'

"December 25, 1817.—I went to Tokah, about an hour and a-half's walk from Kumrobey; I counted about fifteen houses.

"There was a very odd sort of building in a corner. On my going towards it, an old woman, as if in great distress, came running after me, to prevent me from approaching it. She said that it was her brother's grave. He had been a great hunter—had killed fourteen elephants in his time, and was buried with a great cry; and his spirit did not allow any body to come near the grave, unless they brought him a present. If I had a bottle of rum to give to the spirit, I might be permitted to look at it; but as I had none, I should not go. She complained of bad times. 'The old people,' said she, 'are all dying, and the young ones turning witches.'

"An old man complained of the same thing. He entered into a

conversation on two subjects :—1. That it is appointed for all men once to die, because all have sinned. 2. That there are no witches in this country, but that which is called witchcraft is encouraged by the slave traders ; and as the slave trade shall die, so witchcraft will cease also.

“Returning to Kumrobey, I understood that there was a canoe going down the river. I engaged a passage in her, and took leave of the king, who gave me a basin full of rice and a fowl for my passage—said he was very glad to see me in his place—and would send some of his children to my school ; but as for my coming to speak to them, he was afraid King George would give him a palaver for enticing his white man away. I said that it was for children only that I was asking, nor did I intend to remove from Yongroo, but that I would occasionally visit them, and speak to them about God, and pray with them. Two or three men burst out in loud laughter, and said, ‘We know nothing about prayer, and how can you say you will come to pray with us—we do not know how to pray.’ I replied—‘I will teach you—I will teach you also God’s Book, which shows us the way to heaven.’ They again said, with loud laughter, ‘We know nothing about it.’

“These are reasonable beings, expert in trade, and in these country fashions, but dead to whatever tends to their eternal welfare. They are very friendly and hospitable to strangers, but are, ignorantly, enemies to themselves. Lord hasten the time when this thick darkness shall be removed!

“At eleven o’clock in the evening the tide was favourable, and we set off for Robullom. After a noisy passage from a drunken boat’s-crew, we arrived there at two in the morning.

“December 26.—I rose at seven. The people were preparing to go into their fields to thresh their rice ; the children, not knowing that I had come into the town, when they saw me, were crying and running away. The elder ones came with fear to shake hands with me. I felt sorry that I appeared such a frightful being, to children especially, and even to some adults.

“From Robullom we had to walk through very thick bushes, and rice fields, and afterward through a marshy place, and at last through water almost to the waist ; then again through a large grass field, till we reached a small town called Kowan. Thence we went to Toolong, with about fifteen houses, and, towards evening, arrived at home.

“January 4, 1818.—Divine service at Yongroo—had about ten adults and some children present—felt the presence of the Lord, when dispensing his word.

“In the afternoon, we had divine service entirely in Bullom, I catechised also in Bullom, which seemed to please young and old. After service, some were thanking and others praising me, and my

sinful heart seemed to like it very well ; but in a little while a man, who, thinks himself of much consequence, insulted me in a very great degree for not having paid him my due compliments when I went to Kumrobey. My self-satisfaction in having performed my duties so well was thus at once cast down. O gracious Saviour, give me true humility to serve thee with sincerity of heart, through evil report as well as good report ! I met three or four young women playing together, and asked them why they did not come to the house of prayer. Their reply was as much as to say, 'That is not our business ; we do not know how to pray.' I asked, 'Do not you wish to go to heaven when you die?' They answered, 'No.' 'Suppose you die, what place do you go to?' 'We do not know.' May God in mercy dispel this darkness ! Speak we to them of heaven, they know not about what we are talking—tell them of the terrors of hell, they understand not what you mean—say they must pray to God, they laugh at you—speak to them of death, they think it a strange thing that any person should die, unless from being bewitched."

We now return to the Gambier settlement, where we left the school under the superintendence of a native, James Brunton. He was assisted by the usher, Emanuel Anthony. The majority of the children improved under their care ; but towards the close of the year 1818, the ill-conduct of some of the elder children, wrought upon by the country fashions, and the example and enticement of the natives, occasioned their expulsion from the school.

Meanwhile, in the spring of this year, Klein entered upon another excursion among the natives, but he was hastily summoned home by a rather premature arrangement that this settlement also was to be abandoned. It appeared, however, that the committee, influenced by circumstances which had arisen, were considering the expediency of transferring the Gambier settlement once more to one of the Isles de Loss, whither, it will be remembered, Mr. and Mrs. Klein had removed from the Rio Dembia about three years before, and where they, during their short residence of about six months, met with the most encouraging success, but from whence they were obliged to withdraw in consequence of the premises which they occupied being required by the owner for the purposes of trade ; and they consequently returned to the main land, where they fixed the Gambier settlement at Kapparoo, nearly opposite to the Isles de Loss.

On the 14th of July, 1818, a proclamation from Colonel MacCarthy, Governor of Sierra Leone, appeared in the *Sierra Leone Gazette*, announcing that possession had been taken for the British Crown of the Isles de Loss, consisting of Factory, Crawford, Tamara, White, and Choral Islands ; those islands having, from time immemorial, been occupied by British subjects, and having been ceded on the 6th of that

month by Mongè Demba, King of the Bago* Country, and all his chieftains, on valuable and sufficient considerations, specified in the treaty. This proclamation was accompanied by an official notice inserted in the same Gazette, that for the encouragement of British commerce, and agricultural pursuits, allotments of land in these islands would be made to such persons duly qualified as might wish to form commercial or agricultural establishments therein.

Governor MacCarthy also suggested to the Church Missionary Society that these islands might afford superior advantages for communicating religious instruction to the natives at large, as well as for the health and comfort of the missionaries. To this suggestion the committee felt the more disposed to listen, as discouraging circumstances had presented themselves in the work at Kapparoo. The visits of bookmen to Klein had become less frequent than when his residence among them was a novelty, and every one who came expected a present, so much so, that he had latterly been much annoyed by an intrusive and importunate system of begging among the natives. It was conceived, moreover, that excursions for preaching on the continent might be prosecuted with equal advantage from the islands, and the missionary would then always enjoy a secure home under British protection.

The following extract from a letter, written by Mrs. Klein to her venerable uncle, the Rev. Thomas Scott, under date of July 9, 1818, presents this subject to us in an agreeable form, besides expressing the feelings of the missionaries themselves on the occasion :—

“ I now sit down to acquaint you with some events which have taken place here, that inspire me with hopes that Providence is preparing the way for establishing the kingdom of our Lord in these dreary regions. That beautiful little island (Crawford’s) on which we once lived, and on which we wished to establish the Gambier settlement, with sanguine hopes that from it this part of Africa would become enlightened with the beams of divine truth, is now, to my great surprise and joy, in the hands of the English government. We were driven thence by persecution, but I never turned my eyes towards it without regret. Within these two days his Excellency, Governor MacCarthy, has induced Mongè Demba to deliver it up to him. I rejoice in the prospect which this event opens of establishing the Soosoo mission, and of promoting the knowledge of the Soosoo language. It appears to me that much may now be done, and with much less expense now than formerly ; and I rejoice that our government is now in possession of a place more healthy than Sierra Leone.

“ Should we return to the island, we shall have a very pleasant prospect of usefulness, both among our own people, and among the

* See page 254.

natives who will frequent the island for trade. Probably the other islands will come under our own government ; if so, I hope some pious and devoted clergyman will give himself to this work. A man of retired and studious turn would enjoy the situation, and he might be far more extensively useful than in almost any situation in England. I have long earnestly desired to see some elderly clergyman devote his last days to our African mission. Is there not some one who, by one means or other, is loosened from attachments to family and country, and who will come forward in this most glorious work ; for though we have as yet no success in this part of the mission, I do not doubt but that by-and-by God will pour out his spirit to purify this barren soil. We have the assurances of his Word, and we see manifest proofs that his Providence is preparing the way for making his cause triumphant."

Some additional remarks from the same pen, addressed to the secretary of the society at the termination of this year, will not prove unacceptable to the true friends of Africa :—

" A gentleman here assures me that when he lately visited a Cabby chief mentioned by Mr. Klein, he found that he continued to observe the Sunday as a day of rest. He is expecting another visit from Mr. Klein, but seems doubtful whether the present ferment which subsists among the natives respecting the giving up of the Isles to the British government will allow him to travel this dry season. A great palaver between Mongè Demba and the Soosoos is now talking near Wankapong. We hope that they will not be so infatuated as to attempt to recover the Isles, or to make war with Mongè Demba for having given them up.

" This event opens a new and interesting scene before us. It appears to me that the society's plans will in future be carried on more successfully, by bringing the Gambier settlement under our government at the Isles, than by continuing it in its present situation.

" I have now passed seven years among the natives of this country, and have, I trust, ever kept in view the great object of raising them from their present degraded state. I have endeavoured, according to my ability, to fit those committed to my care for communicating to the children that are yet unborn the blessed Gospel of God our Saviour ; and I have conversed freely and fully with strangers, and with all around me, on the great truths of Christianity ; and though our prospects respecting our scholars be discouraging, yet my hopes are high respecting the final result of the society's plans. What has been done is a seed that will grow up, and will bring forth much fruit ; so that even here, as in other places, he that soweth and ' he that reapeth, will rejoice together.' "

At the date of this communication, Klein had proceeded in his

Soosoo translation of the Scriptures as far as the first book of Kings, and was anticipating, should his life and health be spared, to finish the whole of the sacred volume in about three years from that time. Mrs. Klein rendered him much assistance in his important work ; and she had also collected materials for a Soosoo-English, and English-Soosoo dictionary. Some catechisms in Soosoo were also transmitted by Klein to the committee, who submitted them to competent judges, by whom they were greatly approved.

When the colonies of Goree and Senegal were given up by treaty to the French, a British settlement was formed at Bathurst, in the island of St. Mary, at the mouth of the Gambia river. The settlement was a dependency on the colony of Sierra Leone, over which it had the advantage of five degrees of more northern latitude, and was, consequently, less exposed to the severity of the tropical rains. Many of the colonists from the French settlements had removed to Bathurst ; and in the spring of 1818, Governor MacCarthy spent some time there, framing salutary regulations for its government, and visiting the neighbouring chiefs, in order to bind them more strongly to its interests, and to those of humanity. His great object in this settlement was the introduction of the gum trade into the Gambia, "considering," to use his own words, addressed to the merchants of St. Mary's, "the extension of an honourable trade in Africa, as benefitting a considerable portion of the human race. I anticipate with delight," he added, "the period when, in lieu of the horrid traffic in human life, British trade and industry will spread, and the Christian religion prevailing over Africa, the inhabitants of this vast continent will, by their emancipation from mental and physical slavery, rank among civilized nations."

In the beginning of the year 1819, the inhabitants of Bathurst had increased to about 8000, and more were expected. Various public buildings were being erected. The island is low, and was always considered unhealthy ; but the wood with which it abounded was in process of being cleared away, and it was expected, when that was effected, to prove as healthy as any part of the western coast. At this time there was no Christian teacher at the settlement, but the governor, Captain Grant, read the liturgy every Sunday in the mess-room to the soldiers and Europeans. The natives are all Mahommedans. The main land, which is half a mile distant, is inhabited by Mandingoes. One of the missionaries, on his way to Sierra Leone, found that some of the natives were really anxious for improvement. One of them said to him—"Ah, massa, you white man much sabby (know much) ; you read ; you write. Me tree children—de poy shall learn read : me got a ship and house—me give a thousand dollars if me could read and write."

On the representation of Governor MacCarthy, the government at

home agreed to appoint a chaplain to this settlement ; and Earl Bathurst having expressed his readiness to accept the nominee of the society, the governor conveyed to the committee a request that they would select a suitable person for the office. In his communication to them, dated September 21, 1819, he says—

“The settlement is very healthy. The population exceeds now 1000 individuals, besides the garrison. The river Gambia is navigable for upwards of five hundred miles ; and in point of commercial importance, bids fair to become the first British establishment on the west coast. From this more intercourse with the interior of Africa is carried on than from any of our possessions. It is new ground ; and I believe the Gospel has never been preached in that part.”

A few months after he writes :—

“The population is increasing. A considerable number of good and substantial houses have been built since my visit in 1818 ; and from all that I hear from the commandant, (Captain Grant) and the whole of the most respectable inhabitants, Bathurst is not more unhealthy (indeed, they all think much less so) than any other part of the coast, Goree excepted. The annoyance which the Europeans experience on their first settlement, from sand-flies and musquitoes, has vanished. Provisions, and every other article for the maintenance of a family, are much cheaper than at Sierra Leone.

“The native inhabitants around are well disposed. A proportion of the principal people of the settlement, who formerly resided at Goree, and witnessed the advantages which the young people received from the attention bestowed on their education by Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, are almost as desirous as myself to see among them a useful minister, who would, in addition to his clerical duties, superintend the schools.”

The committee having for some time deliberated on the choice of a chaplain for Bathurst, at length fixed on the Rev. Robert Hughes, who had laboured so acceptably at Goree as a schoolmaster, and who had since been ordained in England. He and Mrs. Hughes sailed for his new appointment in the *Lindley*, Captain Harris, on the 4th of December, 1820, and arrived at St. Mary's, by way of Sierra Leone, in March 1821. It is melancholy to record that both these excellent people fell victims to the climate, in little more than five months after their arrival ; Mr. Hughes being summoned away on the 24th of August, and Mrs. Hughes four days after, on the 28th. They had left one son, fourteen years of age, behind them in England, and two others very young were with them in Bathurst at the time of their death.

Mr. Hughes found the natives of St. Mary's very willing to send their children to a school. They expressed themselves anxious that a teacher would settle among them, and he suggested to the committee that a knowledge of agriculture would greatly recommend such a person to the natives, who had been reduced to poverty by the loss of the slave trade. "There is," said he, "on the banks of this river (the Gambia) abundant ground to be occupied. Some of the natives are very strict Mahommedans, and others of them loose pagans; yet it seems they would not hesitate to send their children for instruction." Subsequently he wrote—"There appear to be many inquiries about the way of salvation: some of them, I hope, are sincere. I preach on the Sunday morning, and expound in the afternoon, and also on Tuesday and Thursday evenings." He and Mrs. Hughes had established an evening school and a morning school for adult females, and had in contemplation a free day-school; but the Lord saw fit to interrupt their plans.

Hughes was succeeded by the Rev. John Horton, who had also been a schoolmaster in the service of the society, but having returned to England in the summer of the year 1821, he was admitted to holy orders by the Lord Bishop of London, on the recommendation of Sir Charles MacCarthy, governor of Sierra Leone, and now revisited Africa, as chaplain of Bathurst.

CHAPTER XII.

THE suspension of the society's settlements beyond the colony of Sierra Leone, suggested some modification of its original plans. To consider what this should be, a special general meeting of the society was held on the 8th of March, 1819, at the house of the society, Sir Alexander Johnston, one of the vice-presidents, in the chair. The two subjects which were principally treated were those of the school and the ship funds. The former as, in consequence of the concentration of the society's exertions within the colony, it had decided on charging itself with the education of all the children liberated from slave ships, and collected therein, while their maintenance devolved on the government : and the latter, inasmuch as the intercourse between the society and Western Africa would now be confined to Sierra Leone, for which increased facilities were every day presenting themselves ; and, therefore, the necessity of a ship, exclusively devoted to the mission, appeared no longer obvious or imperative.

The difficulty now was, as to the disposal of the two funds which had been formed for these objects respectively. After some deliberation, the meeting came to the following conclusion :—First, as regarded the school fund, that the plan which had now for some years been pursued—that of appropriating a specific sum to the education and maintenance of particular children to be named by the contributors, could no longer, under the unforeseen change of circumstances, be continued ; the society now taking the expense of the general education of all the children on itself, and expecting only that those benefactors who had engaged to pay the stipulated sum of £5 per annum for each child for six years, would continue their subscriptions to the end of that term.

With regard to the ship fund, which now amounted to £4000, vested in government securities, the meeting, considering that the circumstances of Africa might again entirely change, resolved that no further contributions to the fund should be solicited at present, but that the

sum already raised should be left to accumulate by re-investment of the interest, and that should it be found ultimately unnecessary or inexpedient to apply the fund as originally intended, it should be appropriated to the similar object of maintaining intercourse with New Zealand, another of the society's missions, where a great expense was then incurred under that head, or it should be returned to those contributors, who disapproved of such appropriation.

The following are the names given to African children admitted to the benefit of the school fund, between the eighteenth and nineteenth anniversaries of the society's proceedings, when the arrangement under which they had been received was discontinued : —

African Boys to be named after Clergymen.

Henry Pentlow Bull.	Pratt Watson Latrobe.
John Calvin.	Benjamin William Mathias.
Conolly Coan.	Charles Moore.
Thomas Catterill.	Richard Murray.
Bickersteth Dikes.	John Richards.
John East.	George Prince Richards.
Hastings Elwin.	Richard Waldo Sibthorp.
Thomas Thomason Fawcett.	Thomas Sutton.
Philip Gordon.	Robert Waxney.
Augustine de Hippo.	John Wickliffe.
Richard Hitchins.	William Wilkinson.
Thomas Howard.	William Carus Wilson.
Charles Jerram.	

African Boys to be named after other Persons.

Andrew Boutflower.	Thomas Lamphigh.
Edward Bowler.	Robert Leighton.
Robert Carr Brackenbury.	William Hannell Lucas.
David Brennand.	Robert Peers.
George Gainsborough.	Joseph Rennard.
William Richard Giles.	William Steward.
William Merritt Hartelbury.	John Grundy Thompson.
John Howard.	George White.

African Girls.

Susan Bickersteth.	Mary Anne Leeds.
Mary Boswell.	Alicia Lifford.
Catherine Bridges.	Sarah Mills.
Harriet Cox.	Maria Pemberton.
Mary Curtis.	Ellen Ramsden Pluntre.
Jane Elwin.	Margaret Pridham.
Jane Farish.	Mary Reeves.
Margaret Goodechild.	Anna Cecilia Rhodes.
Martha Goodechild.	Jane East Spooner.
Jane Guilford Grey.	Mary Anne Townsend.
Sarah Ivory.	Margaret Tucker.
Eleanor Kemp.	Isabella Caroline Wood.

Before we close, for the present, our account of the Church Missionary Society's proceedings, outside of the colony of Sierra Leone, we feel much pleasure in laying before the friends of Africa a report of some important excursions undertaken to the neighbouring tribes, with a view to ascertain what facilities there existed for the location of missionaries among them.

In January, 1818, Messrs. Johnson and Cates, missionaries of Regent's Town, Sierra Leone, proceeded on the first of these experimental trips, accompanied by William Tamba, one of the native teachers belonging to that settlement. They proceeded round the colony, and walked upwards of twenty miles, William Tamba frequently addressing his countrymen in their native tongues.

We must preface the journal of this excursion, with a few obvious reflections which the preaching of the native teacher, Tamba, suggests, and which the subject matter of a succeeding volume will bring more prominently before us. The first is, that the All-Wise seemed now to be showing how skilfully he can adapt to his purposes, the very acts of daring impiety by which his apostate creatures, the tools and victims of the archfiend, express their hatred and defiance of him. He was now overruling the iniquitous slave traffic for good to Africa, by causing natives, from almost every quarter of that continent, to be assembled, for Christian instruction, at Sierra Leone. "We have converts," writes the excellent Johnson, respecting the Christian negroes under his pastoral charge at Regent's Town, "of almost all the nations about us; even from the banks of the famous and unexplored river, Niger—some from various countries beyond Timbuctoo;" and does not such a providential conjunction of the representatives of so many tribes and languages appear somewhat analogous to the pentecostal provision of means for the fulfilment of our Lord's parting command—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature?" Should Africa be christianized by native missionaries going forth from Sierra Leone, every difficulty will vanish from the failures of European labours among the Bulloms and Soosoos; and God will be magnified by generations to come, for the defeats and disappointments of early benefactors.

Secondly, it appears that travelling in Africa has, for Europeans, only one really formidable impediment—the climate—one which they will never be able to overcome—all else is easy. "I am persuaded," says Johnson, "that an European, accustomed to the climate, may go through any part of Africa, if he go as a beggar, and give no presents, an evil that has been too much countenanced;" but how many lives must be forfeited before one European has passed through the necessary ordeal of a long residence, to habituate his constitution to this deadly climate! Better impart the civilization and intelligence for which

Europeans are respected and welcomed in Africa, to natives of the continent ; and then an effectual door is opened for the propagation of the Gospel.

Such reflections as these will serve to reconcile us to the disappointments which this volume has recorded, and to prepare us for the successes which it will be our happy privilege, if spared, to detail, in the one embracing the missionary work in Sierra Leone, and we trust for the developement of the divine counsels in favour of long-insulted Africa, of which the colony and its work are the germ and promise. We now turn to the journal, of which extracts sufficient are given to verify the conclusions to which we have come :—

“ January 12, 1818. *Tuesday*.—We left Regent’s Town about four o’clock in the afternoon, and walked to Wilberforce, which is situated on the north-west side of the colony.

“ At our departure from Regent’s Town, many of the inhabitants surrounded us, shaking hands with their minister, and bidding him farewell, with many tears. A report had been circulated, that he did not intend to return ; and it was with the greatest difficulty, and not till after repeated assurances to the contrary, that the people could be prevailed on to leave us.

“ At our arrival at Wilberforce, the people of the town assembled at Mr. Decker’s house ; William Tamba addressed them in the Cosso language, from Matt. xvi. 14–16. In a plain and serious manner, he explained the important truths contained in these verses. The Cosso people seemed quite astonished to hear the words of eternal life in their own tongue. One little girl, in particular, appeared scarcely to believe her ears. When Tamba began to speak, she turned alternately to him, and to her parents, staring at each, as if desirous to know whether others heard as she did.

“ After speaking in Cosso, Tamba repeated the same in English for the benefit of such as did not understand Cosso, and the service concluded with prayer. The reflection that the Gospel of our Saviour was now, perhaps, for the first time, declared in that tongue, afforded us peculiar pleasure.

“ January 13. *Wednesday*.—Having passed the night at Wilberforce, we this morning proceeded on our journey. Passing Bassa Town, we arrived at a creek, across which two of our company swam, and brought over a canoe, in which the remainder of us were soon paddled over. The sand-beach and majestic ocean were now before us. On this beach we walked about three miles and a-half, crossed another creek, and arrived at a place of some size, called Tongier. A considerable number of people assembled, and as the headman understood English, Mr. Johnson explained to him that the object of our visit was

to inquire whether they knew and served the living God. He confessed that they did not. The awful consequence of dying in ignorance being pointed out to him, he said it was all true, and that he should be glad to learn. Tamba was then introduced, as a man who could tell him and his people, in their own tongue, the things which would make for their peace. Tamba addressed them in the Sherbro language. They listened with attention, and showed by their significant gestures and answers that they understood him.

“ Thus was a second uncultivated language made the means of conveying to the understandings of perishing sinners, tidings of the most stupendous mercy that ever gladdened the heart of the miserable. But their eyes were so blinded, that they seemed to view with indifference that which the angels in heaven desire to look into.

“ The town abounded with those marks of superstition which are common in this part of Africa. There was scarcely a house which had not its wooden post and broken bowl for its defence. The folly of depending on such things being pointed out, the headman acknowledged that they could do them no good, and said that he only kept them because it was the fashion of his country, but did not trust to them. Being asked if he would call his people together on a Sunday, if any one came to instruct them, he said, ‘ No ; what they heard to-day was enough.’ Having faithfully warned him of the probable consequences of his refusal, we left him to consider of it, and resumed our walk along the sand-beach.

“ In about four miles south-east we arrived at the first of several small villages, bearing the general name of Ajaltopant. Here we rested, and having procured some fish and fowl, made our dinner. Fingers served us for forks, and a mat spread on the earth for table and chair.

“ As the tide was running in we were obliged to resume our journey on the sand-beach with as much expedition as possible, having a creek to pass which was every moment getting deeper. We could not, however, refrain from spending a few minutes to observe the motions of two large sharks, which were sporting in the water within a few yards of the land.

“ Having reached the creek, we found it fordable, and stripping off our clothes, we soon waded through.

“ Passing the Turtle Rocks, we arrived at Boombah, a small village containing nine or ten houses, distant about seven miles south-east from Ajaltopant. The men were all absent, but the women accommodated us with the best house in the place, and sold us plantains, cassadas, and turtle’s eggs, on which, and some fish, we made our supper. While this was preparing some of us took a walk round the place. It is situated on a small projecting point of land, nearly surrounded with the sea. The rocks adjoining it are quite barren, but the convolvulus and

other running flowers spread themselves over their hardy faces, and kindly lend them the appearance of vegetation on the one side, while the other is exposed to all the fury of the waves. A few miles to the east the lofty mountains of Sierra Leone appeared in view, and to the west the setting sun dropped into the bosom of the ocean.

“When the shades of night display the wonders of creation in a multitude of worlds around us, we are lost in astonishment at the immensity of the Creator! How much more should we be lost in love and adoration, when we consider that to bestow salvation on the rebellious men of one poor world, the great Creator of the whole thought it not too much to shed his precious blood upon a cross, beneath the insulting hands of his own creatures?”

“Returning from our walk, and having refreshed ourselves with a wholesome meal, we collected as many people as we could, and told them why we visited their town. As Tamba spoke to them in their own language, they listened to what he said. A hymn was then sung, and the service was concluded by prayer in English. The women showed much surprise, but attempted to join in the hymn, while they laughed and made a great noise during the prayer. May mercy be bestowed upon them!”

“We passed the night at Boombah; some sleeping on a rude sort of bedstead, with a mat and blanket, and others on the floor.

“Jan. 14, 1818. *Thursday*.—Having committed ourselves by prayer to his guidance and blessing who alone could keep us, we resumed our walk this morning on the sand-beach, till we were stopped by a creek, which was too deep for us to pass, the tide being full. After spending an hour or two on its bank, we ventured in. Those who could swim had little difficulty in getting to the opposite side. They discovered a place where it was possible to walk through, and thus we all got over safely. Proceeding along the sand-beach, we passed several islands, and arrived at a small village, where we took some refreshment; and afterwards passed several other villages, but found it impracticable to stop at them all.

“We next arrived at an open bay which, as the tide had gone down, was nearly free from water. Having gained the opposite side, our road lay, for some distance, through the bushes, till we again reached the sand-beach, where we passed several small towns, but had not time to stop, till we arrived at Cape Shilling, a settlement recently formed, about forty miles distant from Wilberforce, and forty-three from Free Town.

“Mr. Kearney, the superintendent, was not at home; but his servants provided a lodging for us, to which, after partaking of an excellent supper of their providing, we gladly retired.

"January 15. *Friday*.—The man who conducted us from Regent's Town returned, carrying intelligence to our friends of our welfare.

"After taking a walk through the place, and breakfasting, we resumed our journey with a new guide, and arrived at Maryar, about a mile and a half south-east.

"In four miles farther, we got to Tumbo, which is a large village, containing about fifty houses, and many inhabitants. They possess a considerable quantity of cleared and cultivated land, on which there were plenty of cassadas growing, and as there were several large canoes on the beach, the appearance of the place was beyond that of the generality of African towns.

"The mountains to our left continued visible; and our guide informed us that by going round them we might regain the colony by a much nearer way than that by which we came.

"Passing through Barbarboo, we arrived at Margenna, a small village two miles from Tumbo. We had gone nearly a mile beyond, when we were hailed by two men, who inquired whither we were going. On being informed, they told me that we could not cross the water, which was just before us, without a canoe; and that the place to which we were going we could not get one. Our guide assenting to the probability of the thing, we returned to Margenna. Here they informed us that they had a canoe to let, which we engaged, but from the exorbitant charge which they had wished to make, for taking us across the bay, we were disposed to think that there might be as much self-interest as friendship in their calling us back. After they had received the quantity of fishing-hooks and tobacco agreed upon they made many trifling excuses, and delayed us a long time. Our patience being exhausted, Mr. Johnson demanded, either our articles back again, or the canoe to be immediately got ready. They chose to fulfil the agreement; but though we were destitute of provisions, and had the prospect of being on the water till night, they would not sell us any to eat.

"Our course at first was south-east by east, but gradually changed to east. Though we went about eight miles across the bay, the water, for the greater part of the way, was very shallow and filthy, the oars frequently bringing up mud from the bottom. It abounds in oysters and wild fowl. A bank of several miles in length is almost covered with these helpless fish, which seem to wait the hand of man to make, at least, one change in their motionless, and almost inanimate life. The wild fowl were in great variety, and so tame as to allow a very near view of them. One species exceeds in size the English goose, and nearly resembles it in colour: its beak is very large, and of singular construction; when open, the skin forms an appearance of a bag hanging between it and the neck. The first time that the bird opened its beak in our view, one of our boys exclaimed, with surprise, 'Ah! he have

pocket.' Birds and oysters are not the only inhabitants of the bay, for we saw evident traces of alligators on the mud, but were mercifully preserved from the devouring jaws of these animals.

"Having crossed the bay we entered the river at its extremity, and went several miles up it. The stream is deep but very muddy. The mangroves on each side form a complete forrest, and quite shut out the country from view.

"We entered a small creek which, in some places, would but just allow the canoe to pass it. At the end of it, where we left the canoe, we had to be carried a considerable way through the mud on a man's back, before we could land.

"The town to which we were going being situated near our landing-place, the people soon caught hold of us. The men armed themselves, and came out to meet us, but as our appearance, like our message, was quite peaceful, they did not interrupt us. We, therefore, entered the town, which is about the size of Jesulu, but has not so many inhabitants.

"It was now nearly dark, and as we had been all the day without eating, we were glad to purchase plantains, bananas, cassadas, rice, and oysters.

"Not having an opportunity of collecting the people that evening, we only informed the headmen of the object of our visit, and requested him to tell the people that we would speak to them in the morning.

"January 16. *Saturday*.—The first thing this morning was to get the people together. Having accomplished this, Tamba addressed them in Sherbro, according to the directions of Mr. Johnson. They were all seated round him, some on stools and some on country chairs, forming a motley group. They were generally attentive while he spoke. When he had done, they talked a little time together, after which one of them told Tamba that they could not say what he had spoken was bad, and that the fashions which they kept were the same as the old men before them had done, and they knew no others; but if any one came to tell them, they would hear. Tamba then informed them that it was our wish to send some person that way, who would occasionally visit them, and tell them the things that make for their peace. They seemed very well pleased with this intelligence.

"We had not been long in the town before we were warned not to go into one particular house, as it would assuredly kill us. To confirm this, we were shown a dead horned owl which was hanging near it, and which we were told had presumed to fly over this wonderful house, and therefore had dropped down dead.

"After breakfast we took leave of the people, and having entered another canoe, were once more afloat on the muddy stream, which the natives call the Ta. We ascended this river about seven miles, at first

north-west by north, and afterwards west. We then left the main stream, which took a southerly direction, and entered a smaller, running north-west by north, and proceeded about half a mile to a place where we landed, and walked another half mile to Mema, a small town.

“ In our way to Robiss from this place, we walked about seven miles through a country more fertile than we had yet seen. Cassadas and rice grow in great plenty.

“ At the end of this seven miles we again reached the Ta, but the stream was too much diminished to carry a canoe. We proceeded, therefore, by land seven miles further to 'Tom's Place, the road lying through thick bushes all the way. This brought us to the side of the Quer, a branch of the Bunch River, and we should have gladly got into a canoe to take us to Robiss, but not one could be procured. We were obliged, therefore, to set off again on foot, with a boy for our guide, intending to pass the night at the next town, as we found we could not reach Robiss. We had to walk through mangroves by the river side where the mud was deep, and had, after this, to pass a part of the stream about four feet deep. Our way continued through the mangroves, and frequently for half a mile together we were obliged to pull off shoes and stockings, and walk through the mud. This continued four miles, when we reached the expected town, wet, hungry, and tired.

“ We were calculating on getting here rest and food for our bodies, and imparting food to the souls of the people, but when we entered, to our great mortification there was no one in the town but an old woman and a few children, who neither wanted any thing from us, nor would give any thing to us.

“ About a mile further we came to a hut in a farm, where we found a woman and two girls. Beyond this place our guide would not go a step.

“ Our situation was not very pleasant; we had either to remain where we were, without a place to sleep in, or sufficient food, or to go into the woods, with night fast approaching, without a guide, and without knowing a step of the way. Hoping we might find another town, we set off, and went through several farms, till the road entered the wood. Here we soon lost all traces of it, and were obliged to go back to one of the farms, where there was an empty shed, resolving to take up our abode there for the night. Tamba then went to the woman at the farm where we first stopped, to try and get something to eat, but she either could not or would not let us have any thing, nor lend us a pot to cook the little food which we had. We were obliged, therefore, once more to try if we could not discover a road through the wood, but our endeavours proved fruitless.

“ It was now dark, and we could not see the road, even where there

was one. As soon as we had reached another farm, where there was a shed, we again stopped; and here we found a fire and an iron pot, though no inhabitant, and were glad to spread our blankets on the earth. The animals in the adjoining woods soon howled us asleep. About two o'clock in the morning we awoke, and finding ourselves cold, and a heavy dew falling on us, we heated some water, and mixed with it the last port wine which we had, and drank it out of an old broken wooden bowl. We then lay down again, and slept in safety till day began to break.

"We had travelled nearly thirty miles, the greatest part of the way on foot, without any thing to eat. We lay down in an open field, in a country which is the habitation of elephants and leopards, under the falling of a heavy dew, and arose without having received the slightest injury. Surely goodness and mercy were with us.

"Jan. 17, 1819. *Sunday*.—The morning of Sunday found us in this situation, without any food, and without knowing our way.

"We set off as soon as it was light in quest of a town. Following the most beaten path, we had not walked more than two miles before we had the pleasure of hearing human voices, and soon met a woman and some children. They told us that we were in the right road to a town, which we reached in another mile. It was a very small place, called Corey. Here we breakfasted, and as the people informed us that their town was not far from Robiss, we determined to proceed thither, hoping to be able to reach it in time to assemble the people for worship in the earlier part of the day. We came to a town called Monshow, or Romonshow. The people being Timmanees, Tamba could not talk to them, nor did they seem willing to receive us. We were obliged, therefore, to proceed, and followed a man who was going to Robiss, which, they assured us, was not far distant, though it proved still about eight miles. In the way we crossed several small streams, one of which is the water which comes from Regent's Town.

"At Robiss, our first object was to gather the people together, and inform them of the cause of our visit. Mr. Johnson spoke to them through an interpreter. The headman acknowledged what he heard was good, and said that he should be glad to hear more of it. In the evening he attended again, and as Mr. Johnson preached, he made frequent replies, saying, 'Good!'—'True!'—'Right!' &c.

"The town is large and populous, but the people wholly given to idolatry and superstition. We could not render them much service, none of our company speaking Timmanee; and though the headman understood English, many of the people did not. After evening service we were glad to retire to rest.

"Jan. 18. *Monday*.—Early this morning we returned by Leicester Mountain to Regent's Town, where our arrival occasioned great joy. The

people so thronged round Mr. Johnson, that before he reached the house they amounted to a crowd.

"Thus, in seven days, we walked upwards of 120 miles, taking a complete circuit round the colony, and having made known the glad tidings of salvation in several places, and in several tongues, in which, perhaps, it was never heard before.

"May some portion of the seed thus scattered be so blessed, that it may bring glory to God, and salvation to lost souls!"

The second excursion beyond the colony was likewise undertaken by the Rev. W. B. Johnson, accompanied by Wm. Tamba, John Johnson, W. Garnon, David Johnson, John Attarra, John Hopkins, and Henry Martyn, pupils of the society's seminary at Regent's Town. Their object was now to visit the Banana and Plantain islands,* the former of which lie between four and five miles west by south from Kent, one of the Sierra Leone villages. The Plantains are about forty miles farther to the south-east, and three miles from the main land.

These islands belonged to the family of the Caulkers, of whom there were, at this time, three brothers, Thomas, George, and Stephen, and their uncle, Thomas Caulker, the principal chief. The eldest brother, Thomas, was headman of the Bananas, which he, for an annual payment, transferred, in the year 1819, to the British crown, and which, therefore, became a dependency of Sierra Leone. The second, George, was headman of the Plantains: he had been educated in England, and returned to his native country, not only a professing Christian, but a faithful follower of the Saviour, and most sensitively alive to the spiritual destitution of his countrymen, among whom he ardently

* The Bananas are the small islands situated in about 8° 8' north latitude, and scarcely distant a league from the continent. At the distance of seven or eight leagues thence to the S. E. are situated three other small islands, which are low and sandy, called the Plantains. Dapper calls the Plantain Islands Les Sombreros, and the Bananas Les Bravas; but, if we may judge from the etymology of the words, it is probable that these names are misapplied. Sombrero signifies in Portuguese a broad-brimmed hat, and was probably applied to the Bananas from the fancied resemblance; the mountain in the middle island being not unaptly compared to the crown of a hat. On the contrary, Les Bravas signifies wild or desolate, an epithet more applicable to the Plantains. The same writer continues, "On fait dans les îles les Sombreros de l'excellent vin et de l'huile de dates, et du marc de vin mêlé avec cette huile, on fait du savon que est beaucoup meilleur que celui de l'Europe."—*Winterbottom*. The population of the Bananas, when they fell into the hands of the British government, consisted of a few Sherbro from the opposite coast, who had previously been in a state of slavery. The principal island was afterwards used as a penal settlement for criminals from the coast. The Rev. John Gerber was stationed there by the Church Missionary Society, in 1825, but continued only twelve months, his services being required in the colony. Government had, however, previous to his settling there, appointed a superintendent, Mr. F. Campbell, who erected a house for divine worship, and opened schools, which were well attended. In Midsummer, 1826, there were seventy-two boys under instruction. Mr. Gerber visited this station as frequently as his other vocations would permit.

longed to introduce the blessings of the Gospel. To forward this object, he translated into Sherbro, his native tongue, which is a dialect of the Bullom language, the morning and evening services of the United Church of England and Ireland. This work was published by the Church Missionary Society, and sent out to him for the establishment of divine worship among his people. He had also completed a translation of the Book of Genesis, and was, at the period of Johnson's visit, proceeding with the Psalms and New Testament. He had, moreover, translated a collection of hymns, and Watts's First Catechism. Stephen was educated at the Bassia school. His name appears first on the list of the native boys baptized at that settlement by Mr. Renner, on the 4th of June, 1815; and such progress had he made in the instruction afforded at the school, that the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, on the occasion of his visit to the Church Missionary Society's settlements in Western Africa, in 1816, selected him as one of the ushers whom he thought fit to appoint at the different settlements, as assistants to the missionaries, and he was allotted to Nyländer, to labour with him among the Bulloms, at Yongroo Pomoh, where Mr. Bickersteth afterwards saw him, and considered that he went on very steadily with the children. When the settlement at Yongroo was given up, in 1818, he removed with Nyländer to Sierra Leone; and as the latter was appointed minister of Kiskey Town, Stephen continued to labour under him as native usher of that station until the year 1821, when, as we shall presently see, he was advanced by the society to the responsible office of schoolmaster in his native island, where he laboured for several years with the most exemplary diligence and zeal. We proceed now to give an extract from Mr. Johnson's account of his visit to these islands:—

“October 23, 1820.—We reached the Bananas about ten o'clock, A. M. Mr. George Caulker is a man of good understanding, which he manifested in every respect. I led the conversation about his translation of the Scriptures into the Sherbro tongue, which Mr. Nyländer has already reported. He said that he had translated the Book of Genesis, part of the liturgy, and some hymns. He observed the rules which Mr. Nyländer had laid down. There is a material difference between the Bullom and the Sherbro tongues. I introduced John Johnson as one who could read Bullom. Mr. G. Caulker said that he might soon learn Sherbro, as it was formed on the same principles as the Bullom, and especially as he already understood a little Sherbro. Mr. G. Caulker believes that the Bullom and Sherbro tongues had formerly been one, but both are now so mixed with words of neighbouring tongues that the difference is so great, that not many of the Bulloms can speak or understand Sherbro. The Bullom king, and such as

have frequently travelled that way, can understand it. I inquired whether he had printed any of his translations. He said that the printer, in Free Town, had printed a few hymns for him, but was not able to do any thing else. I then told him that if he had any thing ready for the press I would take it upon myself to send it to England, to the society, which I was sure would render him, in that respect, every assistance. He said he would get something ready and send it.

"I further asked whether he would allow us to send any of those youths, who were now in the seminary, when they had finished their studies, to travel, or settle in his territory, and preach and teach his people the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. As Mr. Thomas Caulker, the uncle of Mr. George Caulker, is the principal chief, Mr. George Caulker spoke to him in the Sherbro tongue on the subject, and then answered that they thought it a very good plan to prepare native teachers, and that any of them might go to their people whenever we were pleased to send them, and that they would always protect them. I introduced the other youths. Both chiefs seemed much pleased, and said that their people now kept Sunday, but as they had no persons to teach them, they had made it a palaver day. William Tamba was next introduced, and recognized by Mr. Thomas Caulker, who knew him when in the slave trade in the Plantains. I told the chiefs that Tamba had now become a Christian, and was desirous of being employed to teach his countrymen, and that he was now under a course of instruction. They seemed much pleased. I also told them that Tamba, perhaps, would visit them, and their towns and villages, during the present dry season. They wished that he might be sent. I promised that he should visit their country once, at least, this present dry season, and address the people in the Sherbro tongue, and that he should go to every village and hamlet, and tell the people of the things which concern their peace, to which the chiefs fully agreed.

"After we had refreshed ourselves we re-entered the canoe, and felt thankful for the favourable interview which we had had with these two chiefs, whose territory begins on the borders of the colony, and is considerably extensive.

"We left the Bananas about one o'clock p. m., and stood east by south for a river called Ribbee, which is about sixteen miles from the Bananas. We reached the mouth of this river about six o'clock, and after rowing till about nine, we came to a village called by the name of the river Ribbee. It being dark when we landed, the people seemed rather alarmed, but Tamba having addressed them in Sherbro, they came and shook hands with us, and received us in a very friendly manner. They gave us a house to lodge in, and sold us some fowls and rice; being late, we could not assemble the people, but had prayer

amongst ourselves, and retired to rest ; but the mosquitoes hindered us from enjoying that blessing.

“October 24, 1820.—Rose early this morning, and as soon as possible collected the people. The headman was very old. He and the people listened with attention, and appeared to be much pleased with what Tamba told them. When he had done speaking, they proceeded, in their country fashion, to talk palaver. I observed the old headman counting on his fingers, and explaining to his people something important. I asked Tamba what they were talking about, who told me that he had spoken to them, at the conclusion, about keeping Sunday. We left them and retired to our house—read the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah, and prayed, after which we took a walk round the place, and found it larger than we at first conceived ; greegrees and devil houses were seen in every direction. Oh, that the Lord may have mercy on these benighted people ! May his glory rise upon them, and dispel the gross darkness that has covered them.

“After breakfast, about nine o'clock, we re-entered our canoe, sailed down the river, and came to the mouth about twelve o'clock, whence we steered south for the Plantains, about twenty-four miles distant. Saw the islands about three o'clock ; the land being very low, we could not see them before. About eight o'clock we passed the Camaranca river : being dark, we ran upon a sand-bank.

“Oct. 25.—We got off the sand-bank about eleven o'clock last night. The moon rising about the same time, enabled us to proceed. Reached the Plantains about seven o'clock this morning. Mr. George Caulker, the chief, had not returned from the Bananas.

“This settlement has much the appearance of an European residence. There are, I suppose, about two hundred inhabitants on the island. Tamba, who has lived here, knew many of the people. The point on the main opposite to the island is called Tassa Point. There all the chiefs of the family of the Caulkers are buried ; and when any serious or family dispute arises, they assemble at that place, and talk the palaver over the graves of their ancestors. We were kindly received by the younger brother of Mr. George Caulker.

“After breakfast, we went in search of the lime-trees which were planted by the late Rev. John Newton, when he was wandering, like a lost sheep, over this island. We found that they had been cut down, but saw the trunk of one, from which new branches had shot forth ; but there was no fruit.

Mr. Thomas Caulker, the principal chief, resides in the Camaranca river, which we crossed last night. There are six other towns up that river, all under his authority.

“I found some very useful books in the library of Mr. G. Caulker, which had been well used, with a hymn-book, some translations from

which I found in print ; and as several of the hymns in that book were composed by the late Rev. John Newton, it is probable that some of his hymns are now sung in the Sherbro tongue, on the very spot where he in ignorance wandered, and planted lime-trees for his amusement ! As it was my wish to be at Regent's Town on the following Sunday, we could not wait till the arrival of Mr. G. Caulker, but again entered the canoe about eleven o'clock, A.M., and steered for Kent.

In the evening we held a prayer-meeting in the canoe, it being the time when the people at Regent's Town assemble for the same purpose."

Mr. Johnson felt anxious that whatever impression his visit had left upon the minds of the natives should not pass away, before another attempt was made to call them to repentance and faith in a crucified Saviour. Accordingly, as he had promised to send Wm. Tamba to them during the present dry season, he hastened his departure from the colony, and directed that he should visit every town, village, and hamlet in the territory of the Caulkers, and expound to the inhabitants the Scriptures in the Sherbro tongue. He also desired him to keep a journal of his proceedings. Tamba's mind was full of anxiety on the subject : he was desirous to undertake a work so full of promise to the souls of his countrymen ; but he entered on the mission with fear. Johnson prayed with him, and for him. "May the Lord," he said, "be with him, support him under every difficulty, and open, through his instrumentality, an effectual way for the Gospel ! Long have we prayed for the extension of the Gospel in the interior of Africa, and we have now reason to believe that our Saviour has heard our petitions. May we give Him all the praise and glory !" The following are extracts from Tamba's second journal :—

" Nov. 6, 1820.—About five o'clock in the evening, I and John Cates walked from Regent's Town to Passantah Place, where we stopped all night. Saw seven men and women, besides children, that evening. Read to them the fifth chapter of Matthew. I could not talk to them in their language, as they are Soosoos, but I spoke to one of my countrymen, who told them again. They went to their houses, and one old man prayed to Mahomet. Then I went to him, and said unto him, 'What God do you pray to ?' He said, 'To Mahomet.' I asked him, 'What did Mahomet do for you, or what has he made ?' He did not answer. Again I asked him, 'Did Mahomet say unto you, "Call not the women and children to prayer ?" or did he say they have no souls ?' He said, 'The women pray in their houses, and the children have no understanding.' I said, 'Do you think that they cannot die ?' He said, 'Yes, they die ; but God will save them, because they are young.' I asked again if they did no sin. He did not answer. May the Lord

give them ears to hear, and hearts to receive the word, through Jesus Christ our Lord.—Amen.

“ Nov. 7, 1820.—In the morning we passed on to Tongah. I saw a few people. I spoke to them, but they gave me no answer.

“ I went on again to a little place. Saw six men and women. Spoke to them. They were attentive.

“ Then I went to another town. Saw one woman ; she was sick. I told her to pray to the Lord Jesus Christ. She said yes, she would. After that I passed through five small towns, but all the people were in their farms, or had gone to Freetown ; saw only two or three in each of them. Spoke to them ; they were attentive. May grace break their hearts ; may the Holy Ghost lead them to the sun of righteousness. Amen.

“ Nov. 12. *Sunday*.—We reached Tortoise Island about four o'clock this morning. Mr. G. Caulker sent a boy to call the headman. He told him to bring the people together. At ten o'clock, Mr. G. Caulker called all his people together too. He read the prayers in the Sherbro' tongue, and after that he told me to talk to the people, and not to be ashamed. Then I read the 115th Psalm, and spoke much about their greegrees and country fashions. They were attentive. After prayer the children said the catechism by heart in the Sherbro' tongue. It made me glad to hear the children read the Word of God in their own tongue. May the Lord give them understanding for Christ's sake.

“ At noon we went to Muttou, the town on the island. I saw four men, four women, and some children. Read to them the first chapter of Genesis. I told them about the Creation, and about the Lord Jesus Christ. They were attentive.

“ Nov. 13.—We went to another island called Kilby. Saw ten men and women, and some children. I read to them the twentieth chapter of Exodus, and explained the commandments. They were attentive. May the Lord give them faith to believe in Christ.

“ From that island I went to another called Footoo. I saw eleven men and women, besides children. Read and explained to them the second chapter of Revelations. After that they asked me, ‘ What shall we do, because we have nobody to teach us how to pray, and to tell us the way of God ? We understood what you said, and we are glad ; but if you go away, we shall soon forget what you said.’ Then I said unto them, ‘ Pray to God to teach you, and to show you all your sins : don't forget to pray night and day.’

“ After that I went into a house, but my heart was not pleased, because I do not know whether the Lord has sent me to speak the word. O Lord, thou knowest all things ; thou knowest that I am afraid ; thou hast commanded us to ask and we shall receive. I ask, O Lord ! Be pleased to bless and help me through Jesus Christ our Lord !

“ Then we went to Jella, another small island, about five o’clock, where we stopped all night. About seven o’clock I called the people together. I saw forty-nine men and women, besides thirty-nine children. I read and explained to them the third chapter of Genesis. I talked in Sherbro first, then Cosso. The people were very attentive. When I had done, every one prayed for himself, and afterwards I heard some pray in their houses. I heard one saying, ‘ O Lord, we no sabby you. O Lord, we have broken thy law. Teach us, O Lord, and save us ! We know nothing that is good, but bad. O Lord, forgive us all the bad we done, and teach us. Amen.’ Oh, that the Lord our God may give them hearts to receive his word, and faith to believe, through Jesus Christ our Lord ! Amen.

“ Nov. 14, 1820.—We went this morning to Jenkin Island to Tresana, where we stopped all day, because the people were all in their farms. At six o’clock in the evening they came home, and I called them together. I saw eighty-two men and women, besides children. I read and explained to them the first chapter of John. They were very attentive, and when I had done an old man said to me, ‘ We are glad to hear this book.’ Then all the people said, ‘ Yes, yes, these words are for our souls.’ Then one old man said, ‘ For myself, I am very old ; my life is in the hand of God : I know not what time God will take it away. I will look to God, let him do what he will. But William Tamba,’ said the old man, ‘ I am blind ; I cannot see. Cut some holes in a piece of board, that I may know when it is Sunday. I will count them holes every morning, that we may not forget.’ Then I took a board and cut seven holes in it, and gave it to him. May the Holy Spirit teach them and us all ! Amen.

“ Nov. 15.—In the morning I asked them to show me another town, but they would not let me go. At last I got away, and went to another town, where I had been on Sunday. It was about twelve o’clock. The people came together, called me, and said, ‘ We want to hear more from you about our souls.’ Twenty-eight men were present ; all the women and children were in their farms. I read and explained to them the third chapter of Genesis. They were very attentive. May the Lord help them to believe, through Jesus Christ our Lord ! Amen.

“ Nov. 16.—Mr. G. Caulker told me to go to the Plantains, and stop till he came, but I told him I did not like to stop in one place two or three days. He said, ‘ Go and pass Thomas Caulker’s place in the Camaranca River.’ Then we went into the canoe about seven o’clock in the morning, and reached the Plantains about three o’clock in the afternoon. We stopped there that night. In the evening I read and explained to the people the 115th Psalm. Only the children and four men were attentive, but the others were careless. After the service the children sung a hymn in Sherbro, and I concluded in prayer.

"A man who came to work in the canoe grieved me much; he went from house to house cursing and swearing, and wanted to fight. Oh, this is great trouble for me, because he came with me. O Lord, wilt thou let me die with shame? O Lord, help me. Thou wilt not suffer thy children to see evil. Fear and trouble are upon me, but to thee I look, for thou art my hiding place. Bless me through Jesus Christ my Saviour. Amen.

"Nov. 18.—At eleven o'clock we went in the canoe again up the river. Came to Bombah about two o'clock in the afternoon. The man who did so bad at the Plantains, did so still. I called him on one side to speak to him, but he would not hear me. Oh, this is great trouble to me; but I will look to him who is able to help me.

"In the evening Mr. Thomas Caulker called the people together. I saw 196 men and women, besides children. I read and explained to them the twentieth chapter of Exodus. They were all very attentive to hear the word. After service Mr. Caulker spoke to the people, and said, 'Men, women, boys, and girls—every one of you heard what the Book of God said. I beg you all do let us leave off all the bad things which God has commanded us to leave off, and let us try to pray to God—yes, to that Lord who died for us.' Then he turned to me, and said, 'I have heard what you said, and I hope that God will bless the word to my soul; and may God bless you and the good people that have sent you, and may the good people of God send you every time to come and talk us the word.' Those words made me glad. O may the Lord help them, through Jesus Christ our Lord! Amen.

"November 19, 1820. *Sunday*.—Mr. Thomas Caulker told me that I should go to his sister to another town, which is called Bombertokee—I went there—forty-nine men and women came together. I read and explained to them the seventh chapter of Matthew. They were all attention. After service Mr. Caulker's sister, an old woman, said the following words:—'I am an old woman, I know not what time God will take me away. I am glad to hear this word before I die. May God bless you, and that word which you talk, and all the people of God.' Then I answered her, and said, 'Look to the Lord Jesus Christ, for he is merciful. You are old and drawing nigh to the grave. Pray night and day, that God the Spirit may bring all your sins to your remembrance, and lead you to the Lord Jesus Christ.'

"November 22.—Went to the Plantains—Mr. Caulker was at home. We went away again to a place called Yorney. Spoke to forty-five men and women, besides children—read and explained to them the twentieth chapter of Exodus, but the people were not attentive. O Lord our God look not upon their sins, but for thy Son's sake have mercy upon them. They are blind—open their eyes and show them their sins through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

“November 26. *Sunday*.—Went this morning to Fagabey. Spoke to eight men and women. From that place I went to Sangah where I spoke to ten men and women—read and explained to them the twentieth chapter of Exodus. They were very attentive to hear, but I was afraid I had not told them good, and I cried unto God, and said, ‘O Lord, thou who knowest all things; thou knowest that neither my prayer, nor my reading, nor my talking can do them any good, except thou bless the word to them; therefore, O Lord bless the word to them, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

“Then I went back to Yorney where I stopped all night. The people came to my house and asked me many questions, and I told them the Word of God.

“December 3. *Sunday*.—We were in the canoe all night, and came this morning to the Plantains. Mr. Caulker had been home, but was gone again to Free Town. Kept service with the people at ten o'clock in the morning, and at three o'clock in the afternoon. Read and explained, in the morning, the fifty-fifth of Isaiah, and in the afternoon the sixth of St. John; the people were very attentive. The children sung a hymn every time in Sherbro, and I concluded in prayer. After the service, in the afternoon, the people came to my house one after the other, and asked me questions; they came to me till about twelve o'clock in the night. They said they had done all them bad things which I had talked about, and they wanted to know what they must do to be saved. Some of them were afraid very much. I told them to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and then they should be saved, and leave off their bad country fashions. They did come so much that I could get no sleep.

“December 4.—Saw very few people at family prayer this morning. The men were all gone in the canoes for rice, and to catch tortoises; only the women were at prayer. Read and explained the seventh chapter of Matthew: they were all attentive.

“Went from the Plantains to-day, to a river called Gabur. We came into the river about two o'clock, and in the evening to a town called Gonolon; thirty-nine men and women came together. I read and explained to them the twentieth chapter of Exodus. When I had done speaking, they said, ‘We are guilty.’ Then I read to them the sixth chapter of St. John’s Gospel, and showed that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, died for the guilty; he gave himself to save sinners. They were very attentive to hear this.

“December 5.—Went to Candia—we stopped there all day. In the evening fifty-five men and women came to hear the word. Read and explained to them the twentieth chapter of Exodus: they were attentive to hear. After I had done, they asked me some questions—they said, ‘You say that God sent you to tell us about our sinful state.

What is the matter God let us fall into sin?" I opened the Bible and read and explained to them the third chapter of Genesis, and told them how sin came upon all men; we, according to that, are born in sin. They said not a word, but were glad when I told them about the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour. Oh, may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us! Amen.

"December 6, 1820.—Went to Tose, where we were stopped all day. The people came together about seven o'clock. I saw fifty-nine men and women, besides children. Read and explained to them the twentieth chapter of Exodus—they were very attentive. Then I saw a greegree with two faces—I wanted to buy him, but they wanted too much money—they asked me one pound sterling. I wanted to lay hold of him, but they would not let me; they said it would kill me. I said—'Let me try,' but they would not let me try; they said it would kill me.

"December 7.—From that place I went to Malay, fifteen men and women came together. Read and explained to them the third chapter of Genesis—they were glad to hear.

"From that place I went to Pulungah, at which place we stopped all day; at six o'clock in the evening I saw seventy-nine men and women, besides children. I read and explained the first chapter of John—they were silent, and very attentive. Many came to me in the night, and asked many questions, and I talked to them; some said, 'How can we be saved?' I told them to believe in the Son of God, and they should be saved.

"December 8.—Went to a large town, called Gabon. In the evening I saw 109 men and women, besides children. I read and explained to them the first chapter of Genesis; they were all very attentive, and glad to hear the word of God. Then they asked me about the commandments of God. I read and explained the twentieth chapter of Exodus—they were very attentive. May the Holy Ghost point them to the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

"After that I went to a town called Wally. Read and explained to fifty-six men and women the twentieth chapter of Exodus. Then they asked me some questions, and I read to them the first chapter of Genesis; they were very attentive. The headman was not at home.

"After I had done speaking, some people had tied up some salt, which they were going to sell in the country. Before they went away, they went to the greegree house, and offered a sacrifice: they took a fowl and some rice, and did eat half, and took the other half and put it on the stone, and some bones in the greegree house, and then went, one by one, and prayed—'Help us when we go trading; open the way for us; give us good book, and bring us luck again.' And then they

took some of the dirt, which was in some shells, in the greegree house, and rubbed it before their heads. After that, the headman came home. I told him why I was come, and then told him what I had seen the people do. He said—‘God give white man book, and he give us greegrees, and on them greegrees we depend, and call upon God to help our greegrees to help us again.’ Then I asked him if he ever saw the greegrees do any thing for them. ‘You made them—how can any thing help you that you made yourself?’ He said—‘Yes, they help us. Suppose my child, father, or mother sick, we take fowl and rice, and cook it, and put it on the greegrees, and then they get well.’ I said—‘Can the greegrees save your soul?’ He said—‘No, God save them.’ Then I said—‘I tell you God has no pleasure in them things you do. I read to him the 115th Psalm, and explained the same, and concluded saying—‘If you do not leave off these things, and serve the true and living God, the words which you have now heard will be witness against you in the day when you die.’ He said—‘God made me and made the greegrees. I will not leave off my country fashion; but go tell the man which sent you, that I am glad to hear the word of God; but the women and greegrees I will not let go, nor will I leave off selling slaves, for who will work for me when I get old?’ I told him to show me a greegree that had made slaves. He said there was no greegree that had made them. I asked again—‘Who made them?’ He said—‘God.’ I then read the first chapter of Genesis, and the second and third, and told him how God made man—that he made one man and one woman—not one man and six or ten women; and that God made one man, and not one man and twenty slaves. He could not answer, only said it was hard to leave off country fashion.

“Dec. 9, 1620.—Went back again to Gabon, that large place.

“Dec. 10. *Sunday*.—About twelve o’clock, 179 men and women, beside children, came to hear the Word of God. I read and explained to them the fifth chapter of Matthew: they were all very attentive.

“The headman asked me, ‘Who wrote this book?’ ‘The man of God, Moses, and others.’ He did not answer. Then some people said—‘Mandingo man live here; he have God’s book.’ I said—‘Call him, and let me see who he is.’ Then the man came. I asked him if he was a Mandingo man. He said, ‘Yes.’ ‘You know book?’ ‘Yes.’ He said—‘Where you come from?’ I said—‘From Sierra Leone.’ He said—‘What you come to do?’ I said—‘To tell the people about the true God.’ He said—‘You only come to make the people fools. That is not God’s book—God’s book came from the East; but you come from the West. Your book is devil’s book.’ I said—‘Where is your book? Go and fetch it; let us see which is God’s book.’ He said—‘It is in the house; I will not go and fetch it. I said—‘Who made your book?’ He said—‘Mahomet.’ ‘What good thing did Mahomet?’

He said—‘Tell me your God’s name first.’ I said—‘Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who is over all God blessed for ever. Amen.’ He did not answer. I said—‘Did you ever hear of a man having that name?’ He said—‘No; because it is a bad name.’ I said—‘Mahomet is a man’s name; but the name of Jesus Christ is a name above all names.’ He said—‘Mahomet is God’s name; he is God.’ I said—‘Can Mahomet be God, who was a thief, and robbed and plundered, and made himself big?’ When he heard that, he got angry, got up and walked out of the door. I said—‘Stop; I have not done yet; don’t be angry.’ I opened the Bible, and read the 5th of Matthew, 44, 45, explained it, and asked him if Mahomet commanded the same. He said nothing. I then said—‘Mahomet tells you to fight them that fight you, and to keep many women, and why do you make greegrees, and sell them? I come to tell the people God’s word for nothing; but you come and make greegrees, and sell them, and so get your living.’ He was very angry, and could not answer, but spoke very much in his own country tongue. I think he cursed me very much. Then the people laughed at him, and told him to go away. They wanted to hear me about my God. He would not go. Then the headman said—‘Take him away before he gets mad.’ Then the people laid hold of him, and took him away.

“Then I said—‘I am sorry for that man, and suppose you like to hear him, I don’t want to hinder you.’ Then the headman said—‘We never saw a man come and tell us them things; we are glad to hear him, and we will try to do these things you tell us.’ He asked me further when I wanted to go. I said—‘To-day, because one town close by—I must go and tell the people the same thing.’ He said—‘Tell the man who sent you that we are glad to hear that word, and if he is willing, we want to send our children to him; and if you like, you shall take one now, that they may learn the Word of God.’ I said that I had no orders to bring children; but I would let him know when I came again. He said, ‘Good bye,’ and begged me to come again soon.

“About two o’clock, I went away and came to a place called Fooley, where we stopped all night. Saw forty-two men and women, besides children. Read to them the 5th chapter of St. Matthew. They were very attentive to hear.”

The following satisfactory testimony respecting the first visit of Wm. Tamba to his countrymen, is furnished by Mr. G. Caulker, who was fully capable of judging of his conduct and success:—

“I have the pleasure of giving you these few lines by William Tamba, who has exerted himself with a great deal of credit on his part, and much to my satisfaction. He intends from here to go to you by

Ribbee and Barbara. Could this society spare him again before the rains, before the people be called again to sleep? As they are much led now to see the meaning of a Sabbath-day.

“Tamba has behaved in a most Christian manner all the time he has been here, and has given the enemies of religion no room for scandal.”

In the spring of the year 1821, Tamba renewed his labours among his countrymen, full of zeal for the spread of the Gospel, and the salvation of souls, as may be collected from his journal of this second excursion, which we subjoin. Having accompanied the agents of the American Colonization Company to Grand Bassa, he was landed by them, on their return, at the Plantains :—

“April 24, 1821.—This morning I went on shore at the Plantain Island. Mr. Caulker, when he saw me, said, ‘I am glad to see you to-day; all the people are looking out for you; they want to see you again.’

“April 25.—This morning Mr. Caulker saw a canoe going to Tortoise Island. He told me to leave my canoe, because it was too small. I went in the other canoe to Muttoo, or Tortoise Island. In the evening I read and explained to them the third chapter of Genesis: they were attentive. I asked them about the Sabbath. They brought to me the account board of the day, and all was right—they had remembered the Lord’s-day.

“April 22. *Sunday*.—This morning the people went to their farms; some went to fish, and some made palm wine. Then I went to the headman, and told him that all the people went to work, and that it was Sunday. He said, ‘I cannot help it, because I am blind. I told them to leave off working on Sunday, but they won’t mind me.’ Then I told the old man, ‘I am ashamed of them, and sorry for them.’ May the Lord have mercy upon them for his Son’s sake!

“Then I went again to Muttoo. I saw many of the people: they said to me, ‘To-day is Sunday.’ I was so glad to see men, women, and children sit down together to hear the word of God. I read and explained to them the third chapter of Genesis: they were all attentive. May the Lord give them more desire and faith to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour!

“April 30.—This morning I went to a place called Gambia. I read and explained to them the 115th Psalm: they were attentive. After that I asked them for the Sabbath. They said, ‘Yesterday was Sunday, to-day is Monday.’ May God the Spirit be with us all.

“May 1.—This morning I went to the Plantains. In the afternoon I went to see the church; it is twenty-five feet long, and fourteen feet

wide. Prayer is kept in it morning and evening. There are fourteen boys in the day-school; four of them read in the Bible, and others on cards.

“ May 6. *Sunday*.—I told the headman that it was Sunday, and that he should get all the people together, for I wanted to talk to them about the Lord our Saviour. About ten o'clock all the people went to their farms. I went to the headman, and told him to call them, but he could not find one. Then I went myself to the farms, and found them all at work. I spoke to them, but they were careless about it. Then I was sorry very much. I did not know what to do. However, God knows what they are doing. I cannot help them, nor could I stop them. I went again to the headman, and told him. He said, ‘ I do not know what to do; I talk to them, but they will not believe me.’ Oh, may the grace of God stop them, and bring them to the feet of Christ our Saviour!

“ May 7.—This morning I went to Bembala by land, and read and explained to the people the twenty-third chapter of Matthew. They were attentive, but did not know which day was Sunday. I was so sorry for them. I told them, ‘ These two times I have been here, and have told you about the goodness of the Lord, but you will not believe the word of God. I tell you once more that if you die without knowing the Lord Jesus Christ, you will go into everlasting fire.’

“ May 8.—This morning I went to another place called Bembala, and read and explained to the people the 115th Psalm. They were attentive. They knew when it was Sunday, and said that they kept Sunday, but I cannot tell whether it is true. Oh, may the Lord teach them their sinful way and their foolishness, for Jesus’ sake!

“ May 16.—This morning I went to Goborah. All the people were in the bush, being afraid of witch palaver. They said that two persons had made themselves into alligators, and had eaten one woman. They had given those two men red-water, and they died. I tried to stop them and talk to them, but they were in a great hurry, and much afraid of the people of the other towns; that was the reason why they hid themselves in the bush.

“ Then I went to another place, called Kepolow. I saw but few men there. I spoke to them. They were not well pleased. They appeared very much afraid, because they thought that the people out of another place would come and take their things away for the greegree palaver. I asked them for the Sunday. They could not tell the day. Oh, may the Lord have mercy upon them! May they not believe the lies of the devil! O Lord open their eyes and their ears, that they may know the Lord Jesus Christ!

“ May 17.—This morning I went to Malay. I spoke to them, and asked about the keeping the Lord’s day. They did not answer.

“ Then I went to Tureh. I called the people, but they would not come together. They said their father (*i. e.* the headman) had told them they must not keep the Sunday. I said, ‘ If you believe that, you and your father will go to hell.’ I tried to speak to them, but they went away. Oh, may the Lord make them willing in the day of his power, through Jesus Christ our Lord !

“ May 20, 1821. *Sunday*.—This morning I read and explained to the people the twenty-third chapter of Matthew. They were attentive. In the evening it rained. I was much troubled in myself. Sometimes I think that I do not tell the people the truth, but, O Lord God of Hosts, our Redeemer, thou knowest the hearts of men, for thy own sake have mercy upon me, and teach me to know thy ways !

“ May 21.—This morning I went to Yongoroh, and read and explained the twentieth chapter of Exodus. The people were attentive. May the Holy Spirit bless the word !

“ Then I went to Bando, and read and explained the 115th Psalm. The people were attentive. I asked them for the Sabbath. They said, ‘ Yesterday was Sunday, to-day is Monday.’ May the Lord teach them for Christ’s sake !

“ From that place I went to Bourbectokee. In the evening I read and explained to them the forty-fifth chapter of Isaiah. They were attentive. I asked again for the Sunday. They did not know it. Then some of them said, ‘ We have two, three, four, or six women ; what shall we do with them ? Shall we let them go ? We have paid our money for them.’ Then I said, ‘ The Lord made only one man and one woman. What I see in the Bible, that I tell you ; and he says there that every man shall have his own wife, two and two, and not more.’ May the Lord have mercy upon them, and help them for Christ’s sake !

“ May 25.—This morning I went to Tumbo. I asked the headman to call his people. He said, ‘ That they did not want Sunday, but clothes : why did not I bring some clothes from the white man who sent me ?’ I asked him if he should want clothes if he died to-night ? Then he went away. I did not know what to do. I told him afterwards that I prayed that the Lord would show him his sins, and open his eyes, and point him to the Saviour.

“ Then I went to Yeaba, and spoke to the people, who were attentive. I asked them about Sunday. They showed me the piece of board, and told me the day. May the Lord help them for Jesus sake !

“ From that place I went to Barbara. I stopped there all the day. In the evening I called the people, but they did not come. Then I went to the headman, and told him that I wanted to talk to the people. He said, ‘ We keep Sunday, and that is enough.’ I asked him if he did eat only on Sunday. He did not answer me. I said again, ‘ If

they did not come to hear me the first time, why do they not want to hear the word of God now?" He did not answer. Then I told him that he was the headman, and he would have to answer for his people in the day of judgment. When he heard that he went out of the house, and I went, full of sorrow, to my own house.

"In all the places where I went the people asked me what they must do with their wives. Some have two, three, four, five, six, and seven. I told them that I only could tell them that God forbids such a thing. He commands us to have only one wife, and one wife only one man. I have had many fears and troubles; some behind and some before. Sometimes I did not know what to do, but the Lord's word comforted me: he says, 'Be not afraid of their faces, for I will be with thee.' Oh, that I did know more of the Lord Jesus Christ! Do, my brethren, pray for me, that the Lord may teach me to know myself more, and to know the Word of God more. May the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with us all! Amen."

It has already been mentioned, that in the year 1821, Stephen Caulker resigned his post at Kiskey Town, in the colony, and was appointed, by the Church Missionary Society, schoolmaster at the Plantains. He here soon collected about twenty boys, chiefly sons of neighbouring chiefs, and proceeded to instruct them in English and Bullom, using the Bullom spelling book, prepared by Nylander, until one should be published in the Sherbro-Bullom. He also established daily worship in a small house set apart for that purpose, and on Sundays, the brothers, George and Stephen, regularly performed divine service in Bullom, among their own people and children. They read prayers, and sung hymns, and read portions of George Caulker's translation of the Scriptures, after which George explained what had been read, and exhorted the people in the way of practical application of it. In an astonishingly short time, some of the children attending the school could read English and Bullom.

As our object is merely to supply a brief sketch of what these native Christians endeavoured to do for their countrymen, we shall not dwell on the transactions of each year separately, but just select what appears most interesting in the affairs of this new settlement, where the experiment of native unassisted agency was now being made; our desire being, by decisive testimony, to establish the fact, that Africa possesses, within herself, in rich abundance, the elements of her own moral and spiritual regeneration.

At midsummer, 1823, Stephen Caulker made the following report to the society:—

"Blessed be the name of the Lord, I feel that I am a wretched sinner,

but my dependence is on the mercy of my crucified Redeemer. I am at a great distance from the means of grace, and greatly feel the want of the same; but must confess, to the glory of God, that he has preserved me hitherto; and has enabled me, according to my own experience of the grace of God, to instruct others in his Holy Word.

"I have, at present, a small number of schoolboys that can read Bullom; and we are enabled to read our Bullom services together, on holy days. The number of our schoolboys is 33; and there are also eight young men who attend the evening school.

"My brother is building a church; and we hope, when it is completed, that the number of scholars will be increased."

Writing to the society, in the following year, he states:—

"Our church being roofed, we hold divine service there, in our own tongue. The inhabitants go out early in the morning for work, so that there is no possibility of collecting them for morning prayers; they meet, however, in the evening, when I read some of the psalms in Bullom, and sing and read in English.

"The boys now, thirty-four in number, in general speak English, and understand a great part of what they read. I have reason to believe that the books and tracts which they read, and the Church Catechism, which they get by heart, have made a great impression on their minds, and hope that the Lord will not only give me grace to improve in the way of Christ myself, but also to improve them."

In the summer of 1824, he wrote again:—

"The first class are making a little improvement in writing and cyphering; and seven boys, of the second class, are reading in the New Testament, and learning addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division tables; and the rest of the classes are doing well.

"Blessed be the everlasting God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who has preserved me to the present moment in health, which many have not enjoyed; and thanks be to his holy name, that he has taught me, through his servants, to read his Holy Word, that I may be able also to instruct my country people, in the way to their crucified Redeemer, Jesus Christ. May the Lord bless what little has been shown to them; and give me grace and wisdom to instruct them in the right way."

The reader, who is capable of entering into the spirit of the above extract, will not, for a moment, think of weighing the thousands of gold and silver, expended on the Rio Pongas mission, against this single gem taken from the deep dark mine of human depravity, to be fitted

for the diadem of the Eternal King, against the day when he comes to make up his jewels.

On the 29th of January, 1824, Mr. George Caulker wrote to the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, as follows :—

“I beg leave to state to you, for the consideration of the Church Missionary Society, that for the last four years I have been collecting boys from various places in this part of the coast of Africa, for the purpose of giving them the rudiments of English education : they are taught by my brother Stephen, who receives a salary through the Rev. G. R. Nyländer, who has done all in his power for the prosperity of the school here, and kindly assisted us with Bibles and Testaments, tracts, stationery, &c. Most of the boys can read the Bible, and the rest are getting on according to their respective ages, and the time which they have been at school. Some of them can read in their own language the church service, hymns, tracts, &c., which I have translated, and which the society has had the goodness to get printed for me.

“I would willingly carry on this work of the Lord, was I able ; but the feeding and clothing of so many boys bears very heavy upon me, and I feel my circumstances so reduced, that I cannot much longer support it. I therefore must humbly entreat that the Church Missionary Society may be pleased to take the school under their patronage, and still allow it to be kept here.”

The committee were not insensible to the claims of these pious brothers upon their support, and, consequently, every assistance was afforded them in carrying out their Christian objects. Meanwhile, Satan began to exhibit symptoms of impatience at the progress of their work : a war broke out between the Sherbros and a neighbouring people, called Kussoos, which threatened serious injury to the noble conflict which the Caulkers were carrying on with the arch-enemy of mankind. However, at the close of the year 1824, Stephen Caulker was able to write :—

“Our church is still in the same condition. Something might have been done to it by this time ; but the Kussoo war continuing, the whole country has been laid waste, and my brother and all the people have been obliged to prepare for war, merely to restore peace to our country.

“The first class are now as far as simple addition, or examples of money and weights, and are capable of writing small hand, and can read Bullom, and sing hymns in Bullom very well ; so that on Sunday services are always kept in that language. The second class are reading in the New Testament, and are able to write round-hand ; they

have just begun addition, and can say almost half of the Church Catechism by heart. The third class read in the central school-book, No. 2, and the History of Joseph, and can spell four syllables. The fourth class are spelling three syllables; and the fifth are in monosyllables. All the classes learn the addition and multiplication tables.

"On Sunday, after divine service in the afternoon, the boys repeat the Church Catechism after me; and when this is done, they say their evening prayers. As there are no lamps, we generally have prayers sooner in the afternoon, before it gets dark. Many of the adults are wishing for evening instruction; so I humbly request a supply of lamps, that those who spend the day in working may come to school in the evening. Oh, may the Lord direct my ways, so that I may do that which may benefit my country, through Jesus Christ my Saviour!

"I see and do feel, by the grace of God, that the hearts of the people are too much hardened in superstitions and idolatries, and, above all, in the dealings of the slave trade. I can do very little for the good of the souls around me: being yet young, they do not hearken much to me, or to what I tell them; but, however, it is my constant prayer to the Lord, to give me His Holy Spirit, to enable me to point them to their crucified Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

Stephen Caulker's first class were now able to read the Old Testament. The quarterly papers of the Church Missionary Society were also supplied to them, as also the Missionary Register. These were read by the first and second classes. The war with the Kussoos continuing, Stephen's work was more than once interrupted; but at Michaelmas, 1825, he was able to report as follows:—

"In April I began the night-school; I bought two lamps and two barrels of palm oil for the use of the school. The adults would have made great improvement, if it had not been for this war with the Kussoos and Cleveland. When this war broke out, there remained very few of our people in the island. During the last month the people have attended divine service regularly.

"The day-school continues as usual. The first and second classes are getting on very well with their reading, writing, and cyphering. The third class are now able to read the central school book through, and can spell words of six syllables fluently: and the fourth class are much the same in three syllables. Six boys are gone to learn trades, and four have left through sickness. The number of my scholars is now 23.

"About this time, the Plantain Islands were visited by Mr. Beckley, teacher at Kent, a village in the colony, and he was much pleased with the

school, and the orderly conduct of the boys, who did credit to the instruction which they had received.

The following autumn the Rev. J. Gerber wrote :—

“I have visited the Plantain Islands, and found Stephen Caulker’s reports true. I heard the first class read fluently. Most of the scholars are relations of the Caulkers. The broken English which is generally spoken among the liberated Africans in the colony is scarcely heard here.”

The friends of the Church Missionary Society at Sierra Leone felt much interest in the humble work which was going on here, and they would gladly have set apart a missionary for this station; but the pressing wants of the colony, and the reduction which death had made in the number of missionaries there, rendered such a step impossible. George Caulker had always felt desirous that an ordained labourer should be located in his territory, and it was intended that the Rev. G. E. W. Metzger, who went out to Africa in October, 1822, should occupy this station; but on his arrival at Sierra Leone, a different arrangement was found necessary, and he, with his wife, were retained in the colony. In time, however, it appeared, that even were it possible to spare a labourer from Sierra Leone, the disturbed state of the Sherbro Country, and, consequently, the islands in its neighbourhood, precluded any hope of his being permitted to proceed in the Christian work. This locality was cursed with the influence of that frightful institution, the Purrah, of which we have given a description in the introduction to this volume,* as existing among the Timmanees, to whom, and the Sherbro Bulloms, it is peculiar. By this mysterious society the minds of the natives were held in a state of the most abject bondage, and any attempt to interfere with its despotic power would, of course, be resisted to the uttermost. The Sherbro Bulloms are considered, by the most competent observers, to be more degraded than the other tribes which border on the colony; but it was hoped that the intercourse which had already been opened between them and Sierra Leone, would conduce to a feeling of respect for Europeans, which would dispose them to appreciate moral and social improvement.

Stephen Caulker reported, in 1826, that he had twenty-one boys in the day school, and in the evening school eight boys and adults. Several more of his pupils had left him to learn mechanical employments, and a few had died. After struggling for some time against the adverse circumstances of the country, which became worse and worse, the brothers were, we regret much to state, obliged, in the year 1828, to suspend their operations, at least for the present, having afforded, by

their zeal and diligence, a most favourable specimen of African Christianity, not of the letter, but of the spirit.

In bringing this volume of the Church Missionary Society's proceedings, in Western Africa, to a close, we would say, on looking back on what we have written, that unless we reject the information here set before us, we can no longer speak of the difficulties of dealing with Africa. She has inherited a peculiar curse.* The former part of our volume shows that curse to be in active operation : it was pronounced by the Omnipotent, and no inferior being can revoke it : Did not He visit the earth to break every yoke—to remove every curse ? Here, too, as on other occasions, man would be wise above what is written ; he would apply the lever of his own feeble power to upheave the mighty incumbrance that presses down the souls and intellects of the children of Ham. We have recorded something of the puny struggle, and its certain result. Great Britain invited the civilized world to combine with her in delivering Africa from the curse. The invitation was accepted, the compact concluded. The treasury of England poured forth its millions ; her victorious flag fluttered in the pestilential breezes of the windward coast—her gallant sons rushed, at her bidding, into the jaws of death ; and her statesmen laboured at home and abroad to “bind princes, and teach senators wisdom ;” and, after all, the truth stands freely confessed ; nothing has been done for Africa ; no, nor is it to England's discredit that she could not do the work of Omnipotence. The law of the curse was unrepealed, and slavery was the destiny of Africa ; it was the indigenous growth of her soil ; and when she traded, it was in that commodity which she exuberantly produced. It was absurd for British statesmen or British warriors to try and prevent Africa bringing forth abundantly this deadly plant ; as soon might the one think to uproot her forests with his pen, or the other to mow them down with his cutlass. They attempted the silly exploit, however, and even their fellow men in Europe and America are, at this moment, laughing them to scorn.

Jesus Christ “came into the world to save sinners” from the curse—to “set at liberty them that are bruised” under the curse ; Europe, Asia, and America, can exhibit evidences to the success of His heavenly mission. Is there any thing in the circumstances of Africa that places her beyond the reach of the great remedy for the ills of mankind, or is any thing too hard for the Lord ? “Come unto me,” he says, “*all* ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.” Africa labours and is heavy laden under her peculiar malediction, and therefore to her the invitation is addressed ; but she cannot come—she is “sick of the palsy.” Paralyzed in every limb, she cannot obey the gracious

* Gen. ix. 25.

summons, and must be borne into the "midst before Jesus." Here, British Christians, is a task worthy of your name and your privileges; Jesus, seeing your faith, will pronounce the sin of Ham forgiven, and dry up the sources of Africa's misery for ever. This project will be sneered at by the worshippers of human sufficiency, with, it may be, all the cabinets of Europe and America to back them; but we care not—they will admit that the foregoing pages have done them ample justice, and faithfully recorded the issue of the stupendous exertions that were made to prove their theories correct. We are content to produce, as yet, but three witnesses, Simeon Wilhelm, William Tamba, and Stephen Caulker,* in favour of our plan, and defy a judgment against it. We contend that the combat fought on the shores or plains of Africa, is not "against flesh and blood," but "against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world;" and, therefore, "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal." We have tried them, and looking on what the Lord of Hosts has enabled even our Christian society to do for this long benighted continent, we can exultingly exclaim—"Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ!"

* Blessed be God, these are only the types and representatives of thousands captured from Satan by the sword of the spirit, through the instrumentality of the Church Missionary Society in Western Africa; but had we only these to produce, we could still speak of our successes there—a theme on which Great Britain, in her political capacity only, after all her stupendous efforts for the last forty years, must be silent.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE EARLIEST MISSIONARIES OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

(Referred to at page 16.)

THE people known in this country under the name of Mandingoes, and who are emigrants from the Mandingo Country, inhabit chiefly the banks of the Kissey-Kissey, and some miles thereabout.

They occupy at present but a small tract of land. It may be walked through, from north to south, in one day ; and also, in one day, from east to west. To the north, they have the Soosoos for their neighbours ; to the east, the Benna Soosoos ; and to the south, the Bulloms and Timmanees. The land, like that of the Soosoos, is low, and in many parts marshy ; and it seems that it once formed a part of the sea, but by some revolution became inhabitable. The soil is very rich, producing abundance of rice, yams, &c. ; but, upon the whole, it is destitute of other valuable productions, and no labour is bestowed upon the ground to improve it.

These Mandingoes are as yet not numerous ; there may be four or five thousand fighting men. They are much on the increase, as no one of them is sold, whatever crime he may be guilty of. The law even is, that no slave born in their country is to be sold ; though this law is frequently transgressed, under pretence that the slave is guilty of one crime or other. Their slave-town people are considered, undoubtedly, a formidable body, and their masters are always under some apprehension of them, as they have often risen upon them, or run away, and settled elsewhere. Even in this season, some of these slaves that ran away, about one hundred and fifty, were caught by the Sulamas, for which purpose the king went up to Benna to divide the spoil. The Sulamas got the half of them, as a reward for catching them.

The Mandingo king has very little authority over his people. When he calls the headmen together, it is at their pleasure to come or not. He sent lately for our landlord, to come up to Benna to assist at the palaver. Our landlord did not move a step.

saying, "Suppose I go, and other headmen, how easy it is for Murry Canoo to make yamfa with our slave people, and take the country while we are in a foreign land!" Thus the head men in every town refuse or accept the king's order according to their own prudence. If he has not a well-founded reason for going to war, no man assists him.

Patient courage, it seems, enters not into the character of the Mandingoes. They are, no doubt, of a bold disposition, but not so when danger of life or misfortune befalls them. In going to war with pagan nations, they are active, bold, and enterprising; but this arises from religious enthusiasm. To destroy a whole nation of Caffres is, with them, doing service to God. The Koran has a tendency to inspire them with cruelty, and to promote a savage disposition towards those who are not of their own denomination. The Koran itself, indeed, describes God as most merciful, and yet they themselves will not imitate the being whom they adore. Life in war-time is not regarded by them, as dying in the service of God excels all other meritorious services; and they believe that all martyrs thus dying are immediately admitted into Paradise. If they were a powerful nation, they most likely would make war every year with their neighbours, and soon convert them with the sword. But, it must be acknowledged, that the sword is not the first and principal means to convert the pagans. The rule is with them, as they say, first to beseech and entreat the heathens to pray to God, and learn book; nay, to offer them money, and to show them every possible kindness. If this be fruitless, then the sword is drawn, and the Caffres have little mercy to expect.

It is well known that the Foulahs have war every year with some of their neighbours, but it is done, not so much for God's sake, or with a view to convert the heathen, as to kill them, and make them slaves. Some weeks ago they conquered Combria, in the Balia Country—a populous town, surrounded with five walls, and which repulsed this cruel blood-thirsty nation for many years.

The enemy attacked it in five different directions, which the town's people did not expect, as they formerly had to fight them only on that side, where the path led into the Foulah country. The exact number of them that were killed, or made slaves, cannot be asserted, as the accounts are various; but that it was a town of several thousands of inhabitants, and all the headmen killed is most certain. The whole is here considered as a barbarous action of the Foulah king.

From this country to Teembo is about two days' journey. The Foulah king gets now and then a present from the Mandingo king. He is very glad, I am told, to see people from the country when the sun goes down. The visitors must also tell him much of that singular water (the tide) which runs for six hours into the country, and then goes out again into a big water. The Mandingoes seems not to be of

such a warlike disposition, nor of such a cruel nature as the Foulahs. They differ also very much from them in executing civil laws. The Mandingoes are strict observers of the tenets of Mahomet. What the Koran says is truly believed and obeyed. There is no doubt but that some of the Mandingoes are conscientious and upright, especially those who have devoted themselves to do nothing but to study the Koran, and the law of Moses. Such are devout in their way, and undergo severe religious exercises; for instance, they pray, perhaps, fifty or a hundred times in twenty-four hours. They endeavour to pray even oftener than God required first from Mahomet, of whom he required that he and his followers should pray fifty times a day, but Mahomet supplicated, like Abraham of old, and moved God so far that he consented to be worshipped but five times a day. These devout men are the better sort among the Mandingoes. They pretend that it is impossible with them to tell any lie, or to speak any falsehood. What they say or promise, they endeavour to perform, and to do justice to every one. They show also not so much bigotry as the ignorant amongst them, against those who are not of their own persuasion. They will never call a Christian a Caffre, or unbeliever, but think and act as the Koran directs them; that believing Jews and Christians have to expect a reward from God. We fully credit the assertion of Mr. Matthew, quoted by Winterbottom, that the Mandingoes respected him much, never calling him a caffre; and so they never call us caffres, or treat us disrespectfully on account of being Christians.

But to oppose Mahometanism by arguments is what they do not like at all. They avoid such conversations as much as possible. They cut them very short, by saying: Our book says so, and if this book will no longer defend them, then they refer the whole matter to the judgment day, in which it shall be clear who is right and who is wrong.

Moses, they say, was sent by God as a prophet to white people. Mahomet, God sent to black people. When the conversation turns on Jesus Christ, they speak respectfully of him, and so does the Koran; but the ideas they and the Koran have about him are full of confusion.

They say he had no father; and, as they express it, that he is made of wind. They also firmly believe that Christ himself did not suffer on the cross; but that some other person, by the counsel of God, suffered instead of him. They believe, also, that Christ is to come again into this world, that he is then to marry, that he is to have great power and authority; but, at last, to be much opposed by Antichrist. When in conversation, we exalt Christ above Moses, Abraham, and Mahomet: then they begin to flatter us, by saying that these four men were alike, none of them greater than another. But by a simple comparison, their flattery is found out.

It happened once that one spoke to us in this manner; we showed

him four articles of different size, asking him whether those were all alike in size. He said, "No," and pointing out the smallest article, said, "This signifies Christ, and the largest Mahomet." So when they tell us some history out of the Old Testament, and we relate it also, and even more extensively, then they are pleased; but they are also very ready to say that their book and white man's book are all the same. In conversation one may speak his mind pretty freely. They are not easily offended. If they bring forward the above-mentioned point, that Christ did not actually suffer on the cross, then they hear it patiently when the truth is defended, either by argument, or by simply stating that he verily suffered death, and that for the sins of the whole world; that he is now exalted above all principalities and powers, sitting on the right hand of God. They take it also not very ill when we say that Mahomet was no prophet, and not sent by God. Brother Butscher, bold as he is, once wrote it on the ground in the palaver-house, when they were reading the Koran, that Mahomet was not a true prophet of God.

Upon the whole, they are zealous in what they know, and strict in showing the doctrine of their religion. Their zeal in promoting the cause of God and their prophet is a lesson to every missionary, if not to every Christian. It must be allowed that a true Mandingo man contents himself not merely to make profession with the mouth, but he requires heart religion too. It is afflicting to see them so totally ignorant of original sin, ascribing the depravity and wickedness of the heart unto God, as the author thereof.

THE END.

May, 1845.

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